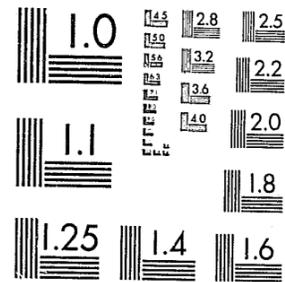


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95259

ADJUSTMENT TO PRISON

Review of Inmate Characteristics Associated with Misconduct,  
Victimization, and Self-Injury in Confinement

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents for staff a summary of published research on the relation between pre-incarceration characteristics of inmates and three types of prison behavior: institutional misconduct, victimization by other inmates, and inmate self-injury. Over thirty-five studies are reviewed. These studies differ from each other on several factors, some of which include the geographical location of the institution(s) studied, the time period (i.e. late 1950's to late 1970's), type and security level of the institution(s) studied, sample size of the study population, and the type of behavior studied. These factors are considered in assessing the relevance of each study for New York State correctional facilities.

Inmate characteristics associated with each of the three types of prison behavior examined are categorized as demographic factors (e.g. age, ethnicity), social factors (e.g. marriage, education), criminal justice history factors (e.g. conviction offense type) and psychological factors (e.g. attitude). Research efforts directed at predicting institutional misconduct according to inmate characteristics are reviewed. Available information on the rates of misconduct, victimization and self-injury in New York prisons are presented and discussed.

Research studies that have attempted to predict institutional misconduct using pre-incarceration characteristics of inmates show that these variables are only weak predictors of misconduct. However, when the association between each characteristic (e.g. age) and each of the types of prison behavior examined (e.g. misconduct) is considered some general tendencies are observed. In general, both age and ethnic status show consistent relationships with misconduct, victimization and self-injury. Younger inmates more frequently acquire disciplinary infractions, are more likely to be victimized by other inmates and are more likely to injure themselves in confinement. White inmates are more likely to be victimized by others, white and Hispanic inmates are overrepresented among inmates who purposely injure themselves, and for certain types of misconduct black and Hispanic inmates are overrepresented.

Looking specifically at institutional misconduct some inmate characteristics are related to misconduct, others are not. Variables that are frequently found to be associated with misconduct include age, marital status, job stability, juvenile record, time served and attitudinal factors. Variables that consistently show no association with misconduct are school grade level achieved, I.Q., military history, frequency of adult arrests and convictions. Characteristics that show mixed results include ethnicity, urbanicity, prior incarcerations, commitment offense type, time served and sentence length.

Variables associated with sexual victimization are age, urbanicity, ethnic status, weight, mental health problems, use of force in both the commitment and prior crimes, and completion of high school. Variables found to be unrelated to sexual victimization in a New York State study include maximum sentence length, juvenile convictions, adult prior convictions/commitments, height and broken home. Research also shows that effeminate characteristics, the early stages of the sentence, the ability to form group ties, the likelihood of meeting known others, and past experience with violence are related to sexual victimization.

Age, ethnicity and marital status are inmate characteristics that are consistently related to inmate self-injury. In addition to differences in rates of self-injury among inmates of different age and ethnic status there are differences in the types of distress that lead to self-injury according to ethnic status and age. Characteristics of inmates that show no association with self-injury are employment history, population size of residence, alcohol use and number of prior jail terms. On other characteristics the available research shows mixed results. These include school grade level achieved, drug use, offense type and prior sentences.

Some of the limitations of the reviewed research are discussed. Improvement in our knowledge about various types of prison behavior requires that other types of information besides pre-incarceration characteristics of inmates be considered. As an example several "in prison" variables have been shown to be associated with misconduct (e.g. involvement in treatment programs, holding a job in the prison, visits). Other types of information which should be considered include characteristics of the physical institution, characteristics of staff and the job they perform, administrative policies, inmate involvement in treatment, education or prison jobs, and situational variables.

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## I

I N T R O D U C T I O N

This paper presents for staff a summary of published research on the relation between pre-incarceration characteristics of inmates and three types of prison behavior: institutional misconduct, victimization by other inmates and inmate self-injury.

Decisions about inmates made by correctional staff often depend on assessments of an inmate's behavior in the future. These assessments are based in large part on staff experience with inmates. The knowledge gained from experience is certainly the best basis for decisions, yet the experience of each individual is limited, and since this is so everyone can benefit from knowledge based on wider experience. Research is a way of accumulating experience and thinking about it systematically. Surprisingly, over the last ten years a fairly large number of research studies on prison behavior have been conducted. This paper presents some of the main findings of that research. It is our hope that staff will find the information in this report useful in the day to day decisions they must make.

This paper summarizes research findings reported in some 30 studies. There are wide differences in these studies and these differences affect the extent to which they can be compared with each other and the extent to which they are relevant to the current New York State prison system. The studies have been conducted at different times, in different parts of the country, and on different types of study populations. There are differences in the definitions of institutional adjustment that are used as well as in the ways that adjustment is measured. Some studies are methodologically more rigorous than others. We have taken these differences into consideration in weighing the findings in each report.

Overall the research reports in this review do not find that the characteristics inmates possess when they enter prison (such as age or criminal record) predict or relate strongly to the prison behavior considered. What is found in the available re-

search are some tendencies. Inmates with certain characteristics are more prone to certain types of behavior. It can help us to know that certain types of inmates are more likely to experience certain types of problems, without assuming that they will in fact develop these problems.

Our knowledge about the three areas of prison behavior examined and about other types of prison behavior is decidedly incomplete. Some of the tendencies found in published research will undoubtedly disagree with the institutional experience of some staff. However, we think that it is important to be aware of the research work that has been done and that using this information wherever possible can aid in making staff work more effective.

#### Presentation Format

The paper is divided into three sections that deal with (1) institutional misconduct, (2) victimization and (3) self-injury. Each section begins with a brief discussion of the studies that have examined each of these types of prison conduct and a brief note on how frequently each of these types of conduct occur. We then proceed to consider the relationship between pre-incarceration characteristics of inmates and each of three types of prison conduct. Each subsection begins with a brief summary, identified by an asterisk, and then moves to presentation of relevant research studies and findings (sections that are brief are not summarized). At several points in the text we have inserted tables that summarize the research findings in a particular area. At the end of each section there is a summary statement of some of the main findings in that section.

Throughout the discussion there are statements asserting that one particular inmate characteristic is "associated with" or "related to" a particular type of prison conduct. By these terms we mean that changes in one variable (e.g. as persons grow older) tend to go along with or be associated with changes in some second variable (e.g. years of education). By a

positive relationship (or association) we mean that as scores on one variable increase scores on some second variables also tend to increase (e.g. as young people grow older they acquire more years of education.) A negative relationship means that as scores on one variable increase scores on some second variable tend to decrease. The term "significant differences" also appears often. A "significant" relationship between two variables only indicates that it is unlikely that the observed relationship between two variables could have occurred by chance alone. A relationship that is not statistically significant indicates that there is no relation between the variables or that there is a reasonable probability that the observed relation could have occurred due to chance effects alone.

II

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED  
WITH INSTITUTIONAL MISCONDUCT

A. INTRODUCTION

1. Definitional Issues and Comparability of Studies

On the whole, researchers who have examined factors related to institutional conduct have relied on two ways of measuring poor adjustment. Some investigators have accepted staff nominations of "troublemakers" or poorly adjusted inmates as a means of identifying poorly conducted inmates. These inmates are compared with inmates who receive no nominations as a troublesome inmate or who are seen by staff as well-conducted inmates. Other investigators have taken the inmate's institutional disciplinary record as an index of adjustment to the prison. In most cases researchers using institutional disciplinary records compare inmates who frequently violate prison regulations with those who do not. However, looking only at the frequency of rule violations, which lumps together several different types of behavior under the concept of institutional adjustment, limits our understanding of inmate behavior in the prison. Each of the types of behavior that would draw a disciplinary reaction from staff (e.g., assault, sexual pressuring, alcohol use, drug use, etc.) may have its own set of causes and may be engaged in by different types of inmates (e.g., younger as compared to older, long term as compared to short term, etc.). One step towards more concise understanding of institutional misconduct would be to distinguish the frequency of rule violations from the seriousness of rule violations. In their study of male youthful offenders

housed in a Maryland medium security institution Wolf, Freinek and Shaffer suggest that their data show that "the inmate who commits extremely serious rule infractions is to be found among those who frequently violate institutional rules. On the other hand many inmates who frequently break rules do not commit very serious infractions but are nonetheless disciplinary problems because of the frequency of their violations" (1966:246-247). Our understanding of institutional misconduct or of security risk would be improved if types of misbehavior (or various types of misbehaving inmates) were examined separately, but since few researchers have done this (Lockwood's study of sexual aggression in prison is a notable exception) we have little choice but to try to make sense out of variables that are associated with the global measures of institutional adjustment that are commonly used.

We provide some brief descriptive data about the research reports examined in this working paper. In Table I we have categorized several aspects of the studies reviewed: the region of the country where the prison or prisons are located, the approximate year during which information was collected, the nature of the prison facility or population studied, the security level of the facility, the number of inmates in the researcher's sample, the type of behavior of primary interest in the study and how this behavior was measured.

Though there are trends that occur consistently across the studies reviewed there are several reasons why the research reports in this area are only roughly comparable. Looking across the studies, there are differences in the size (e.g. average population), number, and security level of institutions studied. The studies were conducted at different times (e.g. 1950's as compared to 1970's) and in different places (e.g. Northern prisons as compared to Southern prisons). There are differences in the sample sizes that are employed and the methodological rigor of the examination. Finally, there are differences in the type of behavior that is studied (e.g. assaults on staff, assaults on inmates, violations of prison rules) as well as how these behaviors are measured (e.g. institutional records of misconduct, staff nominations of troublesome inmates, self-reported rule

violations). In our assessment of the evidence we give added weight to studies employing large samples and to studies which look extensively into background characteristics of the inmates sampled. We are particularly interested in studies conducted in New York State prisons. Using these factors as a measuring rod we have ranked the studies in this review according to their usefulness for understanding misconduct in New York State Prisons. In the chart that follows those studies listed at the top we consider as most useful and relevant.

Table I. CHARACTERISTICS OF STUDIES REVIEWED INSTITUTIONAL MISCONDUCT

| Author                            | Region  | Time <sup>1</sup>         | Type of facility or Prison population studied   | Security Level     | Sample Size  | Behavior Studied   | Measurement of Behavior Studied   |
|-----------------------------------|---|---------------------------|---|--------------------|--|--|---|
| Flanagan (1979)                   | New York  | 1965-1976                 | 8 maximum<br>5 medium<br>3 community based  | max<br>med<br>min  | 765 long term<br>701 short term                              | institutional rule violations (and other institutional activity) | Officially recorded rule violations                                     |
| Lockwood (1977)                   | New York  | 1974-1975                 | Attica,<br>Auburn<br>Coxsackie<br>Great Meadow  | max<br>"<br>"      | 107 vic-<br>tims<br>45 agres-<br>sors<br>59 non -<br>victims | sexual aggression,<br>sexual assault                             | Sexual aggression reported in interviews of inmates by the researcher.  |
| Petersilia and Honig (1980)       | Michigan<br>-----<br>California<br>-----<br>Texas | Aprox-<br>imately<br>1977 | Samples drawn in several facilities in each State to reflect State-wide prison population | max<br>to<br>min   | Mich, 363<br>-----<br>Calif, 340<br>-----<br>Texas 583       | institutional rule violations (and other institutional activity) | Number and severity of officially recorded rule violations              |
| Jaman (1972)                      | California  | 1964-1965                 | A 6% sample of inmates admitted to the California Dept. of Corrections in 1964            | max<br>to<br>min   | 325 New admis-<br>sions;<br>175 Parole<br>violators          | institutional rule violations (and other institutional activity) | Frequency of officially recorded rule violations                        |
| Megargee (1979)                   | Florida,<br>Federal<br>Facility                   | 1970-1972                 | 1 Federal insti-<br>tution for<br>youthful offend-<br>ers                                 |                    | 1,124  | institutional rule violations (and other institutional activity) | Officially recorded rule violations, days in segregation, staff ratings |
| Ellis, Grasmick and Gilman (1974) | North Carolina                                    | 1971                      | 2 adult (18 and over) prisons<br>2 youth (14-17) prisons                                  | min. to<br>maximum | 278  | aggressive trans-<br>actions                                     | Aggressive behavior recorded in official files                          |

| Author                                   | Region                    | Time <sup>1</sup> | Type of facility or Prison population studied  | Security Level                              | Sample Size   | Behavior Studied                                      | Measurement of Behavior Studied  |
|--|---------------------------|-------------------|--|---|---|---|--|
| Fuller and Orsagh (1977)                 | North Carolina            | 1975, 1971        | 10 North Carolina Prisons (1974) (housing 7,000 inmates)<br>6 North Carolina Prisons (1971) (age 15 and older) | min to max                                  | 55 prisons; and a sample of 278 inmates interviewed in 1971 | inmate victimization by other inmates, inmate assault | Officially recorded assaultive events in 1975; interviews of inmates (taken in 1971) about assaultive behavior in prison |
| Mueller, Toch, Molof (1965)              | California                | 1963-1964         | Six prisons (housing some 28,000 inmates; both adult and youthfull offenders facilities studied)               | custody class: max (7%) med (70%) min (23%) | 227 aggressors, 161 victims                                 | assaultive incidents against staff and inmates        | Incidents serious enough to be reported to California Corrections Dept. Central Office                                   |
| Davis (1971)                             | Philadelphia Pennsylvania | 1966-1968         | 1 state prison (pop 1,100)<br>1 city detention center (pop 800)<br>1 county jail (Aver. pop 800)               | max<br>- - - -<br>- - - -<br>med            | 3,304 inmates; 561 staff                                    | sexual aggression, sexual assault                     | Interviews of inmates and staff  |
| New York State Department of Corrections | New York                  | 1979-1980         | 32 prisons (population approx. 21,000)   | min, med, max                               | 1,127 offenders   | Assaultive incidents against staff and other inmates  | Aggressive incidents reported to NYDOCS central office as unusual incidents  |
| Bennett (1974) (1976)                    | California                | 1972              | All institutions   | min, med, max                               |   | Assaultive incidents against staff and other inmates  | officially recorded assaultive incidents   |
| Wolr, Freinek, Shaffer (1966)            | Maryland                  | 1963-1965         | 1 state prison (Hagerstown) (houses 1400, average age 19)  | medium                                      | 309   | institutional rule violations                         | Officially recorded rule violations  |

| Author                          | Region  | Time <sup>1</sup> | Type of facility or<br>Prison population<br>studied   | Security<br>Level                | Sample<br>Size                                 | Behavior Studied  | Measurement of behavior<br>studied  |
|---------------------------------|---|-------------------|---|----------------------------------|--|---|---|
| Myers and<br>Levy<br>(1978)     | Ohio  |                   | 1 state prison<br>pop. about 2,000<br>average of<br>sample (age) 38   | not given                        | 100  | troublesome<br>behavior in the<br>prison                | Nominations by staff of in-<br>mates who were disciplinary<br>problems and inmates who were<br>not disciplinary problems    |
| Brown and<br>Spevacek<br>(1971) | Washington,<br>D.C.   | 1969              | 2 prisons (1,200<br>inmate, all ages)<br>-----<br>1 350 inmate<br>facility, ages<br>18-26   | medium<br>-----<br>medium        | 50<br>-----<br>50                              | institutional rule<br>violations                        | Officially recorded rule<br>violations  |
| Edinger<br>(1979)               | Virginia, Fe-<br>deral facility<br>-----<br>Alabama State<br>Facilities | 1973-<br>1976     | 1 prison (Peters-<br>burg) pop 720, av-<br>erage age 22; 17-24<br>-----<br>Statewide sample<br>of inmates; males-<br>ave. age 27; 15-83 | medium<br>-----<br>max to<br>min | 2,063<br>fed. in-<br>mates<br>-----            | institutional rule<br>violations (and<br>other factors) | Officially recorded rule<br>violations  |
| Wood, et. al.<br>(1966)         | Colorado  | 1964              | (Englewood) Fede-<br>ral Youth Center,<br>housing approx. 400<br>adolescent offenders   | youth<br>center                  | 136  | Institutional conduct                                   | Staff nomination of inmates<br>who were seen as "trouble<br>makers", compared with<br>inmates receiving no nomina-<br>tions |
| Wolfgang<br>(1961)              | Pennsylvania  | 1958              | 1 facility (Eastern<br>State Penitentiary)<br>pop. approx. 1,000<br>inmates   | maximum                          | 44 in-<br>mates<br>convicted<br>of<br>Homicide | Institutional adjust-<br>ment                           | Number and length of time<br>held at jobs, discharges from<br>job for poor conduct, poor<br>conduct reports by guard        |
| Johnson<br>(1966)               | A Southern<br>state   | 1962              | Survey of total<br>population of<br>inmates serving<br>a felony sentence<br>in 1962 (2265)  | max<br>to<br>min                 | 2265   | Institutional rule<br>violations                        | Officially recorded<br>rule violations  |

| Author                        | Region                    | Time <sup>1</sup> | Type of facility or<br>Prison population<br>studied                 | Security<br>Level | Sample<br>Size | Behavior Studied                         | Measurement of behavior<br>studied  |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|---|-------------------|----------------|--|---|
| Wheeler<br>(1961)             | Western<br>state          | 1957              | 1 Prison, ages<br>16-30, average<br>population 750                  | max               | 237            | Conformity to staff<br>role expectations | Inmate responses to<br>hypothetical conflict<br>situations presented in a<br>questionnaire                          |
| Jensen<br>(1977)              | A South-<br>Eastern state | 1975              | 1 womens state<br>prison, pop. 304<br>average age 28                | minimum           | 175            | Institutional rule<br>violations         | Self reports by inmates of<br>rule violations   |
| Holland and<br>Holt<br>(1978) | California                | 1968-<br>1972     | 1 state prison  | minimum           | 293            | Institutional<br>misconduct, escapes     | Study examined inmates who<br>had escaped and those trans-<br>ferred to closer security<br>for disciplinary reasons |
| Shelley and<br>Toch<br>(1962) | Michigan                  | 1960              | Corrections con-<br>servation Youth<br>camp, ages 17-24,<br>pop. 81 | Minimum           | 80             | Adjustment to work<br>camp               | Transfer to closer<br>security for disciplinary<br>reasons  |
| Jaman, et. al.<br>(1966)      | California                | 1960              | San Quentin,  | max               | 244            | Violent behavior<br>in prison            | Officially record acts of<br>threatened or actual harm  |
| Coe<br>(1961)                 | Illinois                  | 1958              | 1 prison (Menard)<br>pop. 2300                                      | max               | 200            | Institutional<br>adjustment inmates      | Staff nominations of well<br>or poorly adjusted inmates   |



1. A Word About Rates

Before examining the relationship between inmate characteristics and institutional misconduct we look at institutional misconduct itself. How frequently do inmates violate rules? What types of misconduct occur most often? How does New York State compare to other states? We look first at the more general category of disciplinary infractions and then we turn to more specific types of misconduct: inmate - inmate assault, sexual assault, and assaults on staff.

a. Institutional Misconduct

There are two studies that provide relevant information on rates of serious and non-serious prison rule violations. In the first study, Petersilia and Honig collected information on samples of inmates from several facilities in California, Michigan and Texas. In each state they drew a sample designed to reflect the characteristics of the statewide population of inmates. The second study was conducted by Flanagan and it addresses the prison experience of long-term and short-term inmates in New York State prisons. Flanagan sampled inmates in 6 maximum security, 3 medium security and 3 community based facilities. His sample of long term prisoners was comprised of inmates released to supervision (on parole or conditional release) from New York State Department facilities between 1973 and 1976 and who had served at least 60 continuous months (five years) in custody (Flanagan 1971:106). His short term prisoner group was made up of a random sample of inmates who were released to supervision (e.g. paroled) from New York State prisons but who had served a sentence of five years or less. In the table below we report rates of officially recorded serious and nonserious infractions.

|                      | <u>Annual rate of infractions per inmate</u> <sup>A</sup> |                 |              |                 |
|----------------------|---|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|
|                      | <u>California</u>   | <u>Michigan</u> | <u>Texas</u> | <u>New York</u> |
| Serious <sup>B</sup> | .20   | .42             | .25          | .33             |
| Non-serious          | 1.52  | 2.40            | 1.25         | 1.67            |
| Total                | 1.72  | 2.82            | 1.50         | 2.00            |

<sup>A</sup> The estimated rates for California, Michigan and Texas reflect the average number (i.e. the mean) of disciplinary infractions per inmate per year and are reported at p.69 in Petersilia and Honig (1980). The estimated rates for New York reflect the median number of disciplinary infractions per inmate per year. (See Flanagan 1979: Table 4.7, 4.9 4.10).

<sup>B</sup> For California, Michigan and Texas the serious infraction category is made up of the following offenses: assaults resulting in no injury, minor injury or major injury, and attempted escape. Nonserious violations include such items as possession of contraband, threatening to harm others, theft, gambling etc. (Petersilia Honig 1980:67-69).

In New York State the serious infraction category is comprised of interference with employee doing duty, creating trouble with guards or other staff (verbal abuses, insolence, jostling, harrasment), fighting or assault, and escape (Flanagan 1979:137). These offenses make up 16.8% of the total infractions of short term inmates (Flanagan 1979: Table 49, table reproduced in this text at p. 13 ) hence the annual infraction rate for serious offenses of .33 (i.e., 2.00 rate for total infractions x 16.8% + 100=.33, (short term inmates only )).

The data in this table show that the average number of disciplinary infractions per inmate per year is about two. The rate of serious infractions is considerably lower than the rate for non-serious infractions. It is not the case, however, that most inmates acquire 2 disciplinary infractions per year. Flanagan points out that a relatively small percentage of the inmate population violate prison rules at a rate much higher than that of most inmates (Flanagan 1979, Chapter 4, Note 19). Flanagan presents a breakdown of the average number of disciplinary infractions per year incurred by inmates in his sample:

Average Number of Disciplinary Infractions Per Year<sup>A</sup>

|             |    |                  |
|-------------|----|------------------|
| 0.0 to 0.9  | 1  | 32% <sup>A</sup> |
| 1.0 to 1.9  | 2  | 18               |
| 2.0 to 2.9  | 3  | 12               |
| 3.0 to 3.9  | 4  | 11               |
| 4.0 to 4.9  | 5  | 7                |
| 5.0 to 6.9  | 7  | 13               |
| 7.0 to 12.0 | 12 | 10               |

<sup>A</sup>These New York State data are taken with permission from an unpublished paper by Flanagan.

<sup>A</sup> These data are taken with permission from an unpublished paper by Flanagan.

These figures show that 50% of New York State inmates commit either none or one offense per year, another 30% commit from 2 to 5 infractions per year. It can be seen that inmates who frequently violate prison rules (i.e. have more than 7 disciplinary infractions) make up about 10% of the inmate population.

We also know that some types of institutional misconduct occur more frequently than do others. In studies that use official disciplinary records as an index of institutional misconduct we find that misconduct falls into several broad categories: refusal to obey an order or disrespect for an officer, violations of administrative rules (e.g. possession of contraband) and assaults on other inmates. In their statewide survey of prisons in California, Michigan and Texas, Petersilia and Honig find that the most frequently occurring incidents are violations of administrative rules (e.g. disobedience, gambling, theft, out of place, etc.), followed by possession of contraband, and then by assaults of varying degrees of injury (1980:67). In the table below we present the percent of total infractions represented by different types of misconduct that were found in a survey of New York State facilities, in a survey of two Washington D. C. prisons, and in a survey of one Federal prison in Terre Haute, Indiana.

Disciplinary Infractions by Type of Infraction <sup>A</sup>

|   | New York | Washington D.C. | Terre Haute (Ind.) | Federal Prison |
|---|----------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------|
|   | A        | B               |                    |                |
| Violation of Administrative Rules   |          |                 |                    |                |
| Out of place, absent from work area   | 19.7%    |                 |                    | 7%             |
| Refusal to work   | 5.0%     |                 |                    |                |
| Strike  | .2%      |                 |                    |                |
| Unauthorized assembly   | 1.2%     |                 |                    |                |
| Contraband  | 9.2%     |                 |                    | 25%            |
| Other violations  | 19.2%    |                 |                    | 23%            |
| <u>Subtotal</u>   | 54.5%    | 63%             | 45%                | 55%            |
| Refusal to obey an order; disrespect  |          |                 |                    |                |
| Refusal to obey an order  | 19.0%    |                 |                    | 31%            |
| Interference with employee doing duty   | .7%      |                 |                    |                |
| Creating trouble with guards or staff (verbal abuse, insolence, jostling, harrasment) | 8.7%     |                 |                    |                |
| <u>Subtotal</u>   | 28.4%    | 25%             | 38%                | 31%            |
| Assaults  |          |                 |                    |                |
| Fighting/assault,   | 7.2%     |                 |                    | 13%            |
| Escape/attempted escape   | .2%      |                 |                    |                |
| <u>Subtotal</u>   | 7.4%     | 10%             | 14%                | 13%            |
| <u>Total</u>  | 100%     | 98%             | 97%                | 99%            |

<sup>A</sup> These data are taken from Flanagan 1979: Table 4. 9 for New York State prisons (short term inmates only) and from Brown and Spevacek 1971:51 for a sample of 100 inmates from two medium security facilities in Washington D.C. Brown and Spevacek do not present a more detailed breakdown of offense type. Rates are also taken from Glaser 1964:177 for Terre Haute Federal Penitentiary, June 1958-September 1959.

b. Assaults on Inmates

We find differences in the rate of assault in the prison according to the type of measure that is used. That is, assault rates tend to increase as one moves from Unusual Incident Reports to inmate disciplinary records, to surveys (either by questionnaire or by interview) of inmates.

a) Assault rates using Unusual Incident Reports

Examining events reported to the New York State Correctional Services central office as Unusual Incidents we find that during the period September 1979-September 1980 there were 278 incidents where one or more inmates assaulted another inmate.<sup>1</sup> Using Unusual Incident Reports as an index the annual rate of assaultive victimization in New York State facilities would be 1.3 assaults per 100 inmates.<sup>2</sup> The California Department of Correction also compiles information on unusual incidents that occur in its prisons and camps and which are reported to the Central Office. Based on figures compiled by the California Department of Correction we conclude that the rate of assaultive victimization in California prisons and camps for the year 1978 was 2.5 assaults per 100 inmates<sup>3</sup>. California has experienced a steady increase in assaultive incidents between 1970 and 1978 (California 1979). It is also true that there are wide differences in rates of assaultive behavior from one institution to another (California

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<sup>1</sup> We have combined incidents listed as inmate altercations and incidents listed as assault on an inmate. These figures are taken from "Unusual Incident Report, Twelve Month Summary, (Sept. 1979-Aug. 1980), Division of Program Planning, Research and Evaluation, NYDOCS, Albany, N.Y. 1981.

<sup>2</sup> There were 20,895 inmates under custody as of December 31, 1979 (Hence:  $278 \div 20,895 \times 100 = 1.3$  assaults per 100 inmates).

<sup>3</sup> This rate is based on figures reported in "Incidents in the Institutions 1970-1978". Management Information Section, Policy and Planning Division, California Department of Corrections, Sacramento, February 1979. We combined the categories of assault with a weapon and fights to produce 517 assaultive incidents. We estimated the average daily population in California prisons during 1978 as 20,457 inmates.

1979). We recall that events which are reported as Unusual Incidents tend to be assaults of a serious nature, they may involve injury and some are referred to the state police or other authorities for possible prosecution.

b) Assault rates in disciplinary records

A second source of information about rates of assault in the prison comes from records maintained by individual institutions. There are less serious altercations between inmates of an assaultive nature that are not reported as Unusual Incidents but are handled at administrative disciplinary proceedings. Grasewicz (1977) reports a rate of 11 assaults per 100 inmates per year in four Virginia Institutions (Schreiber *et. al.* 1980:8). Fuller and Orsagh conducted a study of officially reported assaults that occurred in 10 North Carolina Prisons during the last 3 months of 1975. They find a quarterly rate of assaultive victimization of 1.7 per 100 inmates (1978:37)<sup>5</sup>. Extending Fuller and Orsagh's quarterly rates to yearly rates their data show that there were 6.8 assaults per 100 inmates per year (1977:37). Fuller and Orsagh argue that if a more restrictive definition of victimization is used—one which excludes victims who contributed to their own assault—the annual rate of assaultive victimization would be 2.4 assaults per 100 inmates. It should be pointed out that victimization rates represent a ratio of incidents that occurred divided by the population at risk for a given period of time. As part of a large study of victimization in state prisons (that was not completed due to funding limitations) Schreiber, Knudten and Knudten surveyed eight prisons in different parts of the United States. Based on disciplinary records and other records of assaultive incidents they estimated rates of assaultive incidents for five of these institutions. As an index of physical victimization in the prison they grouped together several offenses, including: assaults, fights, weapons charges, and sexual assaults (1980:141). Reading their results in terms of assaults per 100

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<sup>5</sup> These are officially recorded assaults.

inmates (instead of assaults per 1,000 inmates as it is presented in their text) these five prisons show assault rates per 100 inmates per year of 6.0, 8.8, 9.7, 14.8 and 19.4 (Schreiber, et. al. 1980:141) These data presented by Schreiber and by others suggest that where offenses recorded in institutional disciplinary records are considered, we find a rate of around 10 assaults per 100 inmates per year.

c) Assault rates in surveys of inmates.

Other indices of the rate of assaultive behavior in prisons have been employed. Schreiber et. al. interviewed inmates and staff members in nine prisons in the United States and they asked both inmates and staff members to estimate the percentage of inmates that were victimized "fairly often" or "occasionally". In their study inmates and staff members estimate that roughly 25% of the inmate population is victimized either occasionally or fairly often (1980:143). Fuller and Orsagh present information based on interviews of 400 inmates incarcerated in six institutions in North Carolina in 1971. Each inmate was asked if, within a given time period someone had hit him, using his fist, feet, head etc. or had used a weapon on him (1977:38). Based on these self-reports of assault Fuller and Orsagh estimate an assault rate of 19 per 100 inmates for a three month period (1977:37). If this were a rate based on a 12 month period it would undoubtedly be much higher than 19%. What these interview responses show is that there is a considerable amount of aggressive physical contact between inmates that goes unreported. To repeat, studies that survey inmates through the use of questionnaires or interviews show that a considerable amount of inmate misconduct goes undetected and/or unreported (See Poole and Regoli 1980: 935, 940, Footnotes 3 and 9).

The rate of assault in the prison depends upon the measure we decide to use. Unusual Incident records contain the most serious assaults and they place the rate of assault at less than 2 assaults per 100 inmates per year. If we look at fights or assaults on other inmates that are found on the Inmate Record

Card (a record maintained on each New York State inmate by officials at the institution where he is housed) the rate of assault is around 10 assaults per 100 inmates per year. Where prison inmates are asked in interview situations how frequently they have been struck by a fist or a weapon during a given time period as many as one-fourth or more than one-fourth of the inmate population has been the victim of an assault (see Fuller and Orsagh 1977, Schreiber et. al. 1980:143). Estimates of assault rates based on inmate interviews probably include many minor incidents. However, data presented by Davis (1971), which shows that much sexual assault and much sexual pressuring goes unreported to authorities, is good evidence that much assaultive behavior is not reflected in official records (Davis 1971:4728-9).

Information on assaults in California show that there are differences in rates of assault by institution (California 1979; Mueller, Toch and Molof 1965). Selsky's finding that rates of assault on staff in New York prisons differs sharply according to institution is some evidence that the rate of inmate assaults on each other may differ according to institution in New York State as well.

c. Sexual Assault/Pressuring

One set of reviewers state that, "Evidence to date indicates that sexual assault is not the most common form of physical violence in prison for men, but it is the most feared because it has the greatest consequences for one's self-esteem and for one's status in the world of the prison (Bowker, Social Science Research Institute 1979:9). Several investigators have estimated the incidence of sexual aggression in male facilities. In a random sample of inmates in two New York State facilities (Attica, Coxsackie, N=76) Lockwood found 1 inmate who had been sexually assaulted (Lockwood 1980:2). This is a rate of just over 1%. In North Carolina, Fuller and Orsagh find 1 officially recorded sexual assault over a period of 3 months for a population of 4,495 inmates (1977, the yearly rate would be .08). If estimates of sexual

assault by the wardens of the North Carolina facilities surveyed are used the yearly rate of sexual assault would be .7% for adult facilities and .9% for youth facilities (1979:39). Davis (1971) and his associates interviewed over 3,000 inmates in the Philadelphia Prison System in regard to rapes that might have occurred between June 1966 and the end of July 1968. He estimated that approximately one in every 30 inmates (roughly 3%) passing through the Philadelphia prison system was subjected to an attempted or completed sexual assault (1971:4720-4724). Davis estimated that during the course of his 26 month study 2,000 sexual assaults occurred. However, only 96 incidents were reported to authorities, and of these 96, only 64 were recorded. His data show that much sexual aggression goes unreported and unrecorded (Davis 1971:4747).

The occurrence of sexual pressuring or sexual aggression is much higher than the rate for completed rape. Megargee (1976, cited in Nacci 1978:30) found that about 30% of 398 inmates released from the Federal Correctional Institution at Tallahassee between 1970 and 1972 had been propositioned for sex by other inmates. On the basis of his 4% random sample of inmates in Coxsackie and Attica, Lockwood finds that 28% of the prisoners interviewed had been targets of sexual aggressors at least once in institutional custody (1980:2). When he interviewed a cohort of white inmates (age 16-21) who entered the Coxsackie correctional facility during a 30 day period Lockwood found that 71% of these white prisoners had been targets of sexual aggression at one time during their confinement, (1980:18). Davis estimated that virtually every slightly built man committed by the courts was sexually approached within a day or two after his admission to the Philadelphia Prison system (1971:4720, 4728).

d. Prison Homicide

Sylvester, Reed and Nelson conducted a study of homicides that occurred in 1973 in prisons in the United States housing adult male felons and having populations of 200 or more inmates. They surveyed 170 American correctional institutions and found that 128 homicides had occurred during 1973. Sylvester *et. al.* observe considerable variability across states in rates of prison

homicide: Texas had the lowest rate, .75 homicides per 10,000 inmates and staff; Hawaii had the highest rate, 48 homicides per 10,000 inmates and staff (1978:10). Looking at state correctional facilities, Sylvester *et. al.* report a national inmate homicide victimization rate of 7.44 per 10,000 inmates. Among inmates housed in Federal penitentiaries they find a homicide rate of 5.43 homicides per 10,000 inmates (1977:5). Compared to other states New York has a relatively low rate of inmate homicide. During the period fiscal year 1973 to fiscal year 1979 there were 14 inmates killed by other inmates in the New York State System. This produces a rate of 1.14 homicides per 10,000 inmates per year.<sup>6</sup>

e. Assaults on Staff

A few studies provide information about rates of inmate assaults on officers. When compared to other types of infractions assaults on officers are relatively rare. In their study of disciplinary incidents in two Washington D.C. facilities Brown and Spevacek find that assaults or threats against officers constitute less than 1% of the disciplinary offenses they examined (1971: Table 1). In their study of aggressive incidents<sup>7</sup> in North Carolina facilities Ellis, Grasmick and Gillman report that assaults on staff by inmates constitute less than 5% of all aggressive incidents. If we recall that aggressive transactions are only a small part of the total number of disciplinary incidents the data by Ellis again shows that assaults on staff constitute less than 1% of all disciplinary incidents.

<sup>6</sup> Over this 7 year period the average yearly under custody population was 17,471 inmates. These figures are taken from "Violence Statistics" 1973-1979 Division of Health Services, New York State Department of Correctional Services, Albany, New York.

<sup>7</sup> An aggressive transaction is defined as "any behavior proscribed by prison rules that harms or injures another person" (Ellis *et. al.* 1974:18). This includes assaults on inmates by other inmates and assaults on staff by inmates.

Using information compiled by the New York State Department of Correctional Services it is possible to estimate the likelihood that a correctional officer will be assaulted by an inmate. During the period April 1, 1978 to March 31, 1979 there were 282 assaults on officers reported to the Communication Control Center of the Department of Correctional Services ( Selsky 1979). Inmate assaults on staff or on other inmates that are reported to the main office as Unusual Incidents are as a rule the most serious incidents that occur in the prison facilities. Undoubtedly there are incidents between inmates and staff members that occur during the year that are not recorded as Unusual Incidents. An incident may occur for instance where an inmate acquires an institutional disciplinary report for jostling or interference with an officer which is not reported as an Unusual Incident. Serious assaults are, however, reported as Unusual Incidents, and it is these more serious incidents that we are focusing on here. Based on the number of shifts worked in New York State facilities during the year 1979, on any given shift the chance that a New York State correctional officer will be assaulted by an inmate is about 1 in 5,000 <sup>8</sup>. Given the amount of time an officer spends on his job during the year the likelihood of being assaulted by an inmate is small.

Information about inmate assaults on staff can be looked at in more than one way. There were some 6,960 correctional officers working in New York prisons during the year 1979. Comparing the number of assaults reported between April 1978 and May 1979 (N=282) with the number of correctional officers

<sup>8</sup> During the year January 1, 1979 - December 31, 1979 there were 1,594,840 shifts worked in facilities operated by the State of New York. This includes 1,419,840 regular time shifts. (1,419,840 = an average of 204 regular time shifts per man X 6,960 correctional officers) and 175,122 overtime shifts (1,400,977 overtime hours worked ÷ 8 = 175,122 overtime shifts). Dividing 282 assaults by 1,594,840 shifts worked equals .000176 or 1.7 assaults per 10,000 shifts worked. Figures for shifts worked are taken from the Correction Officer Relief Survey, 1979, NYDOCS. Overtime hours are those for the period March 30, 1978 to April 9, 1979 and are found in the Employee Overtime Report, Division of Budget and Control, NYDOCS.

employed during 1979 (approximately 6,960) we see that 4% of the staff (or 1 in every 25 correctional officers) was assaulted by an inmate <sup>9</sup>. Going a bit further, Selsky, in his study of inmate assaults on correctional officers in New York State facilities found that 71% of all assaults on staff occurred in the following six prisons: Attica, Auburn, Clinton, Eastern, Great Meadow, and Green Haven (Selsky 1979:2). In 1979 these six large facilities employed 2,965 correctional officers, <sup>10</sup> and were the location of 202 reported assaults on correctional officers (Selsky 1979). In these prisons and during the course of a year 7% of the correctional officer staff (or 1 officer in every 14) was involved in an incident where an assault on an officer occurred <sup>11</sup>.

Selsky also points out that 94% of assaults on officers involve only one inmate (1979: Table G). Furthermore, 86% of all incidents involve only one correctional officer. In the large majority of cases assaults on staff by inmates involve one inmate assaulting one officer. Selsky also showed that 93% (N=263) of all assaults occurred in ten New York State facilities <sup>12</sup> that together housed 12,297 inmates as of March 30, 1979. Knowing that most incidents involve one officer and one inmate we can say that no more than 2% of the inmate population in these facilities are involved in assaults on staff members.

<sup>9</sup> Multiplying the rate of assault for one shift (.000176/1 shift) by 229 (total shifts per man per year) we obtain a figure of .04 assaults/229 shifts worked. We can say that about 4% of correctional officers are assaulted per year.

<sup>10</sup> 1979 Correction Officer Relief Survey, New York State Department of Correctional Services.

<sup>11</sup> There were approximately 678,985 shifts worked in these facilities during 1979 (i.e. 2905 officers X 229 shifts worked per man = 678,985). The chance of inmate assault on a staff member in these facilities on any given shift is about 3 in 10,000.

<sup>12</sup> These facilities are Attica, Auburn, Bedford, Clinton, Cossackie, Eastern, Elmira, Fishkill, Great Meadow Green Haven.

## B. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

In this section we consider studies that have examined the association between institutional misconduct and age, ethnicity, and urbanicity. Table II summarizes the statistically significant relationships reported in the studies reviewed.

### 1. A Note on Two Variable Relationships

Most studies present the relation between misconduct and each characteristic taken one at time. Thus, a study may first examine the relation between age and misconduct, then between race and misconduct and so on. There are limitations involved in examining these two-variable relations:

1) It may be that the relation between one variable and misconduct lies behind the relation between a second variable and misconduct. For example, we may find that older inmates violate rules less frequently and we may find that inmates who are married violate rules less frequently. The important fact may be that something about aging reduces infraction rates and older inmates are simply more likely to be married. Studying variables one by one does not enable us to discover such a fact.

2) It may be that two characteristics have an effect on each other in their relation to misconduct. For instance, it may be that inmates who are both young and have been convicted of violent crimes are more aggressive in prison than are either young inmates or inmates convicted of violent crimes considered separately. Again studying variables one by one does not enable us to discover such facts.

3) One never learns how well all of the variables taken together explain the occurrence of misconduct.

There are a variety of statistical techniques that can sometimes overcome these three weaknesses. A few of these techniques have been used in a few studies of misconduct and will be discussed later in the paper. Despite the above three weaknesses, two variable tables are always a first step in such research, because they sort out the relations that need further study from those that do not.

### 2. Age

\* Without doubt the variable that is most consistently found to be related to institutional misconduct is age. In 22 of the 25 separate studies<sup>13</sup> that consider this variable younger inmates show higher rates of institutional misconduct<sup>14</sup>. Three other studies find that age is unrelated to institutional misconduct<sup>15</sup>. There is a consistent decline in

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<sup>13</sup> In his report Flanagan examined both long term and short term prisoners. For our purposes we treat them as two separate study populations. Likewise, Petersilia and Honig conducted research on samples of inmates in three different states (California, Michigan, and Texas). Both in the text and in our summary chart we treat them as three separate study populations.

<sup>14</sup> These studies are: Flanagan 1979: Table 4.7, 4.8, Lockwood 1977: Table 9.3; Petersilia and Honig 1980: 72-75; Jaman 1972: 18, 112; Ellis 1974:28-29; Fuller and Orsagh 1977:41, 46; Davis 1971:4731; E. Johnson 1966:269-271, 276; Wolf, Freinek Shafer 1966:247; Myers and Levy 1978:217; Brown and Spevacek 1971: 52-54; Wolfgang 1961:614-615; Jensen 1977:559-560; Coe 1961: 182-183; Bolte 1978:21; Selsky 1979, 1980; Zink 1958:433; Jaman et. al. 1966:7.

Table II.  
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS  
ASSOCIATED WITH  
INSTITUTIONAL MISCONDUCT<sup>1</sup>

|   | Age, younger more likely to misbehave | Ethnicity, Institutional misconduct | Ethnicity of offenders, Inmate-inmate assault | Ethnicity of offenders, Assaults on staff | Ethnicity of aggressor, Sexual aggression | Urbanicity, inmates residing in more populous areas |  |  |  |  |
|---|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|--|--|--|--|
| Flanagan (short term) (1979) New York       | +1                                    | 0 <sup>2</sup>                      |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Flanagan (long term) (1979) New York        | +                                     | B                                   |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Lockwood (1977) New York                    | +                                     |                                     |   | B   | +   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Petersilia & Honig (1980) California        | +                                     | W                                   |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Petersilia & Honig (1980) Michigan          | +                                     | 0                                   |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Petersilia & Honig (1980) Texas             | +                                     | B                                   |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Jaman (1972) California                     | +                                     | H,B                                 |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Megargee (1979) Florida                     |                                       |                                     |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Ellis et. al. (1974) North Carolina         | +                                     |                                     | 0   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Fuller and Orsagh (1977) North Carolina     | +                                     |                                     | B   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Mueller, Toch, Molof (1965) California      | +                                     |                                     | H   |   | 0   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Edinger (1979) Virginia                     | 0                                     |                                     |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Davis (1971) Philadelphia, PA               | +                                     |                                     |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Unusual incidents (1979-80 NYDOCS)          |                                       |                                     | H   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Bennet (1974, 1976) California, Corrections |                                       |                                     | H   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Jaman et. al. (1966) California             | +                                     |                                     | H,B   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Johnson (1966) Southern State               | +                                     | W                                   |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Wheeler (1961) Western State                |                                       |                                     |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Wolf (1966) Maryland                        | +                                     |                                     |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Myers & Levy (1978) Ohio                    | +                                     | B                                   |   |   | 0   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Brown & Spevacek (1966) Washington D.C.     | +                                     |                                     |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Wolfgang (1961) Pennsylvania                | +                                     | 0                                   |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Shelley & Toch (1962) Michigan              |                                       |                                     |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Jensen (1977) Southern State                | +                                     | W                                   |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Holland & Holt (1980) California            | 0                                     | B                                   |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Coe (1961) Illinois                         | +                                     |                                     |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Bolte (1978) Kansas                         | +                                     | B                                   |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Selsky (1979) (1980) New York (NYDOCS)      | +                                     |                                     |   | B   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Carroll Northwestern state                  |                                       |                                     |   | B   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Callahan (1970) Massachusetts               | 0                                     | 0                                   |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Zink (1958) Delaware                        | +                                     |                                     |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |

<sup>1</sup> A plus (+) is recorded where a positive association is found, a negative sign (-) where a negative association is found, a Zero (0) is recorded where a characteristic is considered and no significant relation was found.

<sup>2</sup> Ethnicity: W=whites significantly more likely to misbehave; B=Blacks significantly more likely, H=Hispanics significantly more likely, 0=No relation between ethnicity and misconduct.

infraction rates as age increases (Petersilia and Honig 1980:75).

<sup>15</sup> Callahan 1970:14; Holland and Holt 1980:54 Edinger 1979: 238-239. Both Megargee (1979) and Edinger (1979) break up the inmate population into ten groups based on the pattern of scores obtained from administering the Minnesota Multi-phasic Personality Inventory to the inmate population. Both Megargee and Edinger are interested in the development and utilization of the MMPI as a classification device for prison population and they do not directly examine the relationship between rule violations and other variables (e.g. age, race). However, Edinger finds differences in rates of institutional misconduct between the MMPI identified groupings (1979:238), and Megargee reports differences in the proportion of inmates in each MMPI grouping who are involved in violent and non violent incidents (1979:169). These MMPI groups can be ranked according to the degree to which their members are involved in rule violative conduct. We take note here of differences in the characteristics of inmates who make up MMPI groupings with high rates of institutional misconduct and those with low rates of institutional misconduct. Edinger did not find age differences across MMPI groups in a sample of prisoners incarcerated at the Petersburg (Virginia) Federal Correctional Institution. Megargee (1979:249) suggests that the range of inmates in this sample may have been too restricted for differences to emerge (ages range from 17--29, mean age 22 years), although Wolf et. al. find substantial differences in offending rates in a Maryland facility for youthful offenders (ages range from 16-26, average age 19). Edinger does find significant age differences between MMPI groupings in a sample of male State prison inmates housed in Alabama prisons where the age range is wider (e. g. range 16 to 66, average 29). We note that the two MMPI groupings that both Edinger and Megargee find to have the lowest involvement in prison rule violations have an average age of about 28 in the Alabama State Prisoner sample (these two groups comprise 51% of the State prisoner sample studied) and two of the MMPI groupings that rank at or next to the bottom ranks in disciplinary adjustment have an average age of around 26. In sum there is some evidence that the influence of age found in other research would emerge in studies using the MMPI if a population with a broader age range were studied.

As an example, data from Flanagan's survey of inmates in New York State facilities is presented below.

Median number of disciplinary infractions per year, by age at admission and time served group <sup>17</sup>:

|                   | Short Term Prisoner Rate |   | Long Term Prisoner Rate |   |
|-------------------|--------------------------|---|-------------------------|---|
| Total             | 2.00 infractions/year    |   | 1.00 infractions/year   |   |
| Age at admission: |                          |   |                         |   |
| less than 22      | 3.43                     | " | 1.48                    | " |
| 22 to 30          | 2.40                     | " | 1.21                    | " |
| 31 to 40          | .92                      | " | .71                     | " |
| 41 or older       | .51                      | " | .43                     | " |

Flanagan's data show that infraction rates consistently decline with age. We see, for instance, that inmates who are under age 22 violate prison rules at a rate that is more than three times that of inmates over age 30. The study of California, Michigan and Texas inmates by Petersilia and Honig shows that misconduct declines with age until age 35 after which the misconduct rate tends to level off (1980: 74-75).

<sup>17</sup> These data are taken from Flanagan 1979, Table 4.9. Short term prisoners refers to a sample of New York State inmates who had served a term of five years or less. Long term prisoners refers to a sample of inmates from New York State facilities who have served more than five years. We note here that inmates serving sentences of more than five years made up only 6.5% of all releases from New York facilities in 1972 and they made up only 3% of all releases in 1978 (see Characteristics of Inmates Discharge 1972, 1978, NYDOCS.)

### 3. Ethnicity

\* Research findings on the relationship between ethnic status and institutional misconduct are mixed. Studies in some states find that whites violate institutional rules at higher rates, other studies report no differences in infraction rates by race, and others find that blacks and/or Hispanics offend at higher rates. Based on research conducted in New York State facilities and on research conducted in a prison population with characteristics similar to those of New York it is our conclusion that in New York State prisons there are no meaningful differences in rates of institutional misconduct by ethnic status. There are, however, two important exceptions to this statement that we know of. First, among inmates who have served more than five years race is associated with institutional misconduct, blacks tend to violate institutional rules at higher rates than do whites. Secondly, when we look at inmate assaults on other inmates we find that Hispanic inmates assault others more frequently than is their representation in the population, whites offend less frequently, and blacks offend at a rate roughly equal to their representation in the total population. At least in New York State prisons blacks are somewhat more likely to assault correctional officers than are white or Hispanic inmates and they are considerably more likely than whites or Hispanic inmates to be found among sexual aggressors. We turn first to studies of institutional misconduct and then move to studies specifically examining assaultive offenses.

#### a. Institutional Misconduct

Studies showing no differences in institutional misconduct by ethnicity.

As mentioned earlier, Flanagan randomly selected inmates from fourteen New York State facilities ranging from maximum security to minimum security. His sample of short term inmates consisted of individuals who had served five years or less in prison; they made up 95% of all releasees at the time of his study. Flanagan applied a statistical technique to his data designed to assess the predictive power of several variables taken together and which assesses the unique impact on institutional infractions of each variable considered (See appendix II). Among short term offenders Flanagan finds that race does make a statistically significant contribution towards explaining institutional misconduct, but, this contribution is so small that it is unimportant (1979: Table 4.12). When a direct measure of associatio

between ethnic status and institutional misconduct is employed, the association between race and institutional misconduct is very weak or none at all (i.e. Pearson  $r=.01$ , 1979: Table 4.12). For this New York State sample knowing an inmate's ethnic status tells us little about how frequently he will violate institutional rules.

Petersilia and Honig drew samples of inmates in California, Michigan and Texas prisons. Like Flanagan they employed statistical procedures designed to assess the ability of background characteristics to explain institutional misconduct. In Michigan, Petersilia and Honig find no significant differences in infraction rates by ethnic status (1980: 72, 76). When the similarities between the Michigan inmate population and the inmate population in New York are considered,<sup>18</sup> the finding in Michigan (a Northern industrialized state) of no differences by ethnic status supports the same showing of no relationship reported by Flanagan for New York State prisons.

Two smaller studies, one conducted by Wolfgang in Pennsylvania (1961: 614) and the other by Callahan in Massachusetts (1970:14) find no differences by ethnic status in institutional misconduct. In a study of inmates housed in a medium security prison in a Southern State, Poole and Regoli find that self-reported institutional misconduct is unrelated to ethnicity (1980:938-939).

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<sup>18</sup> Petersilia and Honig report that blacks constitute 56% of the inmate population in Michigan (1980:70), in Flanagan's New York State sample of short term inmates blacks and other minorities make up 57% of the sample, (1979: Table 4.3; NYDOCS figures show that blacks and Puerto Ricans made up 70% of all inmates released from New York State facilities in 1976 (NYDOCS 1976: 38-39). The average age of the Michigan sample was 26 (Petersilia and Honig 71). The average age at admission for New York State inmates in Flanagan's study was 25 (Flanagan 1979:115). Among the Michigan inmates 50.4% had been convicted of violent crimes (homicide, kidnapping, rape, robbery and aggravated assault, Petersilia and Honig 1980:71), in Flanagan's study 51% of the short term inmates had been convicted of violent crimes (homicide, rape/sexual assault robbery, assault). New York State Departmental figures show that 51% of all 1976 releasees were convicted of violent crimes (homicide, robbery, assault, rape, NYDOCS "Characteristics of Inmates Discharged" 1976:9).

Studies reporting differences in institutional misconduct by ethnicity.

A series of studies on institutional misconduct has been conducted in California prisons. Studies of inmates incarcerated in the early sixties find that black and Latin inmates are more poorly conducted than white inmates, but more recent studies find that blacks are less likely than white or Mexican American inmates to violate institutional rules. In a study of violent prisoners incarcerated in the San Quentin, California Correctional Facility in 1960 Jaman, et. al. report that non-white prisoners were more likely to be involved in violence (1966:7)<sup>19</sup>. In a 1965 study of serious assaults with fists or weapons reported to the California Department of Corrections Central Office, Mueller, Toch, and Molof found that Mexican-American inmates were significantly more frequently involved in assaultive incidents but black inmates were not (1965:4). In her study of 325 male felon new admissions to California prisons in 1964 Jaman finds that black and Mexican-American inmates are significantly more likely than whites to violate institutional rules (1972:18, 110). In another part of this study Jaman looked at 200 inmates re-admitted to prison in 1964 for parole violation and she found that non-white inmates were more likely to violate institutional rules. Jaman, like others, attempted to identify a set of variables that would best explain or account for institutional misconduct. In her regression analysis of the institutional rule violations of newly admitted inmates she finds that race, when considered along with other characteristics of inmates, does not emerge as a characteristic that adds to our ability to explain institutional misconduct.

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<sup>19</sup> For purposes of tracing the history of research findings in California prisons we look at both studies of misconduct and studies of inmate-inmate assault.

Petersilia and Honig (1980) have conducted a more recent study of institutional misconduct in California prisons. They find that black inmates are significantly less likely to violate prison rules than white inmates and that white and Mexican American inmates violate rules at about the same rate. Furthermore in a 1974 report a California Department of Corrections researcher states that "of the assaultive attacks toward either staff or inmates during 1972 in all institutions, 13 percent involved black inmates; yet blacks during that period represented 32 percent of the prison population. This was proportionately less involvement than white inmates and considerably less than Chicano inmates" (Bennett 1974:118). This researcher goes on to observe that the "Chicano segment has consistently over the last several years, been disproportionately represented among those involved in institutional disciplinary incidents of assault. In 1972, they made up nearly 50 percent of those involved in assaults as aggressors while making up only slightly over 16 percent of the prison population" (1974:18-19, also Bennett 1976:160). More recent research then, suggests that in California prisons blacks are less likely than whites or Mexican Americans to violate institutional rules and further that blacks assault others as a rate significantly less than is their representation in the total population. White inmates and Chicano inmates acquire disciplinary infractions at about the same rate (Petersilia and Honig 1980:76), but Chicano inmates are significantly more likely than other inmates to assault others-particularly so in stabbing incidents.

Five studies have found that blacks more frequently violate prison rules. In their survey of Texas inmates, Petersilia and Honig report that black inmates have a significantly higher infraction rate than whites (1980:73, 76). Four smaller studies have found that blacks are more often found among poorly conducted inmates. At a maximum security institution for offenders in the military (Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas) Bolte finds that blacks are over-represented in disciplinary incidents. Two studies employing staff nominations of well and poorly adjusted inmates find that blacks are overrepresented in the poorly adjusted grouping. In the Southern

Ohio Correctional Facility, Myers and Levy find that black inmates make up 61% of the staff nominated poorly adjusted inmates but they make up only 31% of the well adjusted inmates (1978:217). Looking at 293 inmates serving time in a California minimum security facility between 1968-1972 Holland and Holt show that blacks are more likely to be transferred to more secure facilities as a result of disciplinary incidents, though whites are more likely to escape (1980:54).

Three studies find that whites offend at higher rates than blacks. Most recently, Petersilia and Honig report that in their sample of California inmates whites acquire significantly more disciplinary infractions than do blacks (1980:72). Johnson looked at race differences in institutional behavior among a sample of inmates serving terms for felony crimes drawn from the total prisoner population of a Southern State in the year 1962; whites are found to be more likely to evade regulations, to show greater involvement in cursing, insolence, disorderly conduct, property destruction, possession of weapons, and to be more likely to have attempted escape, attacked guards or possessed contraband. Only in theft behavior and fighting with other inmates do blacks show higher rates of offending than do whites (Johnson 1966:272-273, 277). In a small study of a women's prison in a South Eastern State, Jensen, relying on self-reported rule violations, finds that whites are slightly more likely to have violated rules than blacks (1977:566).

b. Long Termers

As suggested earlier, there is evidence in the literature that among inmates serving long-term sentences and among inmates who are older than the average age of the inmate population blacks are more likely to violate institutional rules. In his sample of inmates serving long term sentences (more than 5 years) Flanagan finds that race is the most important predictor of disciplinary infractions (1979: Table 4:12, Pearson's  $r=.22$ ).

Flanagan also shows that long term inmates are significantly older when admitted than short term inmates (1979: Table 4.3) and that while long term inmates violate institutional rules less frequently than do short term inmates (those serving terms of five years or less ) they are more likely to commit more serious types of disciplinary infractions (assault, contraband, interference with an employee) when they do offend (Flanagan 1979: Table 4.10)<sup>20</sup>. A study in a Southern Ohio facility conducted by Myers and Levy can be considered a study of long term prisoners. The average age for the staff nominated well adjusted group is 41 and for the poorly adjusted group 36. Further, inmates in the well adjusted group have served an average of five years on the present conviction, inmates in the poorly adjusted group an average of 7 years on the present conviction. In this study by Myers and Levy and in the sample of long term inmates surveyed by Flanagan black inmates more frequently violate institutional rules. Since long term prisoners account for only about 5% of all inmates released from custody in New York State prison the overrepresentation of blacks among rule violators in this group would have only a slight, if any, impact on population-wide rates. Wolfgang's study of persons incarcerated for homicide in a Pennsylvania prison may be considered a study of long-termers as well. He finds no differences in institutional adjustment by ethnic status for inmates serving terms for homicide (1961).

c. Assaultive Incidents

A few studies have focussed on assaultive types of behavior rather than on the more general category of disciplinary infractions. Looking across these studies we again find mixed results.

<sup>20</sup> Recently compiled figures for the New York State system show that inmates who have served more than 5 years make up 7% of the under-custody population but they represent 11% of inmates involved in assaults on staff (See "Inmates Involved in Assaults on Staff" NYDOCS, 1981).

For New York state prisons we find evidence that blacks are more likely to be aggressors in incidents of sexual aggression and they are more likely than white or Latin inmates to assault staff.

As mentioned earlier Jaman found that among inmates housed at the San Quentin California prison in 1960 non-whites were more likely to be involved in violent incidents (1966:7). Another California study conducted by Mueller *et. al.* in 1965 found that Hispanic (but not black) inmates are more frequently represented among aggressors in violent incidents than was their representation in the population (1965:4). More recent studies show that in California prisons Hispanic inmates are more likely to be involved in assaultive incidents than either black or white inmates (Bennett 1974:18-19, 1976:160). Recent research in California prisons show that blacks are less likely than is their representation in the population to assault other inmates (Bennett 1974:18, 1976:160).

The breakdown by ethnicity of inmates who assaulted other inmates or staff during 1972 in California prisons was as follows:

| <u>Ethnicity</u> | <u>Assaultive Inmates</u> | <u>Total Population</u> <sup>A</sup> |
|------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Black            | 13%                       | 32%                                  |
| White/other      | 37%                       | 52%                                  |
| Hispanic         | 50%                       | 16%                                  |

<sup>A</sup> These data are taken from "Crime and Violence On the Streets and in the Prisons" by L. A. Bennett, California Department of Correction, January 1974 p. 18-19. He reports rates for blacks and Hispanics; we obtained the percentage for white/other by subtraction

Available data on inmate-inmate assaults in New York State prisons tends to support findings in California that Hispanic inmates are more frequently involved in assaultive incidents. There were 154 cases of inmate assault on another inmate reported to the New York State Department of Corrections Central Office as an Unusual Incident and for which the ethnicity of both the assailant and victim are known (in 50 cases the assailant was

unknown or not recorded as an assailant). The proportion of assailants by ethnic status for these 154 incidents is as follows:

| <u>Ethnicity</u>    | <u>Assaultive Inmates</u> | <u>Total Population</u> <sup>A</sup> |
|---------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Black               | 49%                       | 53%                                  |
| White               | 18%                       | 27%                                  |
| Hispanic            | 33%                       | 19%                                  |
| Number of incidents |                           | 154                                  |

<sup>A</sup> Unusual Incidents, Summary Report, September 1979 to October 1980, NYDOCS, p. 3-6.

As was the case in California, Hispanic inmates more frequently assault other inmates, black and white inmates are less likely to assault other inmates. Going further we can compare the ethnicity of assailants and victims.

| <u>Race of Victim</u> | <u>Race of Assailant</u> <sup>A</sup> |              |                 |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
|                       | <u>Black</u>                          | <u>White</u> | <u>Hispanic</u> |
| Black                 | 76%                                   | 46%          | 44%             |
| White                 | 17%                                   | 43%          | 24%             |
| Hispanic              | 7%                                    | 10%          | 32%             |
| Total                 | 100%                                  | 100%         | 100%            |
| Number of cases (76)  |                                       | (28)         | (50)            |

<sup>A</sup> "Unusual Incidents" Summary Report, September 1979-October 1980 NYDOCS p. 3-6.

These Unusual Incident Reports data show that black inmates tend to assault other blacks, whites tend to assault both black and white inmates, and Hispanics tend to assault black, white, and other Hispanic inmates.

Two studies have been conducted on assaultive behavior in North Carolina prisons. In a study of aggressive transactions

that occurred in 55 North Carolina facilities during the first four months of 1971, Ellis, Grasmick and Gillman find no differences between blacks and whites in rates of "aggressive transactions" (i.e. any behavior proscribed by prison rules that harms or injures another person; Ellis *et. al.* 1974:18, 30). In a study of assaultive incidents occurring over a 3 month period in 1975 in 10 North Carolina prisons Fuller and Orsagh find that blacks assault other inmates at a rate that is somewhat higher (4.4%) than that for whites (3.3%).

d. Sexual Aggression

In his study of prison sexual aggression in 3 New York state prisons Lockwood found that blacks constituted 50% of the population in the prisons studied, but they made up 78% of the aggressor group. Whites made up 38% of the prison population but only 13% of the aggressor group. Hispanics make up 11% of the population and 9% of the aggressor group (Lockwood 1977: Table 9.4). Blacks are, then, overrepresented among prison sexual aggressors in the New York prisons in Lockwood's study (Attica, Auburn, Coxsackie). Carroll (1977) spent 15 months as a participant observer in a maximum security institution in an eastern state. He reports that blacks constitute 22% of the average daily population but that "75% or more of (sexual) assaults involve black aggressors and white victims" (1977:420). Davis conducted a very large study of sexual assault in the Philadelphia prison system. Some 3,000 inmates and 500 staff members in Philadelphia facilities were interviewed. Davis reports that blacks make up 80% of the inmate population and that in cases of sexual assault where both the victim and offender are known, blacks are aggressors 84% of the time (1971:4731, 4732). Four studies show that prison sexual aggressors tend to be black and victims of sexual aggression tend to be white (Lockwood 1977, Carol (1977), Davis (1971), Bartollas, Miller and Simon (1976).

e. Assaults on Staff

Using assaults on staff that were reported to the Central Office as Unusual Incidents, Selsky looked at characteristics of inmates who had assaulted correctional officer in New York State prison. Selsky observes that blacks are more heavily represented among inmates who have assaulted officers than is their representation in the total inmate population. The following figures are reported for 1978-1979, and 1979-1980.

| <u>Ethnicity</u> | <u>Assaultive Inmates<sup>A</sup></u> | <u>Total Population</u> |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| White            | 13%                                   | 26%                     |
| Black            | 68%                                   | 54%                     |
| Hispanic         | 20%                                   | 20%                     |

Total number of incidents 256

For April 1979 to March 1980

| <u>Ethnicity</u> | <u>Assaultive Inmates<sup>B</sup></u> | <u>Total Population</u> |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| White            | 13%                                   | 27%                     |
| Black            | 65%                                   | 53%                     |
| Hispanic         | 22%                                   | 20%                     |

Total number of incidents 334

<sup>A</sup> Data are taken from "Assaults on Correctional Employees" April 1, 1978 - March 31, 1979 NYDOCS 1979.

<sup>B</sup> For the period (April 1, 1979 to March 31, 1980)

f. Summary

In summation, we find that with respect to disciplinary infractions whites offend more frequently in some state prison systems, blacks offend more frequently in others, and in some states there is no relationship between ethnicity and infraction rates. At least for New York State our conclusion is that there

are no meaningful differences in rates of disciplinary infractions by ethnic status. We have found some evidence that among inmates serving long term sentences race is related to institutional rule violations; blacks are found to offend more often. However, since long-term inmates constitute 5% or less of the inmate population in New York State any racial disproportionality in offending rates would have slight or no impact on total population rates.

Recent studies in California prisons show that Hispanic inmates more so than whites or blacks are among those who have assaulted other staff or inmates. Data from Unusual Incident Reports show that in New York Hispanics are more likely to assault other inmates, whites are less likely to assault other inmates, and blacks offend at a rate roughly equal to their representation in the population. One study of assaultive incidents in North Carolina prisons finds no differences in rates of assault by ethnicity (Ellis *et. al.* 1974), a second finds that blacks have a higher assault rate (Fuller and Orsagh 1977). Using Unusual Incidents as a data base, in New York State prisons blacks are overrepresented among inmates who assault staff (Selsky 1979, 1980). In New York State prisons and elsewhere blacks are more frequently aggressors in incidents of sexual assault or sexual pressuring (Lockwood 1977: Table 9.4).

4. Urbanicity

Two studies show that poorly conducted inmates are somewhat more likely than other inmates to live in more highly populated areas.

Four studies have considered urban-rural differences in rates of institutional misconduct. In two studies a significant relationship is shown, urban inmates violate rules more frequently than do rural inmates. In two other studies no significant association is reported. In his New York State study Lockwood shows that 67% of prison sexual aggressors resided in cities with over 500,000 population, this compared with 53% of the comparison

group (1977: Table 4.6). Jensen reports that among female inmates housed in a women's prison in a southern state those who had spent most of their lives in urban areas in contrast to small towns or rural areas were more likely to have broken rules (1977:561, 566). In Ohio, Myers and Levy report that more of the poorly adjusted inmates were reared in urban environments, but differences were not statistically significant (1978:219).

In a California study of violence in prison Mueller, et. al. show that prison aggressors are drawn from counties with large urban populations at the same rate as is the total population of inmates (1965:Table 93). That is, inmates from counties with large urban populations are no more likely to assault others than are inmates from less populous counties.

C. SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

Under this category we look at the relationship between institutional misconduct and: marital status, home life conditions, job stability, military history, educational achievement, alcohol or drug use, and residential mobility. Again, Table III presents a summary of the associations reported in the studies reviewed here.

1. Marital Status

\* Eight out of ten studies find that inmates who have never been married are more likely to commit prison infractions than are inmates who are currently married or who have at some time in the past been married. Two studies find no significant relationship between marital status and prison misconduct.

Table III.  
SOCIAL FACTORS  
ASSOCIATED WITH  
INSTITUTIONAL  
MISCONDUCT

|  | Marital Status,<br>Never Married | Poor home life<br>conditions | Unstable job history,<br>or, unemployed prior<br>to arrest | Served a tour in the<br>military | General or Honorable<br>military discharge | Higher school grade<br>level achieved | Alcohol use | Drug use | More frequent<br>residential moves |
|--|----------------------------------|------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|-------------|----------|------------------------------------|
| Flanagan (short term)<br>(1979) New York       | +1                               | +                            |  |                                  | 0  | +                                     | +           |          |                                    |
| Flanagan (long term)<br>(1979) New York        | +                                | +                            |  |                                  | 0  | -                                     | 0           |          |                                    |
| Lockwood (1977)<br>New York                    |                                  | +                            | +  |                                  | 0  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Petersilia & Honig<br>(1980) California        |                                  |                              |  |                                  |  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Petersilia & Honig<br>(1980) Michigan          |                                  |                              |  |                                  |  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Petersilia & Honig<br>(1980) Texas             |                                  |                              |  |                                  |  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Jaman (1972)<br>California                     | +                                | +                            |  | 0                                | 0  | 0                                     | 0           | 0        |                                    |
| Megargee (1979)<br>Florida                     |                                  | +                            | +  |                                  | 0  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Ellis et. al. (1974)<br>North Carolina         |                                  |                              |  |                                  |  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Fuller and Orsagh<br>(1977) North Carolina     |                                  |                              |  |                                  |  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Mueller, Toch, Molof<br>(1965) California      |                                  |                              |  |                                  |  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Edinger (1979)<br>Virginia                     |                                  |                              |  |                                  |  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Davis (1971)<br>Philadelphia, PA               |                                  |                              |  |                                  |  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Unusual incidents<br>(1979-80 NYDOCS)          |                                  |                              |  |                                  |  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Bennet (1974, 1976)<br>California, Corrections |                                  |                              |  |                                  |  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Jaman et. al.<br>(1966) California             | 0                                | +                            | 0  |                                  | 0  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Johnson (1966)<br>Southern State               |                                  |                              |  |                                  |  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Wheeler (1961)<br>Western State                |                                  |                              |  |                                  |  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Wolf (1966)<br>Maryland                        |                                  |                              |  |                                  |  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Myers & Levy (1978)<br>Ohio                    | +                                | 0                            | +  | +                                | 0  | -                                     |             |          |                                    |
| Brown & Spevacek (1966)<br>Washington D.C.     | 0                                |                              |  |                                  | 0  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Wolfgang (1961)<br>Pennsylvania                | +                                |                              |  |                                  |  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Shelley & Toch (1962)<br>Michigan              |                                  |                              |  |                                  |  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Jensen (1977)<br>Southern State                | +                                |                              |  |                                  | 0  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Holland & Holt (1980)<br>California            |                                  |                              |  |                                  |  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Coe (1961)<br>Illinois                         | +                                | +                            |  |                                  | 0  | 0                                     | 0           |          | +                                  |
| Bolte (1978)<br>Kansas                         |                                  |                              |  |                                  | 0  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Selsky (1979) (1980)<br>New York (NYDOCS)      |                                  |                              |  |                                  |  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Carroll (1977)<br>Northwestern state           |                                  |                              |  |                                  |  |                                       |             |          |                                    |
| Callahan (1970)<br>Massachusetts               | +                                |                              | +  |                                  | 0  | 0                                     |             |          |                                    |
| Zink (1958)<br>Delaware                        |                                  | 0                            |  |                                  |  | 0                                     |             |          |                                    |

1 A plus (+) is recorded where a positive association is found, a negative sign (-) where a negative association is found, a zero(0) is recorded where a characteristic is considered and no significant relation was found.

Ten studies consider the relationship between marital status and institutional misconduct. Most of these studies compare inmates who have never been married with inmates who are now married or who have been married at some time in the past (i.e. they are now separated, divorced or widowed). In eight of these ten studies inmates who have never been married violated prison rules at statistically significantly higher levels <sup>21</sup>. For example, among staff nominated well adjusted inmates the percentage who had ever been married is found by Myers and Levy to be 59%, by Coe 63%, and by Wolfgang 72%. In comparison, among poorly adjusted inmates the percentage who have ever been married is found by Myers and Levy to be 33%, by Coe 39% and by Wolfgang 28%.

In Washington D.C., Brown and Spevacek report finding no differences in violation rates according to marital status, but they present no information on how marital status was broken down (1971). Megargee finds no significant differences in marital status across the groups of inmates he categorized by using the MMPI. He does, however, find that those inmate groupings with the highest violation rates are more likely to have had marital problems than inmates in groupings with comparatively low institutional violation rates (1979:154). Jaman (1966:4) finds marital status at admission unpredictable of prison violence.

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<sup>21</sup> These studies are Myers and Levy 1978; Jensen 1977:561, 564; Coe 1961:183; Wolfgang 1961:615; Jaman 1972:18, 112; Callahan 1970:14, when the table in Callahan's report is redrawn into categories of single and ever married the data show a statistically significant difference, Chi-Square=5.33 p.<.05. Flanagan finds that among long-term inmates marital status follows race as a predictor of institutional misconduct (married less likely to violate). Among short term inmates married men are less likely to violate prison rules but this variable does not emerge as an important predictor for inmates serving less than five years.

It should be pointed out that marital status is associated with age. Younger inmates are less likely than older inmates to be married (Flanagan 1979, Jenson 1977). The relationship between marital status and misconduct may be partly accounted for by the fact that inmates who have never been married tend to be younger than other inmates, and younger inmates violate rules considerably more often than do older inmates.

## 2. Family Background

\* The findings with respect to family life variables are mixed: four studies find that inmates whose homes were broken more frequently violate rules, two studies do not. Likewise, some work suggests that a poor relationship between parent and child is related to institutional misconduct; other research finds no relationship.

Examination of the relationship between family background variables and institutional rule violations produces mixed results. A study of youthful offenders in a federal facility shows that groups of inmates (categorized through the use of the MMPI, see note 15) with the highest rates of institutional misconduct are also groups whose members more frequently come from families characterized by incohesiveness, unavailability of the father as a role model, poor parental nurturance, poor parental discipline, and greater parent-child tension (Megargee 1979:158). MMPI groups with the highest proportion of poorly adjusted inmates in Megargee's study more often came from homes that were economically disadvantaged and in which the conditions of the household were poor. In an Illinois study Coe reports that poorly adjusted inmates are more likely to come from homes where the economic conditions are poorer (1961). In New York State, Lockwood reports that sexual aggressors more frequently experience broken homes during childhood (80%) than do non-aggressor inmates (66%) (1977:Table 9:13).

Jaman (1966) found that aggressive inmates housed in San Quentin during 1960 more frequently lived in homes broken by divorce or desertion and in homes where the father figure was absent, alcoholic, abusive or had a history of criminal involvement (1966:1-4). She finds, however, that a set of other family variables fail to differentiate aggressive from non-aggressive inmates, these include: hostility towards or rejection of parents, type of parental supervision and family criminal history (1966:4). Studies in Delaware (Zink 1958) and Ohio (Myers and Levy 1978:219) do not find differences between well and poorly conducted inmates on such variables as broken home, relatives with criminal histories, occupational status of the head of the household, number of siblings or family socioeconomic status.

### 3. Job Stability

\* All seven studies of job stability find that inmates with greater job stability tend to violate institutional rules less frequently.

Studies indicate that inmates who have had more success in holding a job on the outside are less likely to violate prison rules. Investigators in California (Jaman 1972, 111) and in Massachusetts (Callahan 1970:4, 14) find that inmates who have worked continuously at one job for either six months or one year are less likely to violate institutional rules than inmates who have been unable to hold at least one job for these time periods. In New York State Lockwood (1977: Table 9:12) reports that 82% of aggressors had no occupation or were students compared to 52% of the comparison group of non-aggressors, and Flanagan shows that poorly conducted inmates are less likely to have been employed during the month prior to arrest than are other inmates (1979: Tables 4:11, 4:12.). Two other researchers find that poorly adjusted

inmates had difficulty in adjusting to work situations in jobs on the outside (Myers and Levy 1978: 219, Megargee 1979: 159).

### 4. Military History

\* Three studies find that type of military discharge is unrelated to institutional misconduct. However one study suggests that those who served a tour in the service are less likely than those who have not served a tour to violate institutional rules.

The type of military discharge (e.g. honorable, not honorable) does not discriminate poorly conducted prisoners (Jaman 1972:111, Coe 1961:182, Callahan 1970:14). Nor does the median number of months in the military (Myers and Levy 1978:219).

There is, however, some evidence that inmates who have served in the armed forces are somewhat less likely to be found among poorly adjusted inmates. Myers and Levy report that among poorly conducted inmates 16% have been in the military while 39% of the well adjusted inmates have been in the service (1978:219, Jaman 1972:111 appears to show the same result). Jaman (1966) finds no differences in prison aggressive behavior by military service.

### 5. Educational Achievement

\* Thirteen studies relate school grade level achieved to institutional misconduct; all find no relation.

Thirteen studies have examined the relationship between grade level achieved and institutional adjustment. Without exception these studies show that grade level achieved bears no relationship

to rule infractions in the prison <sup>22</sup>. However, Megargee's data shows that those MMPI groups which had the highest rates of institutional misconduct contain the highest number of inmates who have had problems in school (1979:159). While grade level achieved may be unrelated to institutional misconduct, having been a disciplinary problem in the school system may not be. We have come across no data that directly assess this possibility.

6. Drug or Alcohol Use

\* New York State short-term inmates who have used drugs prior to incarceration are more frequently misconducted. N.Y. long-term inmates and a California population of inmates show no relationship.

Two studies find that alcohol use is unrelated to misconduct, two find that inmates with alcohol-related problems are less likely to violate institutional rules, one study finds that inmates with alcohol related problems are more likely to be misconducted.

There are three studies of the relation between drug abuse and institutional misconduct. Among New York State short-termers use of drugs prior to incarceration is associated with misconduct in the prison. In his effort to predict disciplinary infractions committed by New York State inmates with a range of pre-incarceration variables Flanagan finds that age at admission and drug use (user more likely to offend) do most of the work in explaining prison misconduct that pre-incarceration variables are able to do <sup>23</sup> (Flanagan 1979:145, Table 4.11).

<sup>22</sup> Flanagan 1979: Table 4.11, 4.12; Lockwood 1977: Table 9.11, Jaman 1972:110; Megargee 1979:155-157; Jaman et. al. 1966:4; Myers and Levy 1978:219; Brown and Spevacek 1975:52, 54; Jensen 1977:561; Coe 1960, 1961:162; Bolte 1978:21; Callahan 1970:14; Zink 1958:433.

<sup>23</sup> Age at admission accounts for 9.5% of the variation in disciplinary infractions in Flanagan's sample of short term inmates. Drug use accounts for 4.4%. All of the pre-incarceration variables taken together account for only 18% of the variation in rule infractions (Flanagan 1979: Table 4.11).

Jaman (1972:111), on the other hand, finds no relation between drug use history and institutional adjustment; and neither does Flanagan among long-termers.

The findings with respect to alcohol use are mixed. Among short-termers Flanagan finds a slight positive relation between alcohol use and prison misconduct. Jaman (1972:112) and Coe (1961:182) find no relation between patterns of alcohol use and institutional misconduct. Among long-term inmates both Flanagan (1979: Table 2.12) and Myers and Levy (1978:224) find that inmates who have had a history of alcohol use are less likely to violate institutional rules.

Again, we note that age is related to both drug use and alcohol use. Younger inmates are more likely to have used drugs prior to incarceration. It may be that something about drug use on the outside influences the likelihood of institutional misconduct. Or, it may be that drug use has no effect on misconduct, that age is the crucial factor, and it is simply the case that younger inmates are more likely to use drugs. A third possibility is that both age and drug use contribute to the likelihood of violating prison rules.

7. Residential Mobility

In his study of institutional misconduct in an Illinois prison, Coe reports that "over half (53%) of the well adjusted inmates had resided in the same community most of their lives compared to only 24% of the poorly adjusted men (1961:183). Jaman (1975:112) finds no relationship between length of residence in the state and institutional misconduct.

D. CRIMINAL JUSTICE HISTORY CHARACTERISTICS

In this section we look at the relationship between institutional misconduct and various aspects of the criminal justice system history of the inmate. Table IV summarizes the relationships reported in the studies reviewed.

Table IV.  
CRIMINAL JUSTICE  
SYSTEM FACTORS ASSOCIATED  
WITH INSTITUTIONAL  
MISCONDUCT<sup>1</sup>

|   | More frequent police contacts as a juvenile | Convictions as a juvenile | Convictions for violent offenses as a juvenile | Commitment to an institution as a juvenile | Younger in age at first police/court contact | Age at first Adult Commitment | Higher number of adult prior arrests/conviction | Served a prior prison term | Commitment Offense Type |
|---|---|---------------------------|--|--|--|-------------------------------|---|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| Flanagan (short term) (1979) New York       |   |                           |  |  |  |                               | +   | +                          |                         |
| Flanagan (long term) (1979) New York        |   |                           |  |  |  |                               | +   |                            |                         |
| Lockwood (1977) New York                    |   |                           | +  |  |  |                               | 0   |                            |                         |
| Petersilia & Honig (1980) California        | 0   |                           |  | 0  |  | 0 <sup>3</sup>                |   | 0                          |                         |
| Petersilia & Honig (1980) Michigan          | 0   |                           |  | 0  |  | 0                             |   | +                          |                         |
| Petersilia & Honig (1980) Texas             | 0   |                           |  | 0  |  | +                             |   | 0                          |                         |
| Jaman (1972) California                     |   | +                         | +2   | +  | -  | 0                             | -   | +                          |                         |
| M. gargee (1979) Florida                    |   |                           |  |  |  |                               |   |                            |                         |
| Ellis et. al. (1974) North Carolina         |   |                           |  |  |  |                               |   |                            |                         |
| Fuller and Orsagh (1977) North Carolina     |   |                           |  |  |  |                               |   |                            |                         |
| Mueller, Toch, Molof (1965) California      |   | +                         |  |  |  |                               |   |                            |                         |
| Edinger (1979) Virginia                     |   |                           |  |  |  |                               |   |                            |                         |
| Davis (1971) Philadelphia, PA               |   |                           |  |  |  |                               |   |                            |                         |
| Unusual incidents (1979-80 NYDOCS)          |   |                           |  |  |  |                               |   |                            |                         |
| Bennet (1974, 1976) California, Corrections |   |                           |  |  |  |                               |   |                            |                         |
| Jaman et. al. (1966) California             |   |                           |  |  |  |                               | +   | 0                          |                         |
| Johnson (1966) Southern State               |   |                           |  |  |  |                               | +   |                            |                         |
| Wheeler (1961) Western State                |   |                           |  |  |  |                               |   |                            |                         |
| Wolf (1966) Maryland                        |   |                           |  |  |  |                               |   |                            |                         |
| Myers & Levy (1978) Ohio                    | +   | +                         | +  | +  | -  |                               |   | 0                          |                         |
| Brown & Spevacek (1966) Washington D.C.     |   | -                         |  | 0  | 0  | 0                             | 0   |                            |                         |
| Wolfgang (1961) Pennsylvania                |   |                           |  |  |  |                               | -   |                            |                         |
| Shelley & Toch (1962) Michigan              |   |                           |  |  |  |                               |   |                            |                         |
| Jensen (1977) Southern State                |   |                           |  |  |  |                               |   |                            |                         |
| Holland & Holt (1980) California            |   |                           |  |  |  |                               | 0   |                            |                         |
| Coe (1961) Illinois                         |   |                           | 0  | +  |  | 0                             | +   |                            |                         |
| Boite (1978) Kansas                         |   |                           |  |  |  |                               |   | +                          |                         |
| Selsky (1979) (1980) New York (NYDOCS)      |   |                           |  |  |  |                               |   |                            |                         |
| Carroll Northwestern state                  |   |                           |  |  |  |                               |   |                            |                         |
| Callahan (1970) Massachusetts               |   |                           | 0  | +  |  | 0                             | +   |                            |                         |
| Zink (1958) Delaware                        |   |                           |  | +  |  |                               |   |                            |                         |

<sup>1</sup> A plus (+) is recorded where a positive association is found, a negative sign (-) where a negative association is found, a Zero (0) is recorded where a characteristic is considered and no significant relation was found.  
<sup>2</sup> Juveniles on parole from a state institution offended more frequently than those who had been committed as a juvenile but not paroled or those who had never been committed.  
<sup>3</sup> Petersilia and Honig examined the number of convictions for Serious offenses in California, Michigan and Texas.

Table IV.  
CRIMINAL JUSTICE  
SYSTEM FACTORS ASSOCIATED  
WITH INSTITUTIONAL  
MISCONDUCT<sup>1</sup>  
(cont'd)

|   | Commitment Offense Type and Assaultive Misconduct | Violent behavior in prior convictions | Longer court mandated minimum sentence | Longer court mandated maximum sentence | Longer actual time served |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---------------------------------------|--|--|---------------------------|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Flanagan (short term) (1979) New York       |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Flanagan (long term) (1979) New York        |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Lockwood (1977) New York                    | +   | 0                                     |  | -                                      |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Petersilia & Honig (1980) California        |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Petersilia & Honig (1980) Michigan          |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Petersilia & Honig (1980) Texas             |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Jaman (1972) California                     |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Megargee (1979) Florida                     |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ellis et. al. (1974) North Carolina         | 0   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Fuller and Orsagh (1977) North Carolina     |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mueller, Toch, Molof (1965) California      | +2  | +                                     |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Edinger (1979) Virginia                     |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Davis (1971) Philadelphia, PA               | +   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unusual incidents (1979-80 NYDOCS)          |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Bennet (1974, 1976) California, Corrections |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Jaman et. al. (1966) California             | 0   | 0                                     |  | 0                                      |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Johnson (1966) Southern State               |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Wheeler (1961) Western State                |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Wolf (1966) Maryland                        |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Myers & Levy (1978) Ohio                    |   |                                       | 0                                      |  |                           |  |  | + |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Brown & Spevacek (1966) Washington D.C.     |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Wolfgang (1961) Pennsylvania                |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Shelley & Toch (1962) Michigan              |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Jensen (1977) Southern State                |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Holland & Holt (1980) California            |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Coe (1961) Illinois                         |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boite (1978) Kansas                         |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Selsky (1979) (1980) New York (NYDOCS)      | +   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Carroll Northwestern state                  |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Callahan (1970) Massachusetts               |   |                                       | 0                                      |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Zink (1958) Delaware                        |   |                                       |  |  |                           |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

<sup>1</sup> A plus (+) is recorded where a positive association is found, a negative sign (-) where a negative association is found, a zero (0) is recorded where a characteristic is considered and no significant relation was found.  
<sup>2</sup> Mueller, Toch, & Molof find that inmates convicted of assault and theft offenses more frequently assaulted other than did inmates convicted for homicide, robbery, burglary, forgery, sex, narcotics and other offenses (1965:Table 9.b).

1. Juvenile Justice Record

\* The one study that looked at the association between police contacts as a juvenile and institutional misconduct found that poorly conducted inmates had a higher number of police contacts as a juvenile.

One study finds that number of convictions as a juvenile in positively related to misconduct, one finds it is negatively related, and three studies find no relation. Two studies find that inmates with a conviction for a violent offense as a juvenile tend to violate institutional rules more frequently.

Three studies show that inmates who were incarcerated as juveniles were more frequently misconducted; two studies found no relation.

Several studies have compared the juvenile justice record with institutional misconduct while incarcerated as an adult. There are reported findings on the following factors: police contacts, convictions, and commitments.

a. Juvenile Police Contacts

There is one study that relates juvenile police contacts to institutional misconduct. Myers and Levy observe that poorly conducted inmates had a higher number of police contacts as juveniles than did well conducted inmates (1978: 220).

b. Juvenile Convictions

Several studies compare convictions as a juvenile with prison misconduct <sup>24</sup>. There is some disagreement in their results. In their study at a Southern Ohio facility Myers and Levy observe that "two-thirds of the intractable group were convicted of a crime while under the age of eighteen, whereas only one-third of the tractable inmates were convicted before age eighteen" (1978:219). In a study of California admissions, Jaman shows that inmates who have committed a violent juvenile offense are more likely to commit prison disciplinary infrac-

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24 In this section we look at both convictions as a juvenile and convictions for violent offenses as a juvenile.

tions than are inmates who have either no record of juvenile offenses or a record of non-violent offenses (1972:110). In a study of assaultive incidents committed by inmates housed in California prisons during 1963-1964 Mueller, Toch and Molof report that assaultive inmates committed to California Youth Authority institutions "have especially striking prior violent histories" (1965-6). At odds with these results, a study of two Washington D.C. facilities found that high rate offenders in the prison has significantly fewer juvenile offenses (Brown and Spevacek 1971, 54).

As is the case with many variables that are associated with prison misconduct, when considered in conjunction with other variables the impact of juvenile commitments on prison misconduct is negligible. In their attempt to explain prison misconduct with multiple regression techniques Petersilia and Honig find that having acquired a criminal record as a juvenile does not make a significant contribution towards explaining prison misconduct when its effects are considered in conjunction with other variables (1980:72).

c. Juvenile Commitments

The evidence here suggests that inmates who were incarcerated as juveniles tend to be more poorly conducted in prison. Data in Jaman's study of California admissions show that inmates who had been paroled from a state juvenile institution had committed significantly more infractions as an adult than those inmates who were not incarcerated as a juvenile or who had been incarcerated in, but not paroled from, a juvenile institution. In his study of sexual aggression in New York State prisons Lockwood shows that 53% of the aggressor group had been incarcerated as a juvenile compared to only 29% for the comparison group (1977:Table 9.15A). Myers and Levy write that of those poorly conducted inmates "who were detained as juveniles, about 89% were disciplinary problems when incarcerated as an adult" (1978:220). Two smaller studies, Coe (1961:182) and Callahan (1970:15) find that number of prior incarcerations as a juvenile is unrelated to prison misconduct.

## 2. Age at First Police Court Contact

\* Overall, research studies show that poorly conducted inmates had police or court contact at an earlier age than did other inmates.

The evidence suggests that poorly conducted inmates have contact with the police and with the courts at an earlier age than do other inmates. Research studies in Ohio (Myers and Levy 1978:219), Massachusetts (Callahan 1970:6,14), Delaware (Zink 1958:433), Illinois (Coe 1961:183), and California (Jaman et. al. 1966:29) find that poorly conducted inmates have been arrested for the first time at significantly younger ages (ranging in these studies from 2 years younger on the average to 5 years younger on the average). In four studies (Brown and Spevacek 1971:52; Petersilia and Honig 1980- California, Michigan, and Texas) age at first arrest was not related to institutional adjustment.

Again, though a bivariate relationship is reported in several instances, studies that consider the relative influence of several variables taken together find that age at first arrest does not emerge as a statistically significant predictor of prison misconduct (Petersilia and Honig 1980:72, Jaman 1972:17-22, Myers and Levy 223-225).

## 3. Age at First Adult Commitment

\* Two of three studies find that poorly conducted inmates tend to be younger in age at the first adult commitment. (Myers and Levy 1972:220, Jaman 1972:112), though Brown and Spevacek find no significant association (1971:52). The reader is reminded of the very strong association between age at admission and institutional misconduct reported earlier.

## 4. Adult Prior Arrest

\* Frequency of arrest as an adult does not appear to be related to institutional misconduct.

The number of times a person has been arrested as an adult is found to be either unrelated or weakly related to prison misconduct. Research efforts in California (Jaman 1972:111), Illinois (Coe 1961:182), Washington D.C. (Brown and Spevacek 1971:52) and Massachusetts (Callahan 1970:6) find that frequency of prior arrests is not related to institutional misconduct. In their multivariate analysis of prison misconduct in three states Petersilia and Honig find that number of serious convictions does not make a statistically significant contribution towards explaining institutional misconduct in California or Michigan, it does contribute significantly for Texas inmates however. In New York State, Flanagan finds that number of prior arrests is slightly positively related to institutional misconduct ( $r=.11$ , 1979:Table 4.11, 4.12).

## 5. Adult Prior Commitments

\* Adult prior commitment is another category in which the results from research studies are mixed. Some studies find

that inmates with prior prison terms are more poorly conducted than other inmates, others find that inmates without prior prison terms are more poorly conducted.

We look first at reports that show a positive association between prior prison terms and institutional adjustment. A study of felon inmates housed in a southern state in 1962 shows that inmates who have served at least two previous sentences are significantly more likely to violate institutional rules (Johnson 1966:272, 276, 280-281). In her examination of the characteristics of violent inmates housed in a California prison during 1960, Jaman (1966:28) finds that inmates who have served more than one prison term (or, more than two jail or juvenile terms) are significantly more likely to have committed assaultive acts in prison. Two smaller studies, one in Massachusetts Callahan 1970:15) and one in Illinois (Coe 1961:183) find that inmates with prior prison terms are more poorly adjusted.

Three reports find that prior prison commitments are unrelated to institutional conduct. In New York State Lockwood finds that 53% of sexual aggressors have served prior terms compared to 55% for the total population in the prisons he

studied, a non-significant difference. Brown and Spevacek find that the number of previous commitments is unrelated to institutional adjustment (1971). Holland and Holt (1980) find no significant association between prior prison experience and misconduct sufficient to warrant transfer from a minimum security facility to a more secure unit.

In his study of the institutional adjustment of 44 murderers housed in a Pennsylvania prison Wolfgang shows that of those inmates with previous penal experience 85% fall into the adjusted inmate group, of those with no previous penal experience only 52% fall into the adjusted group. Wolfgang hypothesizes that the prior experience of acclimating oneself to the prison routine of working, sleeping, eating, being idle, and associating with other inmates aids one to adjust to a similar subsequent experience (1961:616). Among new admissions to California prisons in 1964 inmates who have served a prior prison term are less likely to acquire disciplinary infractions than are inmates who have a juvenile commitment or jail term or who have no prior commitments (1972:110). These California data suggest that individuals who have been incarcerated in a juvenile institution and who come to the adult prison for the first time are more poorly conducted than inmates who have served at least one previous term as an adult.

#### 6. Offense Type

\* Results regarding the association between commitment offense type and institutional misconduct are mixed. Four studies find no significant differences between commitment offense type and institutional misconduct. In four other study populations significant differences are found. In general, inmates convicted of homicide, drug offenses, or forgery tend to be misconducted less frequently than other inmates. One large New York State study finds that inmates convicted of violent felony offenses are more frequently misconducted. Two studies that look specifically at assaultive behavior in the prison find no significant differences by offense type. Four other studies do find significant differences.

Four studies find significant differences in institutional misconduct according to commitment offense type, four other studies find no significant differences. Evidence from research studies in New York (Flanagan 1981), Kansas (Bolte 1978:26) and California (Jaman 1972:112) show that inmates committed for homicide violate institutional rules less often than do other inmates. Bolte (1978) also finds that drug offenders violate rules less frequently than do other inmates. The California data reported by Jaman (1972:112) do not show notable differences between drug offenders and other inmates but they do show that inmates committed for forgery are less likely than other inmates to violate institutional rules <sup>25</sup>.

In New York State Flanagan found that inmates convicted of robbery, rape and other felony sex offenses, kidnapping and assault had significantly greater infractions rather than other persons (Flanagan 1981). At odds with this report is the finding by Petersilia and Honig that Michigan inmates serving a sentence for non violent offenses have higher infraction rates than those convicted of violent offenses (1980:72).

Research studies in California (Jaman, *et. al.* 1966:31), California and Texas (Petersilia and Honig 1980:72) and Ohio (Myers and Levy 1978:219) have not found significant differences in institutional misconduct by commitment offense type. It may be that significant differences in institutional misconduct by offense type do not emerge unless commitment crime types are grouped into larger categories; for example: homicide, other violent felonies, property/other offenses.

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<sup>25</sup> Tests of significance comparing forgerers and drug offenders with the remainder of the population were not conducted. This conclusion rests on visual inspection of the tables.

Studies that look specifically at assaultive behavior in prison produce mixed results with respect to offense type. Both Jaman *et. al.* (1974) in their study of assaultive inmates at San Quentin and Ellis *et. al.* (1974) in their study of assaultive behavior in North Carolina prisons find that commitment offense type is unrelated to aggressive behavior in the prison. Other investigators have, however, found an association between commitment offense type and aggressive prison behavior. Davis in his study of sexual assaults in the Philadelphia prison system reports that 68% of aggressors but only 38% of victims are charged with serious felonies. He further notes that "violent assaultive felonies are particularly more common among aggressors than victims" (1971:4731). Unfortunately, Davis does not compare commitment offenses of prison aggressors with those of the total population. In his study of prison sexual aggressors Lockwood finds no significant differences between aggressors and a randomly selected group of inmates with respect to the use of force or threat accompanying the commitment offense (1977: Table 9.7). He does find that differences in commitment offense type are significant (1977: Table 9.10). Aggressors are more frequently committed for robbery, rape and forcible sodomy; inmates in the control group are more frequently committed for drug offenses, homicide, non-violent sex offenses and other offenses. Aggressors and control group members contain equal percentages of inmates convicted for burglary and assault.

A 1965 study of violent incidents in California prisons found that aggressors were significantly more likely to be convicted for theft and assault (Mueller *et. al.* 1965: p.4, Table 9B). Selsky reports that 77% of inmates who assaulted New York Correctional Officers had been convicted for homicide, robbery, assault, and rape while only 65% of the overall under custody population in New York prisons had been committed for these offenses.

Two studies, then, find no relation between commitment offense type and aggressive behavior in the prison. Three other studies -two of them in New York Prisons (Selsky, Lockwood)- show that inmates involved in assaultive incidents in the prison are more frequently committed for violent offenses.

#### 7. Criminal Violence in Prior Convictions

\* The research evidence pertaining to prior criminal violence produces mixed results. Two studies find prior violent behavior to be unrelated to assaultive behavior in the prison. A third, much larger study finds that assaultive inmates are more likely to have a prior conviction for a violent offense and are considerably more likely to have a record of prior institutional violence.

Three studies look at the past violent behavior of inmates. In a California study of inmates housed at San Quentin Jaman et. al. find that prior criminal violence is unrelated to aggressive prison behavior (1966:14). Lockwood shows that sexual aggressors in New York prisons are no more likely to have used force or threat in prior conviction offenses than are other inmates (1977:Table 9.8). However in a 1965 study of assaultive incidents occurring in six California prisons, Mueller et. al. state that "an examination of the past violence history of inmates involved in institutional violence shows that this group largely consists of recurrently violent persons" (1965:5). They report that 61% of inmates involved in assaultive incidents (i.e. both victims and aggressors) had a record of prior criminal violence compared to 47% for the total population. In addition, they report that 49% of inmates involved in assaultive incidents (i.e. both victims and aggressors) had a record of prior institutional violence compared to only 13% for the total population.

#### 8. Sentence Length

\* The relationship between sentence length and institutional misconduct depends in part on whether we look at the court mandated minimum or maximum sentence or the actual

sentence length that inmates serve. The research reports reviewed here show that inmates who actually serve terms of more than 5 years violate institutional rules much less frequently than do inmates who are serving shorter sentences. In two studies the court mandated minimum sentence is unrelated to institutional misconduct and one of two studies finds that the court mandated maximum sentence is unrelated to institutional misconduct. While comparisons of groups of inmates with wide differences in sentence length (e.g. 5 years or less as opposed to more than 5 years) reveal differences in institutional adjustment, the data that are currently available do not permit us to compare, for example, infraction rates of inmates serving sentences of 2 years with those serving 3. Unless the court mandated sentence indicates that the inmates will actually serve a long time (e. g. more than 5 years) the court mandated sentence is not predictive of institutional adjustment.

#### a. Studies Showing No Association

Research reports in Ohio (Myers and Levy 1978:220) and Massachusetts (Callahan 1970:15) find that the minimum current sentence is unrelated to institutional misconduct. In California Jaman finds that maximum penal code sentence is not related to aggressive behavior in the prison (1966:14).

#### b. Studies Showing An Association

Other researchers have found a definite relationship between sentence length and institutional adjustment. In New York State Lockwood reports that 66% of sexual aggressors are serving a term whose maximum length is 4 years or less compared to 44% of the random group whose sentence maximum was 4 years or less. In Illinois Coe (1961:183-184) finds that well adjusted inmates are more likely to be serving longer terms, as does Zink in Delaware (1958), who reports that for his non-troublesome inmate group the average sentence length

was 11 years while the average sentence length for the poorly adjusted group was 3.5 years. Referring back to the table taken out of Flanagan's research (p.26) it can be seen that his data also show that long term inmates are significantly less likely to violate institutional rules. His data also show that when infraction rates within each age at admission category are examined long term prisoners (i.e. those actually serving more than 5 years) consistently have lower infraction rates than short term inmates. Flanagan's research also tells us that inmates serving long term sentences are from the very beginning of their sentences less likely to violate institutional rules.

#### 9. Time Served

\* Four studies examine the relationship between time served and institutional adjustment. Two of them find no relationship. However one of these studies deals with long termers only and the other deals with short termers only. One study finds that those incarcerated longer were more poorly conducted. A fourth study conducted in New York prisons by Flanagan finds that inmates who actually serve more than 5 years offend at lower rates than those who serve terms of five years or less. He also shows that among inmates serving terms of five years or less the rate of rule infractions has an inverted U shape, that is, infractions increase during the middle stage of the sentence and then decline during the last one-fourth of the term.

Due to his more detailed analysis of time served and institutional misconduct we turn first to Flanagan's study conducted in New York State prisons. Looking back at the table on page 26 that we have taken from Flanagan's dissertation it can be seen that short term inmates violate institutional rules at a rate twice that of long term inmates. These data also show that when infraction rates within each age-at-admission category are examined long term prisoners consistently have lower infraction rates than short term inmates and that these differences

reach statistical significance for the two younger age-at-admission categories. In another part of his analysis Flanagan compared the median annual infraction rates of the long term prisoner group for the first five years of incarceration with the median annual infraction rates of the short term prisoner group. The data again show that even during the first five years of incarceration long termers violate institutional rules at nearly one-half the rate of short term inmates and that this relationship again holds within age at admission categories (1979:132, Table 4.8, 133). Looking over these results Flanagan concludes that the "overall pattern of involvement in institutional misconduct for the time served groups is established in the early years of the sentence" (1980:7).

In order to further investigate changes in offending behavior that might be related to time served Flanagan divided each inmate's sentence into quarters and computed the percentage of the prisoner's total infractions that were committed in each quarter for long term and short term inmates. His data show that short term inmates commit a greater proportion of their total infractions during the two middle quarters or stages of their sentences and the last quarter of the sentence is characterized by a sharp drop in offending behavior (1979:141, 142). Flanagan reads these findings as supportive of the notion, first espoused by Wheeler, that "The middle stages of the sentence—the period during which the inmate is farthest removed from extra prison influences and most susceptible to the influence of fellow inmates—is characterized by the lowest degree of conformity to staff values" (Flanagan 1979:138). Presumably as the inmate approaches a release or parole date his values and behavior become more oriented to the world outside the prison. Flanagan suggests that infraction rates of short term prisoners decline in the late stage of the sentence "either because of the "anticipatory resocialization" phenomena or the practical need to promote a favorable impression before the

parole board" (1979:141). Holland and Holt have also observed a decline in disciplinary infractions as inmates approach or exceed their minimum parole eligibility (1980:53-54).

Flanagan calculated the proportion of offenses that fall into each quarter of the sentence for long term prisoners also. His data show that "the proportion of infractions committed in each quarter is fairly stable; each quarter of the sentence contributes a nearly equal proportion to the total number of infractions (1979:143), figure 4B:143). He suggests that "long termers do not appear to pass through "critical stages" characterized by higher levels of misconduct, followed by a pre-release period of lower incidence of infractions"(1979:143). He further remarks on the basis of interview data, that "long term inmates adopt a perspective toward serving time that is distinguishable from the perspective of short term prisoners" and that one of the aspects of this unique perspective "is the desire to "stay out of trouble" with correctional officials and fellow inmates" (1979:143).

Wolfgang looked at the institutional adjustment of 44 inmates convicted of murder. Since a murder conviction generally draws a long term sentence one could see his analysis as pertaining to-or confined to-long term inmates. He reports that "the amount of time these offenders have been imprisoned appears to have no relationship to their adjustment pattern. The mean length of incarceration for the adjusted group is 8.7 years, and for the maladjusted group, 8.6 years"(1961:614). In Wolfgang's sample of long term inmates, length of time in the institution is unrelated to time-adjusted misconduct rates.

In a 1969 study of 100 Washington, D. C. inmates, Brown and Spevacek find no significant differences in length of time served between high and low rate offenders. In a youth facility they find that high and low rate offenders average 16 and 15 consecutive months incarcerated respectively. In a second facility housing a wider age range of inmates they find that high and low rate offenders averaged 28 and 26 consecutive months

incarcerated respectively. The authors present no data on the range of sentence lengths being served nor the proportion of inmates who are serving sentences of varying length. But based on the periods of incarceration reported for high and low rate offenders it is probably safe to assume that most of these individuals are serving sentences from one to three years and their findings would suggest there is no relation between time served and offending rates among inmates serving short terms. We think that due to his more detailed examination of this issue Flanagan's finding of a U shaped pattern of institutional misconduct among short term inmates probably represents a more accurate view.

Standing alone, Myers and Levy report that the group of poorly adjusted inmates in their study had been incarcerated significantly longer (average=83.06 months) on the current sentence that had the well adjusted inmates (average=60.62 months).

## E. PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

### 1. Attitudes

Four researchers have tried to determine whether there are differences in attitudes or values between inmates who are disciplinary problems and those who are not. The four studies that have been conducted do show that there are attitudinal differences between high and low rate offenders. Though we cannot say which comes first, the behavior or the values, there is some evidence that they vary together, as behavior varies so do values.

In a sample of adolescent males housed in a Federal Youth Center in Colorado Wood, et. al. observe that staff-nominated troublemakers are significantly less likely than a

control group of inmates (made up of inmates receiving no nomination by staff as troublemakers) to see the institution as a place that offers opportunities to develop a positive self identify, to learn interpersonal skills, to learn skills that will help them to stay out of trouble upon release, or to acquire vocational or educational training (1966:797-799). Furthermore, trouble makers are less likely to see institutional regulations and the behavior of staff as reasonable and sympathetic to their needs. Staff nominated troublemakers were less likely to see themselves as having personal control over what happens to them and are more likely than control group members to see events that occur in their institutional life as arbitrary and unpredictable (1966: 799-800). Wood et. al. conclude that unfavorable attitudes toward the institution are related to institutional misconduct.

In a study of female felons and misdemeanants imprisoned in a facility in the southeastern United States, Jensen finds that inmates who admit violating prison rules on a self-report questionnaire are less likely to accept institutional expectations as measured by agreement with such statements as "the officers here deserve respect because they are only doing their duty" or "I enjoy taking part in the activities that go on around here". Misconducted inmates are more likely to agree that "Its O. K. to get around the law if you can get away with it" (Gamma= -.35; Jensen 1977:563, 566).

Wheeler has also studied conformity to staff role expectations. Wheeler presented inmates with a series of conflict situations that offer a set of choices some of which conform to staff expectations and some of which do not. His data were collected in an adult facility in a western state around 1960. When Wheeler looked at the length of time served in the facility (broken into 3 groups, those who have been imprisoned less than 6 months, 6 months to two years, and those imprisoned over 2 years) he observed that the percentage of individuals selecting

choices that conform to staff role expectations consistently declines as time served increases (1961:702). Wheeler also broke down the inmate population into three groups or "institutional phases"; those men who have served less than six months (early phase), those who have less than six months to serve before release (late phase) and those who have served more than six months but have more than six months left to serve (middle phase). Wheeler observes a U shaped distribution of high staff conformity responses according to sentence phase. That is, 47% of the inmates who are in the early phase of their sentence show high conformity to staff expectations, this drops to 21% for inmates in the middle phase of their sentence, and it returns to 43% for inmates in the late phase of their sentence (1961:706). Of this U shaped distribution Wheeler goes on to suggest "that inmates who recently have been in the broader community and inmates who are soon to return to that community are more frequently oriented in terms of conventional values" (1961:706). We recall here that when Flanagan breaks down each inmate's sentence into quarters that he too finds an inverted U shaped pattern of institutional misconduct (1979:142). He shows that "a greater proportion of infractions is contributed by the middle stage of short sentences and the relative contribution of fourth quarter infractions drops sharply" (1979:141). It should be noted that Wheeler's findings are based on a sample of the entire inmate population and not from inmates who are disciplinary problems. Even so, the similarity in patterns of acceptance of staff expectations found by Wheeler and the patterns of disciplinary infractions found by Flanagan suggest that values held about the institution may be related to rates of misconduct. In a study of female inmates in a Southeastern State Jensen observed the same U shaped pattern as Wheeler (Jaman 1976:593). However, in a study of male inmates housed in a Southeastern federal reformatory Atchley and McCabe (1968) were unable to replicate the findings in Wheeler's study.

Atchley and McCabe suggest that the pattern of conformity to staff expectations over the course of an inmate's sentence may depend on whether the principal stress at an institution is on obedience and conformity, treatment, or re-education and development (1968: 783).

We noted earlier that inmates who had been married at some time were less likely to be involved in institutional misconduct. Wheeler also found higher rates of conformity to staff expectations among married men and among inmates who report that family members "have confidence in them" (1961:705). Other evidence of a correlation between values held by inmates and institutional conduct is found in Wheeler's report. He finds that the smallest percentage of high conformity to staff expectations is found among inmates in the segregation unit (14%), followed by the close custody unit (21%), medium custody unit (34%), honor farm (44%), reception unit (47%), and protective custody (83%) (1961: 701).

## 2. Intelligence Quotient

In seven of the studies reviewed here the researcher considered the relationship between measured I.Q. and institutional misconduct. In all seven studies there is no statistically significant relationship between I.Q. and institutional misconduct.<sup>26</sup> Based on these studies, I.Q. (as measured by standardized tests) does not appear to be associated with institutional misconduct.

## 3. Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory

\* Research conducted using the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory shows that personality characteristics of inmates are related to the institutional adjustment of inmates in several areas (e.g. programs, work, staff relations, disciplinary, etc.). Inmates can be reliably grouped according to

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<sup>26</sup> Jaman 1966:31; Wolf 1966:247; Myers and Levy 1978:223; Brown and Spevacek 1966:52, 54; Coe 1961:182; 1960:460-461; Bolte 1978:26; Zink 1958:433.

personality status and there are significant differences among the different groups in institutional misconduct.

Several researchers have related institutional adjustment to profiles on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (Megargee 1979; Edinger, 1979; Jaman et. al. 1966). The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) is a standardized personality inventory that is designed to quantitatively assess as well as is possible a subject's personality status and emotional adjustment (Megargee 1979:75)<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>27</sup> It is a self-administered test made up of 566 true-false items. "The MMPI has 14 commonly scored scales: 10 clinical scales which measure different personality dimensions and 4 validity scales which measure test taking attitudes that could influence the validity of the scores on the clinical scales. The questions included in the MMPI have been selected on the basis of responses to these questions by groups of individuals who possessed certain personality characteristics as defined by clinicians. These questions were selected on the basis of their ability to discriminate a known group (e.g. group of depressed individuals) from a sample of individuals from a normal population. A subject's score or location on any one scale is determined by the pattern of his responses to the 50 or 60 questions that are thought to provide an indication of the presence or absence of a particular attribute (e.g. depression, introversion, emotional conflicts). The greater the number of questions a subject answers in the scored or deviant direction the greater is the likelihood that he possesses the property tapped by the questions making up the scale and the less likely is it that his responses reflect chance deviations from normal responding patterns" (Megargee 1979:76-77). The rationale behind the test, says Megargee, "is that if this sample of behavior, namely marking true-false items, is similar to the test-taking behavior of depressed individuals then it is likely that other aspects of the respondents' behavior will also resemble that of depressed individuals: that they will be pessimistic, apathetic, feel blue, and have trouble eating or sleeping (1979:78). "Similarly, elevated scores on the other clinical scales lead to inferences that the test taker might engage in behavior typical of the group used to derive these scales' (1979:79). Respondents who share the same pattern of scores across all the scales in the instrument (that is the profile that results from plotting a subject's score on each scale) are grouped together.

The most rigorous effort comparing MMPI scale scores with institutional adjustment and with inmate background characteristics is that of Megargee (1979). Megargee followed 1,345 consecutive admissions to a Federal Correctional Institution for youth in Florida from their entry into the prison through their release into the community. Through the use of computer technology Megargee was able to identify on the basis of their MMPI profiles ten groups and to state the rules for classifying inmates into these categories.

As part of his analysis Megargee sought to discover whether the ten groups differed significantly on variables other than MMPI profiles. He looked for differences among his ten groups on the following characteristics.

1. Demographic - race, marital status, instant offense
2. Academic and Intellectual - IQ tests, academic achievement tests, highest grade attended
3. Social and developmental - family background, educational, vocational and military problems, interpersonal relations
4. Psychologist's assessments of personality
5. Test assessments of personality
6. Institutional adjustment - days in segregation, number of writeups, number of sick calls; officer, work supervisor and teacher ratings of adjustment and performance
7. Recidivism data - number of arrests, convictions and reincarcerations

Looked at overall, Megargee's results show that the groups of offenders defined on the basis of their MMPI characteristics do show significant differences on many of the variables in each of the general areas listed above. Megargee finds that the ten profile groups differ significantly in the average number of days spent in the segregation unit per three month period. The average inmate spends 1.35 days per 90 day period in segregation. The worst group (B) spent 4 times as many days

in segregation at the best group (I) (Megargee 1979: Table 7.12). The average number of disciplinary write-ups (shots) is low (about one person in three gets a write-up over three months) and the differences between the groups approaches but does not reach statistical significance. The average number of write-ups for the worst group (D) is about three times the number for the best group (E). There are, however, significant differences in the proportion of inmates in each MMPI group that had been involved in violent and non-violent disciplinary infractions (Megargee 1979: Table 7.19). It is important to note that for all officially recorded measures of institutional misconduct (i.e. violent infractions, non-violent infractions, days in segregation) four groups (C, D, F, and H) are consistently ranked above average (that is, they have higher proportions of poorly conducted inmates).

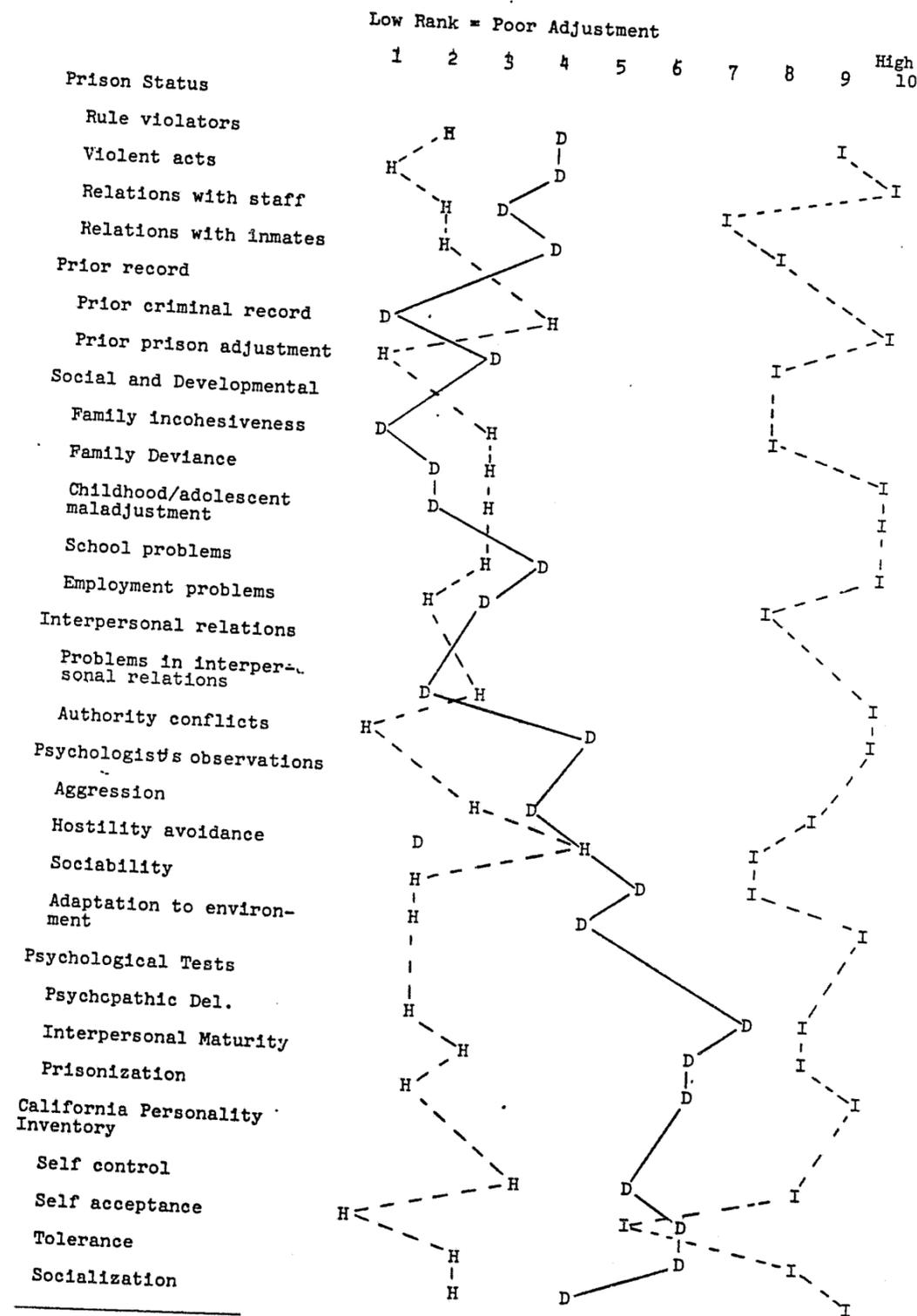
Correctional officer assessments of interpersonal adjustment show significant differences among the groups. The behavior rated by officers included relations with other inmates, relations with authority and staff, aggressiveness, emotional control, cooperativeness, need for supervision, response to supervision and maturity. The same four groups that did poorly on the earlier measures did poorly on the officer assessments (C), (D), (F), (H). Interestingly, the (B) grouping had a high rate of disciplinary infractions but ranks very highly on these measures of adjustment. Megargee also asked prison work supervisors to rate inmates on several scales reflecting work performance. He finds that five of the nine scales reflecting work performance as judged by work supervisors show statistically significant differences among the ten groupings. While scales reflecting quality of work, quantity of work and overall job proficiency do not reach statistical significance, the scales tapping eagerness and ability to learn, dependability, response to supervision and instruction, and ability to work with others do show significant differences among the groups. Again, when the groups

are ranked from lowest to highest (C), (D), (F) and (H) are consistently ranked the lowest on these scales. To summarize, official records of misconduct and evaluations by correctional officers consistently rank four of the MMPI profile groupings below average in institutional conduct.

As mentioned earlier he was interested in whether there were differences between the groups in behavior, maturity, social and criminal history, and recidivism (1979:139). We recall that Megargee collected and examined an extensive amount of information on the subjects in his study. This information was drawn from presentence investigations, interviews at intake, several batteries of psychological tests and from following his inmate cohort during their institutional stay and collecting data on several measures of adjustment (e.g. grades, job performance, disciplinary infractions). Every inmate was assigned a score on each of the many characteristics that Megargee examined and after he had grouped inmates according to MMPI profile types he computed an average score for each of the ten groups on each characteristic. Using the average score for the group Megargee then ranked each of the groups from high to low on each characteristic.

For purposes of illustration we have selected out and listed a few of the characteristics that Megargee examined. We have also chosen to look at the ranking on these characteristics of three of Megargee's ten MMPI profile groups, one group whose officially recorded institutional misconduct is low (I), one group whose institutional misconduct is high (H), and one group that is about average (D). Megargee was interested in determining whether each group showed a consistent pattern of differences from the other groups across a large number of characteristics. In Figure I the rankings range from low (1) to high (10) with the low number reflecting the less desirable end of the ranking. The data show that the group

Figure I. Ranking of Three MMPI Profile Groups (H,D,I) on a Selected Set of Inmate Characteristics.



The information in this table is based on data presented in Chapter 7 (p. 139-177) of E. I. Megargee and M. J. Bohn *Classifying Criminal Offenders*, Sage Publications, 1979

containing the highest number of individuals who violate prison rules, assault other inmates and get along poorly with staff and other inmates (group H) is also a group that is consistently in the low ranking on other characteristics. Similarly group (I) which contains a relatively low number of rule violators consistently ranks at or near the top on these measures of social and psychological characteristics. Further, group (D) which ranks in between (I) and (H) on measures of prison adjustment also tends to be ranked between (I) and (H) on other social and psychological properties. Generally, Megargee's results show that those MMPI groups that contain the highest number of misconducted inmates also contain the individuals who have the most disrupted family, school and employment history. Megargee's research shows that inmates can be identified and categorized according to a psychological instrument and that these groups differ from each other across a broad range of social and developmental characteristics and in their subsequent prison adjustment.

It is important to point out that while these MMPI groups can be discriminated from each other on these criteria it is still true that even in the group that contains the highest proportion of disciplinary offenders most of the men are well-conducted inmates.

Further research using the MMPI adds weight to Megargee's findings. Edinger applied the MMPI Typology to prisoners in two samples. One sample consisted of 2,063 inmates who were incarcerated in Petersburg, Virginia Federal Institution for young adult males age 17 to 29. The second sample consisted of 1,455 inmates drawn randomly from the population of prisoners who participated in a state prisoner reclassification project in Alabama<sup>28</sup>. Edinger employed a computer typing procedure

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<sup>28</sup> The Alabama sample consisted of 1,291 males and 164 females. Attention is directed primarily at the results from the male sample.

to classify inmates into MMPI categories. Edinger shows that: (1) Using the MMPI he was able to classify a large majority of the inmates in the federal youth facility (85.5%) and in the Alabama state prisoner sample (86.1%), (2) all 10 of Megargee's profile types were identified within each of these samples, (3) the profile patterns and MMPI scores of the two male samples closely resembled those reported by Megargee (Edinger 1979:236). Edinger, like Megargee, finds that there are significant differences in aggressive behavior and in total disciplinary infractions committed across the MMPI groupings (1979 :240). It is also important to note that four of the five groups that Megargee ranked as most poorly adjusted are also found in the five lowest rankings in Edinger's federal sample (where total disciplinary infractions committed are used as an index) (Edinger 1979:240). The two most well conducted groupings of inmates in Megargee's study (I and E) are also the two groups that acquire the fewest disciplinary infractions in Edinger's federal correctional sample (1979:240).

Other research efforts that have attempted to use the MMPI as a predictor of institutional misconduct show mixed results. Myers and Levy find that MMPI depression scale score emerges as a significant predictor of prison misconduct in their Ohio sample (1978). However in a study of new admissions to California prisons in 1964 Jaman does not find that MMPI profiles are good discriminators of institutional adjustment (1972:6). In their study of aggressive inmates housed in San Quentin during 1960 Jaman et. al. also find that MMPI scales do not discriminate aggressors from non-aggressors (1966:5). These research efforts do not, however, employ the more sophisticated techniques employed by Megargee, Edinger, and others.

Overall, Megargee's research employing the MMPI shows several things. First, he shows that the inmate population can be broken into groups according to MMPI profiles. Furthermore, these groups could be identified in other populations of incarcerated individuals. Secondly, Megargee and Edinger show that there are differences in the extent of prison misconduct across these MMPI groupings. Thirdly, these studies

show us that those who are more frequently and seriously involved in institutional misbehavior tend to differ from other inmates on variables relating to their past background and on variables which assess attitudes and behavior towards other persons in the prison. On the whole the data reported by Megargee show that poorly conducted inmates tend to have had a more disrupted family, school and work experience than have other inmates. Poorly conducted inmates are more likely to hold negative and uncooperative attitudes towards staff and other inmates. Psychological characteristics of inmates as identified by both the Minnesota Multiphasis Personality Inventory and correctional staff (guards, work supervisor, counselors, teachers etc.) are found to be related to disciplinary adjustment in the prison.

#### F. PREDICTIVE STUDIES

In this section we briefly review research studies that have used characteristics of inmates to predict institutional misconduct. Researchers have been interested in determining how well a set of background characteristics can, taken as a group, predict institutional misconduct. In order to do this, researchers have used the statistical method of multiple linear regression (we provide a very brief description of this method in Appendix B). The multiple regression method allows us to assess the efficiency with which the background variables discussed in this review explain institutional misconduct. It provides us with a statistic ( $R^2$ ) that tells us how well background variables taken as a group predict misbehavior in the prison. The regression procedure also helps us to overcome some of the limitations of examining one at a time the association between misconduct and background characteristics. It tells us to what extent a variable contributes towards explaining institutional misconduct when the effects of other variables are controlled.

The studies reviewed show that our ability to predict misconduct using only background characteristics is weak. We do not find a set of background characteristics that consistently predict institutional misconduct from one study population to the next. In Table V we present some of the results of predictive efforts obtained in different study populations. For each study we list the variables that were tested for their potential explanatory power. There is an asterisk beside the variables that are the best predictors of institutional misconduct<sup>29</sup>. At the bottom of each list is presented the statistic ( $R^2$ )<sup>30</sup>. We can treat this number as a percentage figure and interpret it as an index of the efficiency with which these variables can, taken as a group, explain prison misconduct. For example, looking at the  $R^2$  value obtained for Flanagan's sample of short term inmates we can say that the variables he used as predictors explain, or account for, 18% of the variation in institutional misconduct.

We turn first to Flanagan's analysis of inmates who had been confined for a time period of five years or less in New York State prison. We see that he considers as potential

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<sup>29</sup> In Flanagan's research all of the variables listed make a statistically significant contribution to explained variance. We have placed an asterisk beside those variables in his study that explained 1% or more of the total variation. In all other studies we place an asterisk beside those variables that emerged as statistically significant predictors of prison misconduct.

<sup>30</sup>  $R^2$  can range from zero to 1. When  $R^2$  is zero we are completely unable to explain institutional misconduct with the variables at hand. If  $R^2$  were 1.0 we would have perfect ability to explain or predict prison misconduct. As the efficiency of the predictor variables in predicting institutional misconduct increases the value of  $R^2$  moves away from zero and towards 1.0.

Table V

Results of Research Efforts Attempting to Predict Institutional Misconduct

| Flanagan (Short Term)            |                      | Flanagan (Long Term)               |                      | Jaman 1972  |   | Myers & Levy (1978)                   |                                       | Petersilia and Honig (1980)   |                               |                               |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|---|---|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
|                                  |                      |                                    |                      |   |   |                                       |                                       | California                    | Michigan                      | Texas                         |
| * Age at admission               | 9%                   | * Race                             | 5%                   | * Juvenile commitments (local or on Youth) authority parole | * Percent of adult life incarcerated                            | * Age                                 | * Race (whites more likely to offend) | Mexican American              | Mexican American              | Mexican American              |
| * Drug use                       | 4%                   | * Marital status at admission      | 3%                   | * Age 29 or younger at admission                            | * MMPI Depression scale score                                   | * Race (whites more likely to offend) | Mexican American                      | Career Criminal               | Career Criminal               | Career Criminal               |
| * Alcohol use                    | 1%                   | * Age at admission                 | 2%                   | * Base expectancy score medium or low                       | * Minnesota Paper Form Board Score (a mechanical aptitude test) | * Number of prior Prison Terms        | Number of prior Prison Terms          | Number of prior Prison Terms  | Number of prior Prison Terms  | Number of prior Prison Terms  |
| * Employed month Prior to arrest | 1%                   | * Number of previous arrests       | 2%                   | * Adult Violent arrests (2 or more)                         | * Use of Alias  | * Number of Serious Convictions       | Number of Serious Convictions         | Number of Serious Convictions | Number of Serious Convictions | Number of Serious Convictions |
| * Maximum Sentence               | 1%                   | Highest grade attended             |                      | * Prior commitments, (2 or more)                            | * Extent of Alcohol use   | Crime type                            | Crime type                            | Crime type                    | Crime type                    | Crime type                    |
| Number of previous arrests       |                      | Crime of conviction                |                      | * Commitment offenses (not homicide, forgery or checks)     | * Number of Police contacts as a Juvenile                       | Age at First Arrest                   | Age at First Arrest                   | Age at First Arrest           | Age at First Arrest           | Age at First Arrest           |
| Wages, month prior to arrest     |                      | Alcohol use                        |                      | Ethnicity   | Other variables tested were not identified                      | Juvenile Record                       | Juvenile Record                       | Juvenile Record               | Juvenile Record               | Juvenile Record               |
| Highest grade attended           |                      | Maximum sentence years             |                      | Birth place   |   | * Prison Work                         | Prison Work                           | Prison Work                   | Prison Work                   | Prison Work                   |
| Crime of conviction              |                      | Employed month prior to arrest     |                      | I. Q.   |   | * Treatment rate                      | Treatment rate                        | Treatment rate                | Treatment rate                | Treatment rate                |
| Marital Status at admission      |                      | Wages-salary month prior to arrest |                      | School grade  |   | Months in Prison                      | Months in Prison                      | Months in Prison              | Months in Prison              | Months in Prison              |
| Race of offender                 |                      | Drugs use.                         |                      | Escapes   |   | Missing prison work                   | Missing prison work                   | Missing prison work           | Missing prison work           | Missing prison work           |
|                                  |                      |                                    |                      | Aggressive history  |   |                                       |                                       |                               |                               |                               |
|                                  |                      |                                    |                      | Military Record   |   |                                       |                                       |                               |                               |                               |
|                                  |                      |                                    |                      | Narcotics history   |   |                                       |                                       |                               |                               |                               |
|                                  |                      |                                    |                      | Employment history  |   |                                       |                                       |                               |                               |                               |
| R <sup>2</sup> = .18             | R <sup>2</sup> = .13 | Construction Sample                | R <sup>2</sup> = .46 |   |   | R <sup>2</sup> = .19                  | R <sup>2</sup> = .35                  | R <sup>2</sup> = .35          |                               |                               |
|                                  |                      | Validation Sample                  | R <sup>2</sup> = .17 |   |   |                                       |                                       |                               |                               |                               |
|                                  |                      |                                    |                      |   |   |                                       |                                       |                               |                               |                               |

For Flanagan's study we have placed an asterisk (\*) beside those variables that explain at least 1% of the variation in institutional misconduct. For the Studies by Jaman, Myers and Levy, and Petersilia and Honig the asterisk (\*) identifies those variables that made a statistically significant contribution towards explaining institutional misconduct.

predictors of prison misconduct several variables that have been found to show some association with prison misconduct. These variables account for only 18% of the variation in prison disciplinary infractions and cannot be regarded as strong predictors of institutional misconduct. Of the variation in prison misconduct that all these variables account for (e.g. 18%) most of the work is done by only two variables, age at admission (9%) and drug use (4%). It seems clear that the influence on prison misconduct that such background variables as marital status or job stability possess is shared with other variables such as age or drug use. The bivariate associations that we observed in our review seem to be doing the same work over and over; that is, when one or two or three of these variables have done all the work that they can towards explaining prison misconduct other variables contribute little new explanatory power. In other words knowing an inmate's age allows us to do as good a job of predicting misconduct as does knowing age and marital status.

Looking across these studies it can be seen that there are differences in the predictive power of background characteristics from one study to the next;  $R^2$  values range from .13 (Flanagan long term) to .39 (Myers and Levy). The highest  $R^2$  value was obtained in the study by Myers and Levy. However, findings from this study must be taken cautiously, partly because of the small sample size in the study<sup>A</sup>. In addition, the fact that the inmates in their study group were fairly old (e.g. average age 36 for poorly adjusted, 41 for well adjusted) and had already been incarcerated on the average of five years or longer detracts from the comparability of these Ohio inmates with the majority of New York State inmates currently under custody. Petersilia and Honig obtain  $R^2$  values of .35 in Michigan and .35 in Texas which are higher than the value obtained by Flanagan for his New York State short term sample. However, the results for the California, Michigan and Texas samples are

<sup>A</sup> The small size of their sample (N=100) in comparison to the number of predictor variables employed (N=22) may have served to inflate the true predictive power of the inmate background variables they used (See Kerlinger and Pedhazzer 1973:282). In addition, the correlation coefficients in this study may be inflated due to their use of a dichotomous criterion variable. Both of the Study groups are out on the tails of a continuous distribution.

not strictly comparable to those of the other studies because they include several in-prison variables (e.g. prison work, participation in treatment programs) that improve upon the predictive power of the pre-incarceration variables that other studies confined themselves to. Petersilia and Honig observe that inmates who hold jobs in the prison or who are involved in treatment programs have lower rates of disciplinary infractions.

The predictive study by Jaman deserves special interest because it is the only study that employed a validation sample as well as a construction sample (see Appendix B for a brief statement about the importance of validation studies). In one sample of 200 inmates she tested the predictive power of some 20 pre-incarceration characteristics and found that six of these variables meaningfully contributed towards explaining institutional misconduct. These six were juvenile commitments, age at admission, medium or low base expectancy score<sup>31</sup>, adult violent arrest (2 or more), prior commitments and commitment offense type. As can be seen from Table V there were a large number of variables that did not help predict misconduct. Jaman took these six variables that emerged as the best predictors of institutional misconduct in the first (or construction) sample and used them to predict the institutional misconduct of a second sample of new admissions (i.e. a validation sample). She found that the predictive power of these six variables dropped from 46% in the first sample to 17% in the second (validation) sample. This shrinkage in the efficiency of the predictor variables when applied to a new sample is expected. That these six variables were able to predict 17% of the variation in institutional misconduct in

<sup>31</sup> The base expectancy score is based on a California instrument designed to predict parole success.

a new sample of inmates led Jaman to believe that using the prediction scale she developed might be of some use as an aid to decision making at intake (1972:21).

Jaman assigned scores to inmates based on characteristics that she found to be related to institutional misconduct. The higher the score the greater is the expectation that inmates will acquire disciplinary infractions. Table VI summarizes Jaman's attempt to predict misconduct in the validation sample.

TABLE VI Disciplinary Prediction Scale I for New Admissions  
- Based on the Validation Sample -

| Level    | Number | Percent with Two or More Disciplinarys | Percent with Two or More Disciplinarys |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |
|----------|--------|--|--|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|
|          |        |  | 0                                      | 10 | 20 | 30 | 40 | 50 | 60 | 70 | 80 | 90 | 100 |
| A: 27-38 | 26     | 65%                                    | XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX           |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |
| B: 23-26 | 15     | 60%                                    | XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX           |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |
| C: 13-22 | 41     | 42%                                    | XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX           |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |
| D: 9-12  | 12     | 33%                                    | XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX                   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |
| E: 0-8   | 31     | 23%                                    | XXXXXXXXXX                             |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |
| TOTAL    | 125    | 43%                                    | XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX           |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |

$\bar{X} = 20.5$

This table is taken from Dorothy Jaman "Behavior During the First year in Prison" California Department of Corrections, 1972 p.22.

Looking at the table it can be seen that among those inmates whose predicted institutional misconduct is least (i.e. scores that fall between 0 and 8) 23% acquired two or more disciplinary infractions during the first year. Among those inmates whose predicted institutional misconduct was high (scores fell between 27 and 38) 65% acquired 2 or more disciplinary infractions during the first year in prison.

We can say one or two things about the pre-incarceration factors that emerged as predictors in the studies reviewed<sup>32</sup>. Age generally appears as a significant predictor in each state; younger inmates violate institutional rules more frequently than do older inmates. Race emerges as a predictor in three of the seven studies but the direction of its influence is inconsistent. Whites are more poorly conducted in California. In Texas and among New York State long-termers blacks are more poorly conducted.

Given the shrinkage in R<sup>2</sup> observed by Jaman (1972) when applying the most predictive variables in one sample to a second sample and the weak predictive power of background variables observed by Flanagan in New York it would seem that pre-incarceration characteristics of inmates examined in published research are, with the possible exception of Jaman's study, weak predictors of institutional misconduct. Some part of the weak predictive power of background variables observed in these predictive studies may be due to the fact that classification personnel are already using some of these background characteristics to assign inmates to one institution or another and that the nature of supervision or institutional life at a particular facility may affect the rate at which an inmate violates prison rules. It may be that inmates with certain characteristics are, for instance, sent to closer security institutions and this closer security reduces offending rates and reduces the association between pre-incarceration characteristics and institutional misconduct. Another possibility is that inmates with certain characteristics are sent to institutions where disciplinary write-ups are used more frequently. If inmates had been randomly assigned to New York State prisons it might be that pre-incarceration

<sup>32</sup> The fact that correlation matrices for the predictor candidates are seldom if ever presented by researchers make substantive interpretation of the predictor variables more difficult and more susceptible to error.

variables would show a stronger association with institutional misconduct than they do. Nonetheless, that pre-incarceration variables do not emerge as either strong or consistent (with age as the exception) determinants of institutional misconduct leads us to agree with Flanagan when he writes that:

"The factors that come into play to determine the extent of involvement in prison disciplinary matters clearly go beyond the demographic characteristics of the inmate. The inmate's record of disciplinary infractions is a product of his/her prior conditioning and experiences, the dimensions in which the prisoner finds himself and his/her reaction to that situation, as well as the reaction of correctional officials to the prisoner (1979:150).

#### G. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In this section we take a step back from the studies reviewed and make some observations on what has been found. As noted above several studies have tested the ability of a set of pre-incarceration characteristics of inmates to predict institutional misconduct. The results of these studies, particularly the study conducted in New York State, show that our ability to predict institutional misconduct on the basis of pre-incarceration characteristics of inmates is weak. If we were to predict who would or would not be a disciplinary problem solely on the basis of the pre-incarceration characteristics examined above we would be wrong in our prediction in a great many cases. This finding comes as no surprise. As is true of any form of human behavior, there are undoubtedly a number of factors that affect the likelihood of poor conduct in prison. Research investigators have pointed to a variety of factors besides pre-incarceration characteristics of inmates that may affect the occurrence and type of prison misbehavior and which may, if examined, improve our understanding of institutional misconduct. Among these are: characteristics of institutions (e.g. age, size, spatial layout, security level, population density ),

# CONTINUED

# 1 OF 2

characteristics of the general inmate population (e.g. percent violent offenders, percent long termers, percent over age 30,) administrative variables (e.g. inmate-staff ratio, formal and informal policies of the superintendent and his staff), and characteristics of the staff (e.g. years of experience, age, ethnic ratios). The nature and variety of prison programs offered—and the percentage of inmates involved in these programs or who work at jobs in the institution—are also important.

Even though pre-incarceration characteristics of inmates are not powerful predictors of institutional misconduct, it is still true that several characteristics do discriminate high and low rate offenders at statistically significant levels. Moreover, several of these characteristics are consistently related to institutional misconduct in the same manner across several studies. Additionally, when we look at those variables that do show an association with institutional misconduct we find some support for the belief that the more committed an inmate is to conventional types of activity on the outside (e.g. job, marriage) the less likely is it that he will be a disciplinary problem while confined. Furthermore, when we look at the association between institutional misconduct and certain "in prison" variables we find some support for the notion that the more an inmate has at stake (or stands to lose) during his confinement (e.g. a job, desirable housing, involvement in a treatment program, nearness to parole board hearing) the less likely is it that he will acquire disciplinary infractions.

First, in the studies reviewed here, age is consistently found to be associated with institutional misconduct. Younger inmates are more likely to violate prison rules. Several studies have commented on the association between age and institutional misconduct (Johnson 1966, Jensen 1977, Ellis *et. al.*, 1974, Wolfgang 1964) Both Wolfgang (1964:23) and Jensen (1977:555) have observed that not only is it true that adolescents and

young adults (e.g. age 22 or younger) are more involved in institutional misconduct but they are also significantly more likely than other age groups to be involved in criminal behavior generally. Several views have been put forth to explain the association between age and misconduct. Some researchers argue that there is something about age itself that accounts for different rates of institutional misconduct. Wolfgang states that: "age of the inmate (and whatever physiologic or psychic factors accompanying aging) is itself related to adjustment in the prison subculture" (1964:35). The energy and daring to commit crimes or violate rules is seen to decline with age. In their study of violent transactions in prison Ellis *et. al.* refer to a physiologically related need among younger inmates to "enter the lists" (e.g. become involved in tests of manhood, horse-play etc.) partly in order to "affirm a valued male identity". (Ellis, *et. al.* 1974:31-32).

A second position attributes the decline in nonconforming behavior to processes of maturing or "setting down" that accompany aging. That is, the process of "settling down" which is accompanied by less rule-breaking is due to the occurrence of "social and cultural transitions from one age status to another" (see Jensen 1977:557). As persons grow older they accumulate more responsibilities (e.g. wife or family, job) and more access to legitimate avenues of reward.

As an individual grows older he becomes more involved in and tied to conventional activities and he has more to lose by becoming involved in criminal behavior (e.g. loss of job, family relations, respect of friends and relatives). The changes in values and commitments that accompany age are seen as reducing the likelihood of misconduct inside the prison just as they are seen to reduce the likelihood of involvement in criminal activity on the streets. Older inmates have a different set of values and commitments that serve to reduce their involvement in institutional misconduct.

In his study of long term imprisonment Flanagan observes that the older, long term inmates refer to short-term inmates (who are younger in age generally) as "foolish, crazy, youngsters" as "wild" or as "kids", or as persons who were not "serious" about their situation. (Flanagan 1979:230). Additionally Ellis suggests that younger inmates are more susceptible to peer group pressure (1974:31). Through there is disagreement as to which is more important physiological and psychic factors, or social and cultural factors, it is probably true that both affect nonconforming behavior both outside and inside the prison.

Looking at other "social" factors our review shows that inmates who have never been married are consistently found to more frequently violate rules than are inmates who are currently married or who have been married at some time in the past. Among New York State inmates drug use has been found to be associated with institutional misconduct. We know however that both marital status (Flanagan 1979, Jensen 1977) and drug use (Flanagan 1981) are associated with age. As mentioned earlier it may be that the association between marital status or drug use and institutional misconduct may simply be a reflection of the fact that younger inmates (who are more likely to acquire disciplinary infractions) are less likely to be married and more likely to use drugs. One can reasonably argue, however, that the responsibilities and commitments normally thought to accompany marriage are part of the settling down process that occurs as persons grow older. Something about being married or having been married may serve to reduce the likelihood of institutional misconduct.

Among short-term inmates in New York problems with alcohol use are related to institutional misconduct. Among older long-term inmates those who use alcohol are less likely to be misconducted.

Our review shows that inmates who were unemployed prior to arrest or who have had difficulty in adjusting to work situations

on the outside are consistently found to violate institutional rules more often. Again younger inmates have probably had more trouble finding a job than older inmates. Still there is some evidence that those who have successfully held a job for some time are more likely to adjust to prison. Although studies find that the type of military discharge is unrelated to institutional misconduct, studies find that those inmates who have served a tour of duty in the service are less likely than other inmates to be misconducted. Service in the military may contribute to maturational processes or to the ability to adjust to prison institutions or to both. The studies reviewed here consistently find that neither school grade level achieved nor I. Q. as measured by standardized test bear any relation to institutional misconduct. Studies examining home life conditions allow no definite conclusion. Some research finds that characteristics of an inmate's home life (e.g. broken home, quality of parent-child relationship) are related to institutional misconduct; other research finds no relationship between home life characteristics and misconduct.

Examining studies that have considered the criminal justice system history of inmates show some tendencies. We find evidence to support the conclusion that inmates who begin their juvenile careers earlier and who penetrate the juvenile justice system the farthest are more likely to be misconducted in state prison. Overall, higher rates of institutional misconduct are found among those inmates who have more frequent police contacts as a juvenile, who are younger in age at first police or court contact, who have committed violent offenses as a juvenile, and who have been committed to an institution as a juvenile.

Research studies that have examined the association between misconduct and the type of commitment crime or whether the inmate has served a prior prison term produce inconsistent results. Some inmates and guards would claim that what an inmate is doing time for has no relation to how he will do his time. A few studies included in this review find no significant association between commitment crime type and misconduct. Other

studies however, show that homicide offenders less often violate institutional rates<sup>33</sup>. One large scale study conducted in New York prison shows that inmates convicted of violent personal crimes other than homicide (e.g. robbery, rape, felony sex offenses, assault, kidnapping) more frequently violate institutional rules than do inmates convicted for other types of offenses. Studies that have confined themselves to assaultive behavior in the prison also produce mixed results. Two research efforts find no association between violent commitment offense and assault in prison. However, two studies that examined characteristics of prison sexual aggressors find that these inmates are more frequently convicted for violent offenses. Inmates who assault officers are slightly more likely to be convicted for violent crimes. Two studies find that use of force in prior conviction is not related to misconduct, one study finds that it is. In general, roughly half of the research studies reviewed find that commitment crime type is unrelated to rule violations or assaultive behavior in the prison. Among the studies that do find differences inmates convicted of assaultive or violent offenses are more likely to violate rules or to assault others in the prison.

The association between misconduct and having served a prior prison term is inconsistent across these studies. As mentioned, some research finds that inmates who have served a prior term are less frequently misconducted, other research finds that recidivist inmates are more frequently misconducted,

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<sup>33</sup> We know that inmates serving long term sentences violate institutional rules at substantially lower rates than do short term inmates. Murder is a crime that typically draws a long term sentence. It may be that some characteristic of homicide offenders produces lower infraction rates among this group or it may be that there is some set of factors associated with serving "big time" that affects rates of misconduct.

and other studies find no association. The research to date does not offer any clear pattern about the relation between prior incarcerations and misconduct. The studies reviewed do show, however, that the number of arrests or convictions as an adult is not related to misconduct. Both sentence length and time served are related to institutional misconduct. Inmates who actually serve sentences of more than 5 years violate institutional rules at much lower rates than do inmates serving terms of five years or less. Among short-term inmates in New York prisons an inverted U-shaped pattern of institutional misconduct is found (Flanagan 1979). The highest rates of misconduct occur during the middle stages of the sentence, the last stage of the sentence — when inmates have parole board appearance or release dates — is characterized by a sharp decline in infractions.

We suggested earlier that the more an inmate was involved in and committed to conventional activities on the outside the less likely is it that he will be poorly conducted in the prison. Inmates who are older, who have been married, or who have had greater employment stability tend to acquire disciplinary infractions at lower rates than do other inmates. Inmates who have a longer and more serious criminal career as a juvenile, and in at least half of the studies reviewed, who have committed crimes involving personal violence, tend to be more poorly conducted in state institutions. While any one of these variables or all of them taken together as a set are not powerful predictors of institutional adjustment, they do discriminate more poorly conducted inmates at statically reliable levels and several of these variables are consistently found to be related to misconduct in the same direction across the studies reviewed.

During the course of looking at studies examining pre-incarceration variables we ran across a few examples of "in prison" variables that are related to misconduct. Looking

at the relationship between these variables and prison misconduct lends some support to the notion that the more an inmate has at stake in the prison or, alternatively, the more he stands to lose, the less likely is it that he will be misconducted.

Obviously one of the most important concerns of an inmate is his release date. One of the factors that can affect release date and which the inmate has some control over is disciplinary infractions. Among inmates who serve five years or less in prison Flanagan observed <sup>an inverted</sup> a U-shaped pattern of disciplinary infractions. The middle stages of the sentence were characterized by the highest rates of misconduct and the last period of the sentence was characterized by a sharp drop off in disciplinary infractions. Flanagan suggests that this decline during the fourth stage of the sentence is due in part to pre-release socialization effects (Wheeler 1961) and in part to "the practical need to promote a favorable impression before the parole board:" (Flanagan 1980). Decisions regarding release date, transfer to another facility or entry in to a particular program (e.g. work furlough, temporary release) do affect the disciplinary adjustment of inmates where these decisions take into consideration the inmate's disciplinary adjustment.

Flanagan also observed that long term inmates are from the very beginning of their sentence less likely to be misconducted. Some part of this is due to the older age of long-termers, but even where age is held constant long-termers are found to offend at lower rates. Other elements may contribute to their lower infraction rates. The sheer number of infractions recorded on the inmate record card may influence decisions that are important to the inmate. Parole board members or program committee members may not fully take into consideration the greater time the long term inmate has spent in the institution when his disciplinary record is considered. Inmates serving more than 3 or 4 year terms may have to be more careful about rule-breaking. Long term inmates are more likely to hold jobs in the prison that are seen as desirable because they offer such advantages as higher pay.

greater mobility throughout the institution, access to information, smaller and more pleasant work situations, or opportunities for a profitable illegitimate enterprise (Ellis 1974:34). They may also have more desirable living arrangements. The possibility of losing a desirable job or living situation may help to reduce misconduct rates. Lastly, long term inmates tend to adopt a more serious attitude about their situation, an attitude that involves exploiting opportunities to make the best use of the time, minding your own business, and learning to "co-exist" with correctional authorities (Flanagan 1980).

In their survey of prisons in California, Michigan and Texas, Petersilia and Honig find that involvement in prison jobs and treatment programs are related to disciplinary adjustment. Their data show that "all other things equal, inmates without prison jobs and with less exposure to treatment programs tend to have significantly higher infraction rates than their counterparts" (1980:73). In New York State inmates with more program changes and work assignment changes were more frequently misconducted (Flanagan 1981). Ellis, et. al. note that the greater the number of educational and recreational facilities provided by the institution the lower is the rate of misconduct.

There are difficulties in assessing the causal direction of these relationships. Petersilia and Honig write "we can make no causal inferences since we are unable to determine whether idle inmates commit more infractions, or inmates who commit more infractions become idle" (1980:73). As they surmise, it is quite likely that both forces operate. Certain background characteristics or predispositions of inmates may make it unlikely that they will accept or hold on to prison jobs. Further, inmates who do not hold jobs have less to lose by violating rules (in terms of pay or other job rewards) and they have more idle time on their hands that may be spent in situations where acquiring an infraction is higher. The efforts of treatment program involvement or holding a job may be twofold. More time is spent in settings where staff supervision is present and one has something at stake that can be jeopardized by misconduct.

Flanagan (1981) has commented that research on institutional misconduct has for too long focused only on the "inmate side" of the transaction. Our understanding of misconduct would be improved if we considered in what ways characteristics of institutions, staff, the general population and administrative policies as well as other factors influence institutional misconduct. (See, for example Ellis et. al. 1974). Additionally how these factors interact with pre-incarceration characteristics of inmates is an important area for more research work.

One of the limitations of using officially recorded rule violations as an index of institutional adjustment is that they "reflect the behavior of officials as well as offenders" (Jensen 1977:560). Officers bring a set of background characteristics and predispositions to the prison setting just as inmates do. Some would argue that there may be "an operating bias on the part of criminal justice officials toward those with certain social and physical characteristics" (Poole and Regoli(1980:931). A few investigators have considered the possibility that prejudices of officials may affect the likelihood that inmate misbehavior will be dealt with by official disciplinary procedures. In his study of a women's prison in a southern state Jensen reports that "the youngest inmates were twice as likely as the oldest inmates to report that they had broken rules, but they were over three times more likely to indicate having been punished (32% as compared to 9%)" (Jensen 1977:560). In a study of institutional rule breaking and disciplinary responses conducted in a medium security prison for inmates in a southern state Poole and Regoli report that "while black and white inmates were equally likely to engage in rule-breaking activity, they were not equally likely to be reported for rule infractions..." (other things equal)..." being black increased the inmates risk of receiving a disciplinary report." (1980:944).

There are a number of reasons why this could be so. There may be differences between officers in the rate at which they issue misbehavior reports. The nature of the correctional

officer's job may be one factor. An officer who is involved with moving a lot of inmates on a daily basis will issue more reports than an officer working in a guard tower. The years of experience an officer has may affect how frequently he issues reports. That an officer seldom writes out a misbehavior report may indicate that he has greater skill than other officers at handling inmates, or, it may be an indication that an officer is careless about his responsibilities. A particular officer and a particular inmate may have difficulty getting along with each other. And, some officers are known by staff and inmates alike as ticket writers. Our point here is that there may be characteristics of the officer staff in general or of particular officers that affect the occurrence of institutional misconduct and whether or not a misbehavior report will be recorded. These factors need to be considered.

It is also clear that there are "situational factors" that determine whether an official misbehavior report will be made out. The importance of situational factors has been most clearly articulated in the area of assaultive behavior (see Wilkins 1972, Toch 1969). The reaction of persons in the immediate situation may have at least as much to do with the occurrence of violent incidents as do demographic, criminal career history or psychological properties of the inmate. Toch argues for a contextual view of prison violence, a view which "conceives of inmate violence as at least partly a prison product"... a view which involves "seeing violence precipitation as an intersection between violence prone personal dispositions and the situational stimuli that involve these dispositions" (1979: 21, 22). That assaultive behavior may have a strong situational component does not mean that further research must end. More careful attention needs to be paid to violent incidents. When and where do they occur? What types of tasks or activities are going on when they occur? What are the motives of the participants? The same kind of questions can be asked about other types of behavior that are found in institutional disciplinary files. If

we can isolate aspects of prison activity (e.g. how strip searches are conducted) or prison climate (e.g. crowding, staff policies) that are related to the occurrence of violent incidents we may attempt to modify how certain tasks are performed or to modify those elements of the institutional climate that can be manipulated so as to reduce the likelihood that violence conducive situations will occur. (See Toch 1979:23-25).

III

CHARACTERISTICS OF INMATES ASSO-  
CIATED WITH ASSAULTIVE OR SEXUALLY  
ASSAULTIVE VICTIMIZATION

A. INTRODUCTION

In this section we examine characteristics of inmates who are victims of aggression, especially sexual aggression. Prison sexual victimization has been defined as a predatory practice whereby inmates of superior strength and knowledge of inmate lore prey on weaker and less knowledgeable inmates (Fisher 1961:89, Toch 1977: 143, Bartollas, Miller, and Dinitz 1976:258). Undoubtedly threatened or actual sexual assault are extreme sources of stress in the prison. Although victims of sexual aggression are only a subgroup of inmates who are assaulted in prison, our review of available studies suggests that these inmates tend to possess characteristics that make them more identifiable than victims of assaults for all types of reasons. That is, victims of assault resulting from property disputes, informing, insults, or gang activity are likely to be more representative of the prison population than are victims of sexual aggression. One study has, however, found that inmates who are victims of sexual aggression are more frequently subject to economic and psychological victimization as well (Bartollas 1976:260-262).

Table I provides descriptive information about the studies reviewed in this section. We draw heavily on Daniel Lockwood's recent study of sexual aggression in New York State prisons. It is particularly relevant because it is the most systematic analysis of victim characteristics. Lockwood's analysis is based on interviews with three different groups:

inmates who were victims of sexual aggression, inmates who were not victims and inmates who were aggressors. Altogether Lockwood interviewed 107 victims drawn from three sources: (1) staff referrals of inmates who had been victimized (34 inmates), (2) victims identified from interviewing a 4% random sample of the population at Attica and Coxsackie (34 inmates), (3) inmates in special cell blocks set up to protect vulnerable prisoners (39 inmates) (1980:12). The comparison group of non-victims was comprised of inmates taken from the random sample of inmates at Attica and Coxsackie who had not been targets of sexual aggression. Lockwood was also able to interview 45 men who were aggressors. Lockwood defines the term sexual aggression "as behavior which leads a man to feel that he is the target of aggressive sexual intentions" (1977). The definition includes inmates who have been subjected to sexual pressuring but which did not result in a completed sexual assault. Targets of sexual aggression are men who are the "recipients of a perceived aggressor's approach" (1977). Lockwood found that roughly 28% of the men in his random sample of inmates had been targets of sexual aggression at some time during their confinement. Of these 4% randomly selected inmates only 1 reported being the victim of a completed prison rape (Lockwood 1980:17-18).

The second important source of prison aggressors is a study directed by Alan Davis concerning sexual assaults in the Philadelphia Prison system and Sheriffs Vans. Davis and his associates interviewed 3,304 inmates and 561 correctional employees in the Philadelphia prison system in the middle 1960's. Davis estimated that during the 26 month period of the study over 2,000 rapes occurred in Philadelphia's jails, vans, and correctional centers (1971:4720).

Two studies, one in North Carolina and one in California have examined the characteristics of inmates who were victims of assaults in prison (i.e. not just sexual assault). In their study of assaults in North Carolina, Fuller and Orsagh

Table VII  
 Characteristics of  
 Inmates who were  
 Victims of Sexual  
 Aggression, Sexual  
 Assault, or Assault<sup>1</sup>

|  | Younger in age | Ethnic status: white<br>black<br>Hispanic | Shorter in height | Lighter in weight | Broken home | Completed high school | Skilled or semi-skilled<br>job prior to incarceration | Prior commitment to incarceration | Health facility | Higher number of<br>suicide attempts | Threat or use of personal<br>force in commitment crime | Threat or use of personal<br>force in prior conviction | Maximum sentence length | Juvenile convictions | Juvenile commitments | Number of adult prior<br>convictions | Number of adult prior<br>commitments |
|--|----------------|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------------|-----------------------|---|-----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|--|--|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Lockwood (1977,<br>1980) New York,<br>Sexual aggression  | +              | + - -                                     | 0                 | + <sup>2</sup>    | 0           | -                     | -   | +                                 | +               | -                                    | -  | 0  | 0                       | 0                    | 0                    | 0                                    | 0                                    |
| Davis (1971)<br>Philadelphia, PA,<br>Sexual aggression   | +              | + - -                                     | 0                 | +                 |             |                       |   |                                   |                 | -                                    | -  |  |                         |                      |                      |                                      |                                      |
| Carrol (197 )<br>New England,<br>Sexual aggression       |                | + - -                                     |                   |                   |             |                       |   |                                   |                 |                                      |  |  |                         | +                    |                      |                                      |                                      |
| Mueller, Toch, Molof<br>(1965) California,<br>assault    | +              | - - -                                     |                   |                   |             |                       |   |                                   |                 |                                      |  |  |                         |                      |                      |                                      |                                      |
| Fuller and Orsagh<br>(1977) North Caro-<br>lina, assault | +              | - - -                                     |                   |                   |             |                       |   |                                   |                 |                                      |  |  |                         | +                    |                      |                                      |                                      |

<sup>1</sup> The relationships in this table reflect comparisons of inmates who were victims with inmates in general population or with a comparison sample of non victims drawn from the population. The table does not reflect significant differences between victims and aggressors.  
 A plus (+) is recorded where a positive association is found, a negative sign (-) where a negative association is found, a zero (0) is recorded where a characteristic is considered and no significant relation was found.

<sup>2</sup> Victims are 15-20 lbs. lighter than either aggressors or non-victims in Lockwood's study. Davis finds victims to be around 17 lbs. lighter than aggressors.

rely on three sources of data: official records, interviews of facility Superintendents, and interviews of inmates. Officially recorded assaults consist of the set of all reported assaultive events occurring within ten prison institutions in North Carolina during the last quarter of 1975 (N=125 events). Fuller and Orsagh also interviewed the Superintendents in ten prisons. They also interviewed approximately 400 inmates in six institutions in 1971. (1977:36-37). In California, Mueller, Toch and Molof (1965) examined characteristics of participants in violent incidents in state prisons and camps that occurred in 1964-1965.

The generally held view is that most victims of aggression in prison are "young, inexperienced heterosexuals" (Schreiber, *et. al.* 1980:111). Toch states that "we'll find the most substantial exposure to pressure where there is the most substantial incapacity to resist it. The most stressful environmental pressures are invoked against those who are most helplessly susceptible to stress" (1977:151; Lockwood 1980:28). Bearing these comments in mind we look more closely at some of the correlates of inmate victimization.

## B. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

### 1. Age

\* Victims of prison sexual aggression and victims of other types of assaultive behavior tend to be in their late teens or early 20's. Victims of sexual aggression tend to be about the same age as aggressors (or just slightly younger), but both targets and aggressors tend to be younger than the average age of prisoners in the system.

Studies in New York (Lockwood 1977), Philadelphia (Davis 1968), California (Mueller, *et. al.*) and North Carolina (Fuller and Orsagh) show that victims of sexual assault and other assaults, like prison aggressors, are significantly

younger than other inmates. Since Lockwood draws much of his data from a facility housing inmates from 16 to 21 he has a built-in relationship between age and sexual victimization. Nonetheless, he reports that over 60% of targets of sexual aggression and aggressors are under age 21 (1980:18). He also reports that victims (average age 22.9) are roughly five years younger than are inmates taken from a random sample of the population who were not targets of aggression. Aggressors also tended to be about five years younger than inmates who were not targets of aggression.

In his study of sexual assaults in Philadelphia jails and detention centers Davis found that victims (average age 20.7 years) were younger than aggressors (average age 23.7) and that both groups were younger than the average age of offenders in the Philadelphia system (1971:4731).

In California, Mueller *et. al.* find that both victims and assailants in incidents of assault are significantly younger than other inmates in the total population (1965:4). In their examination of assaultive events in North Carolina prisons, Fuller and Orsagh present data which show that rates of victimization "decline dramatically with age" (1977:41). They show that inmates between the ages of 15 and 21 represent 41% of the inmate population but they account for 65% of inmates who were the victims of an assault. Moreover, inmates over age 30 constitute 24% of the population but they make up only 8% of assault victims (1977: Table 2 p.41). Again these studies show that both victims and assailants in incidents of assault and of sexual aggression tend to be younger than the average age of the population.

### 2. Ethnicity

\* Victims of sexual aggression tend to be white. For both white and black targets of sexual aggression, aggressors tend to be black.

Studies in New York (Lockwood 1977), Philadelphia (Davis 1971) Ohio (Bartollas, et. al.) and New England (Carroll 1977) show that victims of sexual aggression tend to be white and aggressors tend to be black. In a random sample of inmates at Cossackie and Attica Correctional Facilities Lockwood observes that about half of the whites were targets at one time compared to about one fifth of the blacks and Hispanics. Of whites entering the youth facility at Cossackie 71% report being a target of sexual aggression at some time during their confinement (1980:28). In the table below we present the ethnicity of targets and aggressors in incidents of sexual aggression documented by Lockwood in New York prison:

| <u>Ethnicity</u> | <u>Target A</u> | <u>Aggressor</u> | <u>% of Total Population at Attica and CossackieB</u> |
|------------------|-----------------|------------------|---|
| White            | 83%             | 6%               | 31%   |
| Black            | 16%             | 80%              | 54%   |
| Hispanic         | 1%              | 14%              | 15%   |
| Total            | 100%            | 100%             | 100%  |
| Number           | (152)           | (237)            | (2552)  |

A The data on targets and aggressors are taken from Lockwood 1977: Table 4.1.

B Population figures for the Attica and Cossackie Correctional facilities in 1975 are from: "Characteristics of Inmates under Custody", 1975 New York State Department of Correctional Services Vol. XI No.3 Table 3.1B, p.8.

In Lockwood's study, where the victim of sexual aggression is white and the race of the aggressors is known (N=102 cases, Lockwood 1977 Table 4.3), aggressors are black in 75% of the cases, Hispanic in 11% of the cases, white in 9% of the cases and black/Hispanic in 6% of the cases. Of the 7 cases

where a black was a victim of sexual aggression and the race of aggressors is known <sup>34</sup>, aggressors were black in 4 cases, Hispanic in 2 cases and black/Hispanic in one case. In no case was a black or Hispanic inmate the victim of a white aggressor.

At the time of his study of sexual assaults occurring in the Philadelphia jails and sheriff's vans, Davis reports that 20% of the inmate population was white and 80% was black. Of those incidents where both the ethnicity of the victim and aggressor were known, whites were the victim in 71% of the cases, blacks in 29%. Examining rates of victimization based on cases where the ethnicity of both aggressor and victim is known may distort the true rates of victimization because of the apparent greater reluctance of black victims to disclose incidents involving black aggressors (Davis 1971:4751). Still it is clear that whites are disproportionately victims of sexual aggression. Among cases where the ethnicity of both victims and aggressors are known whites are victimized by other whites in 22% of the incidents and by blacks in 78% of all incidents (in Philadelphia). For black victims aggressors were other blacks in 100% of all incidents.

Looking at assaultive behavior more generally, Fuller and Orsagh report that in North Carolina whites are more frequently victimized than blacks. Employing official records of assaults, they find that during the three month period of their study whites were victims of assault at a rate of 2.2%, blacks at 1.2% - a difference of 45%.

### 3. Urbanicity

\* Targets of sexual aggression are more likely to be residents of less populous areas than are non-targets or aggressors.

<sup>34</sup> It should be pointed out that in 18 (72%) of the 25 cases where a black inmate was the victim the race of the aggressor was reportedly not known (Lockwood 1977: Table 4.3).

In Lockwood's study, victims of sexual aggression are significantly more likely to come from rural or small town background than are either non-targets or prison aggressors (Lockwood 1977 Table 4.5). He finds the following breakdown for targets, non-targets and aggressors.

|                   | Home Town Population <sup>A</sup> |               |                |                   |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|
|                   | Less than 10,000                  | 10,000-50,000 | 50,000-500,000 | more than 500,000 |
| Target (N=101)    | 29%                               | 16%           | 36%            | 19%               |
| Non-target (N=53) | 17%                               | 4%            | 22%            | 58%               |
| Aggressor (N=45)  | 7%                                | 16%           | 11%            | 66%               |

<sup>A</sup> These data are reported in Daniel Lockwood "Sexual Aggression Among Male Prisoners" PhD. Dissertation. State University of New York at Albany, 1977, Table 4.5.

Lockwood however, presents other data that qualifies the information in this Table. He divides both the target group and the non-target group according to whether inmates resided in New York City counties or whether they resided in the other remaining upstate counties. When he looks only at white inmates who were targets he finds that white inmates from New York City counties are nearly as likely to be victimized as white inmates from other counties. Among black and Hispanic inmates residence in an upstate county (i.e. all counties above those that comprise New York City) is associated with a higher probability of being a target (Lockwood: Table 4.7). However, comparing New York City counties with all other counties is not a true big-city—small-city comparison because there are several large cities in the upper part of New York State (e.g. Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse). While it is clear that being white is associated with target status, it also appears to us that residence in a rural area or small town contributes to the likelihood of victimization.

4. Physical Appearance

\* Victims of sexual aggression tend to be slightly shorter than aggressors and they tend to weigh on the average 15-20 lbs. less than both aggressors and inmates who are not victims of sexual aggression. Targets tend to appear "younger" and more slightly built than other inmates.

Davis and his associates observe that first, victims tend to look "young" for their age. Second, victims tend to look less "athletic" and physically "coordinated" than aggressors. Third, victims tend to be handsomer than aggressors. Finally, any person with a physical characteristic or mannerism that even suggests effeminacy will be victimized (1971:4731). Davis finds the average height and weight of victims to be 5'8" and 140 lbs. Aggressors average 5'9" in height and 157 lbs. in weight. Lockwood finds that victims are on the average 5'8" tall and weigh 147 lbs. The control group of non-targets average 5'9" in height and weigh 162 lbs. Victims of aggression, then tend to be slightly shorter than aggressors and they tend to be 15 - 20 lbs. lighter than both aggressors and inmates who are not victims of sexual aggression (Lockwood 1977:Table 4.8). In addition to youth and relative slowness of build, aggressors also select inmates who are thought of as attractive.

C. SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

1. Education, Occupation and Family Background

Lockwood observes that when compared to non-victims, targets of sexual aggression are somewhat less likely to have completed high school or to have held a skilled or semi-skilled job before coming to prison (1977: Table 4.19, 4.20). The differences are probably accounted for by the younger age of the victim group. Lockwood finds little difference in the proportion of inmates who come from broken homes when he compares targets (68%) and non-targets (61%).

D. CRIMINAL JUSTICE HISTORY CHARACTERISTICS

1. Juvenile Convictions/Commitments

Victims of prison aggression do not differ significantly from non-targets with respect to juvenile convictions. Both victims and non-victims are less likely to have a record of juvenile convictions than are aggressors (Lockwood 1977: Table 4. 24).

The proportion of victims incarcerated as juveniles (34%) does not differ at statistically reliable levels from the comparison group of non-victims (24%) but does differ from the proportion of aggressors who have been incarcerated as juveniles (53%) (Lockwood 1977: Table 4.26).

2. Adult Prior Convictions/Commitments

Lockwood reports that victims do not differ from non-victims or aggressors on the average number of prior adult convictions (1977: 4.24) and prior incarcerations (Table 4.25). It is important to note that it is not the case that most victims of prison aggression are undergoing their first incarceration experience. Sixty-five percent of prison targets have some form of adult or juvenile commitment before the commitment on which the incident occurred (Lockwood 1977: Table 4.27, p.43).

3. Use of Force in Commitment and Prior Offenses

Looking at the current commitment offense, Lockwood observes that victims of aggression are less likely than either non-targets or aggressors to have threatened or used personal force. Forty-six percent of inmates who were targets of aggression at these two maximum security facilities had threatened or used force during the offense for which they were committed compared to 85%

for non-targets and 86% of aggressors (Lockwood 1977: Table 4.11). When he examines convictions prior to the current commitment, Lockwood finds that 25% of the victim group had a prior conviction for a forcible crime compared to 58% for the comparison non-target group and 74% for the aggressors. Davis (1971) shows that 68% of the aggressors and only 38% of the victims are charged with serious felonies. "Furthermore, violent assaultive felonies are particularly more common among aggressors than victims" (1971: 4731).

4. Maximum Sentence Length

In Lockwood's study (1977: Tables 4.22, 4.23) the largest proportion of victims (69%) are serving sentences whose maximum length is four years or less. Sixty-six percent of aggressors are serving a term whose maximum length is four years or less. Non-targets are somewhat more likely to be serving longer terms than either victims or aggressors. Maximum sentence length is a poor predictor of target status.

E. OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

1. Mental Health Status

\* Targets of sexual aggression are (1) more likely than non-targets to have resided in a mental health facility at some time prior to the present commitment, (2) are more likely than non targets to have been in a special class for the retarded or emotionally disturbed in high school, (3) are considerably more likely than non-victims to have attempted suicide.

Lockwood finds a statistically significant association between prior residence in a mental health facility and prison victimization. Thirty-two percent of victims have resided in mental health facility at some time prior to the present commitment compared to a rate of 9% for the non-target group. Twenty

five percent of prison aggressors were prior residents of a mental health facility (1977: Table 4.16). Furthermore, Lockwood reports that 8% of prison victims have been in special classes for the retarded or emotionally disturbed while in high school, compared to 2% for the non-victim group (1977: Table 4.19). "Especially if he has other features characteristic of potential targets, the man with a handicap is likely to be approached for sex because he may be alone in prison. In addition to his weakness, his psychological peculiarities may make it easier for an aggressor to dehumanize him" (1980:36).

Lockwood's data also show that targets have a higher recorded rate of suicide attempts (38%) than do non-targets (2%) (1977: Table 4.14) or aggressors (18%). Targets are then, twice as likely as aggressors and more than 17 times as likely as non-targets to have made attempts on their own lives. (Lockwood 1980: 68). Lockwood suggests that victims of aggression may make attempts on their lives due to feelings of powerlessness to cope with a fearful situation and helplessness to avoid or protect oneself from harm (1980: 68).

## 2. Prison Rule Violations

Lockwood finds that the target group is slightly more likely to be written up for rule violations. Aggressors are about twice as likely as either targets or non-targets to have officially recorded rule violations. When the average number of violent disciplinary reports is examined, victims of aggression show a rate (average 1.58) that is considerably higher than that for the comparison group of non-victims (.31) but which is lower than the rate for aggressors (2.49). Lockwood suggests that the rates of violent disciplinary infractions are higher for targets than for non-targets because a large number of targets' violent infractions are fights precipitated by sexual approaches (1980:35).

## 3. Times and Places Incidents Are Most Likely to Occur

Lockwood examines the stage in the incarceration process when incidents occur and finds that 13% of incidents occur in jail, 24% at the reception center, 51% at the first prison after reception, 3% at subsequent prisons and 9% in temporary placements in correctional mental health facilities (1977: Table 4.28). He also presents data showing that 77% of all incidents occur within the first 16 weeks after entering prison (Table 4.29). His data show that newness to a facility is an important variable. During these early weeks, men are tested to see if they are susceptible to sex pressure and whether they have the resources to cope with approaches from other inmates.

## 4. Group Ties

\* Inmates who for one reason or another remain isolates (e.g. do not make friends or find jobs in protective settings) have an increased likelihood of victimization.

In addition to the correlates enumerated above, Lockwood provides other information related to the likelihood of being victimized. Aggressors tend to choose as victims inmates who are seen as weak and as attractive. There are several different properties that contribute to weakness in the prison setting. Examination of these factors sheds some light on the greater susceptibility of whites to victimization.

Lockwood's research shows that many of the characteristics associated with victimization are related to one underlying characteristic—group ties. Lockwood observes that membership in a group "can cancel out the liability of small size" (1980:32).

He notes that "those blacks who never become targets tend to explain their invulnerability by reference to group ties. The same men class others as weak when they do not have a group behind them" (1980:29). The inmates in his sample tell us:

I don't have all that hassle like all the rest of the new group that come in. You see, I have got a whole lot of homies and the new ones come in, they don't know nobody. That is why they have to go through all that hassle, the dudes talking about ripping them off and all that stuff, you see, after you know somebody then you don't have to worry about it.... (1980:29).

Most of the people that they do it to is people that don't have no friends and they can't fight. They just don't hang around a lot of people (Lockwood 1980: 30).

Black and Hispanic inmates coming to prison are more likely to meet friends (boys from their home town or neighborhood) or relatives in the prison. They are more likely to have been members of peer groups in the urban areas of their residence and to join or form such groupings when incarcerated. Lockwood suggests several factors which reduce the likelihood that whites will form groups that are cohesive and effective in preventing victimization: (1) targets more often come from rural or small town areas and thereby stand less of a chance of meeting other prisoners from their home neighborhood, (2) white inmates are likely to lack both a gang tradition and a violent tradition, (3) white inmates are more likely for a variety of reasons to reject other white inmates or to "look on fellow prisoners as "unsavory, immoral individuals" (Lockwood 1980:30-31). Even where they do form, white groups in prison differ from black groups:

in that they are less powerful, less cohesive, and have less potential for violence. White groups are less likely to retaliate for a slight to one of their members. White groups also inspire less fear in exploiters (Lockwood 1980:30).

Aggressors see strength in group membership and see isolation as weakness. Lockwood suggests that some inmates may be victimized because they have failed to join groups or fail to get themselves installed in jobs or cell blocks offering protection (1980:26). In addition to fighting, inmates suggest that for those who risk victimization the best thing to do is to hang out "and try and get to know people" (1980:52). "Unless a man meets a group from his home neighborhood or prisoners known from serving a previous sentence, he must mingle in prison if he hopes to be part of a clique that will offer him physical security and psychic support" (Lockwood 1980:77). In the prison setting, a man's social capability or ability to become a group member is very important. Those who are young or unsophisticated, who act "odd", have effeminate mannerisms, or who have handicaps of one type or another may have less success in forming protective ties to other inmates. Furthermore, as Lockwood states "the odd-acting man, especially if he is young and from an unsophisticated background, may be seen more easily as something less than a man. Exploiting him sexually may also be easier because the probability of empathy is reduced" (1980:36).

#### 5. Experience With Violence

Fighting back seems to be the most commonly offered solution to aggression. "Those who lack the ability to muster a reaction of power or those who lack a reputation of being capable of violence are apt to be victimized" (Lockwood 1980:33). Those who are young, inexperienced, from rural backgrounds or who have had mental health problems are likely to have had less experience in dealing with violence. Victims tend to have exhibited less physical violence in the crime for which they were committed, during prior crimes, and during their stay in the facility. Inmates who appear to have had less experience in dealing with threats or physical force (who can't or won't fight) are more likely to be victimized.

6. Newness

Newness to the particular facility is also an attribute of weakness. Lockwood shows that a majority of victimizations occur within the first 16 weeks of incarceration. "Newness in the social setting marks one for testing.... Because he has yet to define his identity to others and because his lack of peer support mark him as weak, the new prisoner is in a high-risk group for sexual victimization" (1980:26).

It should be pointed out that when we look at reasons for aggressive behavior other than sexual aggression (e.g. disputes arising over gambling, drugs, property, etc.) the distinctions between victims and assailants become less sharp. This is true in part because many assaultive incidents have their origin in the particular situation at hand (e.g. reaction to verbal insults or incidents arising at times when alcohol or drugs are being used) and the assailant or aggressor in the situation may end up as the victim. Fuller and Orsagh find for instance that the factor most predictive of being the victim of an assault "is the fact the victim was himself, an assailant" (1973:45,46).

F. SUMMARY

1. Victims of prison sexual aggression and victims of other types of assaultive behavior tend to be in their late teens or early 20's. Victims of sexual aggression tend to be about the same age (or just slightly younger) as aggressors but both targets and aggressors tend to be younger than the average age of prisoners in the system.
2. Victims of sexual aggression tend to be white. For both white and black targets of sexual aggression, aggressors tend to be black.
3. Targets of sexual aggression tend to be residents of less populous areas than do nontargets or aggressors.

4. Victims of sexual aggression tend to be slightly shorter than aggressors and they tend to weigh on the average 15-20 lbs. less than both aggressors and inmates who are not victims of sexual aggression. Targets tend to appear "younger" and more slightly built than other inmates.
5. Victims of sexual aggression are less likely than either non-targets or aggressors to have used or threatened violence in the crime for which they were committed or in past offenses they have committed.
6. Victims of sexual aggression tend to be serving somewhat shorter terms than non-victims. Maximum sentence length is a poor predictor of target status.
7. Targets of sexual aggression are no more likely than non-targets to have juvenile convictions or incarcerations.
8. Targets of sexual aggression tend not to differ from non-targets in number of prior adult convictions or incarcerations. A majority of targets have prior incarcerations.
9. Targets of sexual aggression are somewhat less likely than non-targets (probably due to their younger age) to have completed high school or to have held a skilled or semi-skilled job.
10. Targets of sexual aggression are (1) more likely than non-targets to have resided in a mental health facility at some time prior to the present commitment, (2) are more likely than non-targets to have been in a special class for the retarded or emotionally disturbed in high school, (3) are considerably more likely than non-victims to have attempted suicide.
11. Targets of sexual aggression are no more likely than non-victims to be written up for general rule violations. However, targets of sexual aggression are written up more frequently than non-victims for violent disciplinary infractions.
12. A majority of incidents of sexual aggression occur within the first 16 weeks after entering prison. A majority of incidents occur at the reception center (24%) or the first prison to which an inmate is transferred after the reception center (51%).
13. Inmates who for one reason or another remain isolates (e.g. do not make friends or find jobs in protective settings) have an increased likelihood of victimization.

IV

CHARACTERISTICS OF INMATES ASSO-  
CIATED WITH SELF-INJURY

A. INTRODUCTION

1. Definitional Issues and Comparability of Studies

In the following section we examine characteristics of inmates who have injured themselves during confinement. In our discussion self-injury or self-mutilation refers to cutting an arm with a sharp instrument, attempting to hang oneself, or other behavior that involves inflicting injury on the self or which is designed to cause one's own death. Self-injury in prison is in part due to stresses found in the prison environment and partly to predispositions or stresses that inmates bring with them to prison. Self-injury is a resort for inmates who do not possess the skills or are unable to mobilize the resources that could enable them to handle stressful situations in prison. Toch suggests that "self injuries are characteristic reactions in detention settings because they provide an index of personal difficulties which are uniquely prevalent in jails and prisons" (1975:127).

Our information about self-injury in the prison comes from investigations in New York State (Toch 1975, Johnson 1976), North Carolina (Johnson and Britt 1969) and Texas (Beto and Claghorn 1968, see Table VIII). Toch and his associates interviewed inmates incarcerated between January 1971 and August 1973 in the major facilities of the New York State Department of Corrections and the New York City Department of Corrections. They interviewed 357 males who had committed acts of self-injury or had attempted suicide, as well as a randomly selected group

of inmates from these prisons who had not injured themselves. Johnson and Britt (1969) conducted an extensive analysis of self-injury in prison, part of which involved comparing background data on 293 inmates who had injured themselves with data on over 5,000 felons confined in North Carolina Correctional facilities. In Texas, Beto and Claghorn examined 50 inmates who had injured themselves in Texas penal institutions and who were subsequently referred to a special unit for the care and treatment of mentally ill inmates. These inmates were compared with 50 other inmates housed in this special unit who had not injured themselves.

2. Rates

Toch and his associates surveyed a New York Institution for youthful offenders (age range 16-21) in 1972 and found 57 officially recorded cases of self-injury, which produces a rate of 7.7% for officially recorded incidents; that is, an inmate housed in this facility has about a 7.7% chance of self-injury during the period of his confinement. At Attica Correctional Facility they find a rate of officially recorded incidents of 2.2% and at the Clinton Correctional Facility 3.76% (1975:128). Toch estimates that 3.2% of the prison population have unrecorded self-destructive experience in prison and that 6.5% of the inmate population have an unrecorded incident of self-injury that occurred at some point during confinement (i.e. includes detention and jail as well as prison) (1975:129). Toch also reports that among those inmates transferred from other prisons to a mental Hospital in a psychiatrically oriented prison 31.7% have injured themselves in prison. Statistics maintained by NYDOCS on Unusual Incidents in the institution show that during the period September 1979-August 1980 there were 184 incidents where an inmate purposely injured himself (61), attempted suicide (120), or committed suicide (3). Using these figures found in Unusual Incident Reports the rate for inmate self injury or attempted suicide for the total New York State under custody population would be approximately .9%<sup>A</sup> (Unusual Incidents, NYDOCS, 1980).

In the next few pages we briefly review the findings reported in studies of inmate self-injury. Table IX summarizes these findings.

<sup>A</sup> Our denominator here is the 20,895 inmates under custody in New York Prisons on December 31, 1979.

Table VIII. Characteristics of Studies Reviewed, Inmate Self-Injury

| Author                        | Region                       | Time                 | Facilities   | Security Level     | Sample size  | Behavior studied                            | Measurement of Dependent Variable  |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|--|--------------------|--|---|--|
| Toch (1975)                   | New York State Prison System | Jan.1971<br>Aug.1973 | All major New York State prisons, New York City Correctional institutions  | max, medium        | 381<br>Self injury<br>-----<br>175 comparison group  | Self injury or attempted suicide in prison  | officially recorded self-injury or attempted suicide, self reports of injury, and information on self injury inmates from other inmates. |
| R. Johnson (1976)             | (Same as above)              |                      |  |                    |  |   |  |
| E.K. Johnson and Britt (1969) | North Carolina               | 1958-1966            | All North Carolina State Prisons   | Maximum to minimum | 293<br>Self injury<br>-----<br>5,333 comparison  | Self injury or attempted suicide in prison. | officially recorded self-injury or attempted suicide   |
| Beto and Claghorn 1968        | Texas                        | Not given            | 1 State prison Psychiatric evaluation and treatment center. Population 381 | not given          | 50 Self injury<br>-----<br>50 non-injurers housed in special unit for mentally ill inmates | Self injury                                 | officially recorded self-injury  |

Table IX.  
CHARACTERISTICS OF INMATES  
ASSOCIATED WITH SELF-INJURY

|  | Age; younger inmates found more likely to injure self | Ethnicity |       |   | Urbanicity, (population size of inmate's residence) | Never married | Higher number of school grade levels completed | Unemployed or low skilled job | Employment stability (e.g. length of time job held) | Drug Use | Alcohol dependence | Offense type: committed a violent personal offense (e.g. assault, homicide) | Number of jail terms served | Served a prior prison term | Prison rule violations |
|--|---|-----------|-------|---|---|---------------|--|-------------------------------|---|----------|--------------------|---|-----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
|  | White   | Black     | Latin |   |   |               |  |                               |   |          |                    |   |                             |                            |                        |
| Toch (1975)<br>Johnson (1976) <sup>1</sup><br>New York State | +2  | +         | -     | + | 0   | +             | -  | 0                             | 0   | -        | 0                  | +   | 0                           | -                          |                        |
| Johnson and Britt (1969)<br>North Carolina                   | +   | +         | -     |   |   | +             | 0  | 0                             |   |          |                    | -   | +                           | +                          |                        |
| Beto and Claghorn (1968)<br>Texas                            | 0   | +         | -     | + |   | 0             |  | +                             |   | +3       |                    | 0   |                             |                            |                        |

<sup>1</sup>The findings in Toch (1975) and Johnson (1976) are based on the same sample of New York State inmates.

<sup>2</sup>A plus (+) is recorded where a characteristic is positively related to self injury, a negative sign (-) where a characteristic is negatively related to self injury, a zero (0) is recorded where a characteristic was considered by a researcher but no statistically significant relation was found.

<sup>3</sup>Beto and Claghorn find differences only among Latin inmates, a higher proportion of self injurers had used narcotics.

B. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

1. Age

Two of the studies of inmate self-injury show that younger inmates are significantly more likely to injure themselves than are older inmates. Toch and his associates report that at the time of their study inmates under 21 made up 22% of the prison population, but they find that 39% of the self-injury inmate group is under age 21 (Toch 1975:129). In their study of self-mutilations in North Carolina prisons Johnson and Britt report that 29% of the felon inmates in the state prison system are age 20 or younger. They find that 51% of the self-mutilators are age 20 or younger at admission (1969: III-115). In Texas Beto and Claghorn find no age differences (1968:25).

2. Ethnicity

Black inmates are less likely than other inmates to injure themselves in state prison.

Latin inmates are more likely than is their representation in the population to injure themselves.

White inmates are found by some studies to injure themselves at a rate equal to their representation in the population and are found in other studies to be more likely to injure themselves than other inmates.

There are strong differences in rates of self-injury by ethnic status. Blacks are underrepresented among prison self-injurers, white and Latin inmates are overrepresented among self-injurers. Toch (1975:129) reports the following statistically significant differences in rates of self-injury by ethnic status in New York State Prisons:

| <u>Ethnicity</u> | <u>Self-Injury Group</u> | <u>Prison Population</u> |
|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Black            | 24%                      | 58%                      |
| White            | 53%                      | 28%                      |
| Latin            | 22%                      | 13%                      |

Beto and Claghorn (1968:26) also report statistically significant ethnic differences among Texas inmates. Like Toch, they found that blacks were underrepresented and Latins overrepresented among prison self-injurers. Figures from their report are:

| <u>Ethnicity</u> | <u>Self-Injury Group</u> | <u>Total Prison Population</u> |
|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Blacks           | 6%                       | 36%                            |
| Whites           | 58%                      | 46%                            |
| Latin            | 36%                      | 18%                            |
|                  | N = 50                   | N = 12,547                     |

Among 291 males prisoners housed in a North Carolina prison who inflicted injuries upon themselves at least once during the period 1958 through May 1966 Johnson and Britt find differences in rates of self-injury by ethnic status. Again, blacks are considerably less likely than whites to injure themselves (1973:252-253). Other research supports the differences in rates of self-injury reported by Toch (1975) and by Johnson and Britt (1969). Johnson (1976) reviews a large number of studies of prison self-injury and suicide. Overall, these studies show that (1) relatively few blacks injure or attempt to kill themselves in confinement, (2) that Latins are more likely than is their representation in prison population to injure themselves, and (3) that whites are found by some studies to be overrepresented among self-injurers and are found in other studies to show rates of self-injury proportionate to their representation in the population (1976:8-9).

3. Urbanicity

Johnson finds that the population size of the inmate's residence is not related to self-injury in the prison (1976, 155). Inmates from large cities are equally as likely as inmates from smaller cities or rural areas to injure themselves in state prisons.

C. SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

1. Marital Status

Inmates who have never been married are more likely to injure themselves in state prison than are inmates who are currently married or who have at some time in the past been married.

We observed earlier that inmates who have never been married are more likely to violate institutional rules. Inmates who have never been married are also more likely to resort to self-injury in the prison. Toch's data show that while 55% of the inmates in his comparison sample have never been married, 73% of the inmates in the self-injury group have never been married. Johnson and Britt (1969 III-125) show that at the time of their study 51% of the felons in North Carolina prisons had never been married compared to 65% of self-mutilators who had never been married. Beto and Claghorn tell us that marital status was unrelated to self-injury in their data, but they do not show rates of self-injury for different marital status categories, so it is possible that if inmates were grouped into "ever married" or "never married" the differences observed in other studies would emerge. Some portion of the association between self-injury and marital status is probably due to the younger age of inmates found in the self-injury group.

2. Education and Occupation

Johnson was a participant in the collection and analysis of New York State data examined by Toch (1975). Johnson estimates that 25% of the New York State prison population had an educational achievement level of grammar school or less. Among inmates who injured themselves 51% had an educational achievement level of grammar school or less (1976: Table 4.3). The data

in the North Carolina Study by Johnson and Britt show only slight differences in educational level between self-injurers and the general population (1969: III-122).

Beto and Claghorn find that inmates who injured themselves were considerably more likely to have a history of poor adjustment to work situations (1968:26). Johnson and Johnson & Britt find no relation between employment stability and self-injury.

3. Drug or Alcohol Use

Toch finds that among New York State inmates those who have a history of drug involvement are less likely to injure themselves while in confinement. Only 24% of the self-injury group have drug histories compared to 49% of the general prison population (1975:128). Among blacks and whites in Texas prisons there is no significant relation between drug use and self-mutilation (Beto and Claghorn 1968:26). Among Latin inmates, however, Beto and Claghorn report that 61% of the self-injury group had used narcotics compared to 22% of the comparison group.

In New York State Johnson finds that inmates who have a history of addiction-related crime are less likely than other inmates to injure themselves. At the time of his New York State study he estimated that 45% of the inmate population had had a history of drug addiction-related crime compared to only 19% of the self-injury group.

For whatever reason then those inmates who have had a history of drug use or drug addiction related crime are less likely to injure themselves while in confinement.

Johnson found no relation between alcohol dependence and self-injury.

D. CRIMINAL JUSTICE HISTORY CHARACTERISTICS

1. Offense Type

New York State inmates with a history of personal violence are slightly more likely to fall into the self-injury group. Thirty-five percent of the self-injury group has a history of personal violence, only 28% of the general prison population did so at the time of the study (Toch 1975: 129). In North Carolina, Johnson and Britt find that self-mutilators are less likely to have been involved in crimes against the person than are other inmates (1969: III-118). Beto and Claghorn find no differences by crime type between multilators and non-mutilators.

2. Prior Prison Experience

Johnson reports that for New York State inmates self-mutilators are less likely to have served a prior prison term. Only 33% of the self-injury group has had prior prison experience compared to 46% of the population (Johnson 1976: Table 4.5). In North Carolina self-mutilators were slightly more likely to have served a prior prison term (Johnson and Britt 1969: III-109).

E. OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

1. Prison Rule Violations

Johnson and Britt show that self-injurers are significantly more likely than other inmates to have violated prison rules. They show that 40% of the felon population in North Carolina prisons have one or more rule violations compared to 86% of the mutilator group. More dramatically, 3.6% of the felon population have 7 or more rule violations compared to 32% of the self-mutilation group (1969: III-100).

F. REASONS FOR SELF-INJURY

As mentioned earlier, Toch and his associates interviewed inmates at length. They analyzed these interviews to identify the dominant feelings and concerns of self-injury inmates and to obtain an accurate description of the difficulties encountered by each inmate. The inmates in their study describe crisis situations for which the best or only solution appears to be self-injury. Researchers who have studied self-injury in the prison setting tell us that crisis situations that result in self-injury are a "... transactional product of environmental stresses and personal susceptibilities" (Johnson 1976:35). That is, there are many sources of stress in prison, some fall more heavily on certain types of inmates and some inmates are more poorly equipped to deal with prison stress. Johnson, for instance, tells us that:

Vulnerable groups may be differentially exposed to prison pressure, or may variously lack the resources to combat normal prison stress. The adolescent, naive or traumatized prisoners may be more likely to become victims of substantial peer abuse than their adult or urban counterparts. They may be unable to respond to routine prison threats (1976:8)

Because there are different sources of stress in the prison environment and different types of inmates (e.g. young-old, urban-rural) crisis situations have different shapes. In his study Toch was able to identify and define 16 different basic shapes or themes of crisis. It is important to point out that the types of stress that are reported by inmates who injure themselves are not confined to this group; they occur frequently in the general population as well. In fact, Toch remarks that "if a single fact emerges from our control interviews, it is the observation that almost no inmate's institutional

career had been free of serious (and potentially disabling) stress" (1975:284) <sup>35</sup>.

Based on the type of difficulty facing the inmate Toch and his associates were able to group the sixteen self-injury crisis themes into three general categories <sup>36</sup>. The three categories that emerged are coping, self-perception, and impulse management (Toch 1975:23). Coping difficulties refer to stress produced by concrete or situational problems experienced in prison. The second general category contains types of stress that stem from difficulties the inmate has—or has had—in relating to other persons, difficulties which produce a negative self-image. The inmate's assessment of his own worth as a person is an important factor that runs through the distress themes in the self-perception category. The third general category of stress types is labelled "impulse management". It refers to stress produced by the inmate's struggle with his own feelings or impulses (Toch 1975:23, 93). More so than the other general categories, the stress themes in the impulse management group seem to reflect internal turmoil or difficulties with the management of impulses that arise within the inmate's own psyche.

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<sup>35</sup> In Appendix A we have included the percentage of inmates in the control group who experience each of the types of stress in Toch's typology. In addition we have included the percentage of inmates in the self-injury group who experience (as the primary source of concern) each of the types of stress in the typology. (These figures are taken from Toch 1975:5.15, p. 142).

<sup>36</sup> The crisis themes identified by Toch and a brief definition of each is included in Appendix A. It will be helpful to refer to this Appendix during the following discussion.

In addition to grouping the types of distress experienced by self-injury inmates, Toch argues that there are three types of response or three types of unhappy feelings that occur among inmates who are experiencing stress. These three psychological dimensions that affect the type of crisis that evolves he labels as impotence, fear, and need for support (Toch 1975: Table 1.1 and Johnson 1976:34-36). Some inmates resort to self-injury due to strong feelings of helplessness to alter the actions of others, or to cope with thought processes occurring in their own minds. Involved here are feelings of ineffectiveness, self-doubt, self-hate, etc. A second type of response to stress is fear. For those who fear sexual assault, death, injury at the hands of unknown enemies, continued solitary confinement, or uncontrollable urges, self injury may be a solution. A third type of reaction to stress is demands for support from correctional officers, mental health or other staff personnel or from significant others outside the prison. Here, self-injury conveys the inmate's urgent need for relief from arbitrary treatment, ignored requests, abandonment by others outside the prison, or his needs for the attention of a psychiatrist, etc. The various types of crisis situation, then, can be distinguished from one another according to the type (s) of stress that the inmate is experiencing (e.g. coping, self-perception or impulse management) and the type of reaction this stress produces in the inmate (e.g. feelings of impotence, fear, or need for support).

Below we review examples of the types of stress that reflect the crisis themes in each of the three general categories. Included is the type of reaction by the inmate that characterizes each crisis theme. Examples of crisis themes in the "coping" category are:

- 1) an inmate is no longer able to bear confinement in an isolated or segregated setting and uses self-injury to communicate this to staff. His reaction is one of extreme anxiety, panic or fear (Isolation Panic, see Appendix for more detailed definitions).

2) an inmate has a physical problem that he feels requires staff services. If these demands are ignored or otherwise unmet he may injure himself to get the support and attention he needs (Aid Seeking).

3) an inmate may injure himself in order to communicate to staff the importance he places in staying in a particular setting (e.g. on a particular tier, among inmates of the same ethnicity) or, conversely, of his need to be moved to another setting. Staff support in terms of respect for his need to stay in a particular setting is the central issue (Self-Classification).

4) an inmate may see himself as the victim of "continued arbitrariness, inequity and abuse by the criminal justice system and its personnel" (Toch 1975:32). He sees himself as continually wronged and can no longer endure it. His reaction is one of helplessness and resentment. (Self-Victimization).

5) an inmate may injure himself to relieve anxiety or stress about a problem (e.g. news from home) for which he can find no solution. The individual feels powerless to effect any kind of solution to a difficult problem (Sanctuary Search).

Next are examples of stress found in the self-perception category. These are difficulties that grow out of relations with other persons and which affect the inmate's own image of himself. This negative self-assessment category contains the two stress themes that occur most frequently among inmates who injure themselves: Self-Linking (26% of self-injuries) and Fate Avoidance (25% of self-injurers, Toch 1975:Table 5.4).

1) Fate avoidance is a crisis in which the inmate is unable to handle "a current or impending social situation which he fears because he sees himself as weak, ineffective or unable to appropriately respond" (Toch 1975:51). It indicates "a feeling of powerlessness to avoid or protect oneself from harm. A person with such a problem makes a suicidal attempt because he wishes to avoid being harmed as an unavoidable fate" (Lockwood 1980:68). Two inmates who are fearful of sexual assault explain these feelings in this way:

I was just so confused and everything. Because of that, I just didn't care anymore and I felt to myself if they are going to rip me off for my ass, I am going to cut up

and go over to the hospital and they can't get me over there. I just didn't care. (Lockwood 1980:68).

... I figured that I was going to be a goner, and they would take my manhood or something. So I just cut up and then I chickened out. I wanted to kill myself or some stupid shit like this... (Lockwood 1980:69).

2) A second frequently occurring difficulty is labelled Self-Linking. An inmate may injure himself "as a protest against intolerable separation from significant others, against perceived abandonment by them, or against his inability to function as a constructive member of a group (Toch 1975:51). Feelings of abandonment or betrayal by significant others (e.g. wives, lovers, parents) may cause some men to feel cut loose or adrift and may make it more difficult for them to survive in the prison. Toch suggests that the self-pity and anger which accompany feelings of rejection or betrayal may cause problems in interpersonal relationships and difficulties in adjusting to the institutional setting. Difficulties attributable to Self-Linking crises occur significantly more often among Latin inmates. (Self-Linking).

3) An inmate may injure himself to communicate to a wife or common law wife his inability to survive a relationship that is breaking up. Like self-linking this is a crisis situation where support from others outside the prison is lacking but needed. (Self-Certification)

4) Following a review of his past behavior and future prospects an inmate concludes that he is nothing but a liability to his friends and family, that this will continue to be so in the future and that everyone would be better off without him. There are strong feelings here of worthlessness and failure; impotence is the relevant psychological dimension (Self-Sentencing).

5) Following his own recounting of past life events an inmate may injure himself in order to punish himself for past mistakes and ineffectiveness. Toch states that in this crisis theme the "dominant tone is not despair and remorse but bitterness and self-contempt" (Self-Retaliation)

6) Seeing his past life as a failure and any future life he might have as also a failure an inmate may become apathetic and discouraged and see no reason to go on living. The relevant psychological dimension is impotence: "The man sees himself as no longer active and influencing, as having no way of affecting his own life for the better" (Self-Deactivation) (Toch 1975-54).

The crisis themes that Toch places in the third general category, impulse management, come closest to what are thought of as psychotic illnesses. Types of stress in this category reflect difficulties in managing unwanted impulses or urges.

- 1) An inmate is convinced that he is in serious danger of being killed or seriously injured by powerful enemies either known (e. g. staff) or unknown to him (e.g. other inmates). He injures himself in order to avoid "imminent destruction by others" (Toch 1975:94). His reaction is one of fear (Self\_Preservation, see Appendix).
- 2) An inmate may believe that he is loosing his sanity. He experiences strong impulses that direct him to destroy himself. Injury results from his effort to escape the fear that is felt from imagined threats or from his own destructive potential. (Self-Escape).
- 3) An inmate experiences an angry, uncontrolled state of rage. Injury results from an attempt to discharge these aggressive feelings and to escape the tension and distress that accompany these feelings. This angry uncontrolled state of mind may follow from an accumulation of guilt, resentment, bitterness or other painful memories and experiences that the inmate feels powerless to do anything about (Self-Release).
- 4) An inmate may experience mental disturbance that can be described as living in two worlds. In one world the inmate is in control of his own thoughts and actions. His other world is one of "turmoil and conflict" a world where "needs and impulses have a life of their own" and where "a man is impelled rather than in control". Doubts about what is real and what is not real are experienced. The inmate may injure himself as a result of commands that originate outside himself, commands that he feels powerless to resist. The relevant psychological dimension is one of impotence. (Self-Alienation).
- 5) An inmate believes that professional help is required to help him understand and control destructive impulses that he is experiencing. As was true of physical ailments, if requests for counseling by professionals are ignored or denied, self-injury may be resorted to in order to dramatize his need. The relevant psychological dimension is one of searching for support from others. (Self-Intervention).

Following the development of a system of classifying personal difficulties that lead to self-injury in prison, Toch and his associates sought to determine whether some inmates (e.g. younger-older, violent-nonviolent) experience some types of distress more frequently than other types. They find that characteristics of inmates are related to the likelihood of experiencing certain types of prison stress. Below we present relevant information on age, ethnicity, and history of personal violence as they relate to types of distress experienced while in confinement.

#### 1. Age

Younger inmates are more likely than older inmates to injure themselves in three types of crisis situations: (1) an inability to withstand continued isolated confinement (Isolation Panic) (2) due to aggression or pressuring from other inmates (Fate Avoidance) (3) or to dramatize the intensity of their feelings about a relationship with a loved one that is now falling apart. Older inmates are significantly more likely to injure themselves due to fear of death or injury from unknown enemies in the prison (Self-Preservation)

Toch divided his sample of self-injury inmates into two groups: those who were 21 or younger and those who were over 21. He examined how frequently members of each group experienced each of the 16 crisis themes that form his typology. Three of the crisis themes occurred significantly more often among younger inmates, one stress theme occurred more often among older inmates, and on the remaining twelve crisis themes there were no significant age differences (See Toch 1975: Table 5.7).

Younger inmates are more likely to experience two of the crisis themes in which fear is an important component of the inmate's distress: One, Isolation Panic, is panic that results when an inmate is unable to cope with continued confinement in an isolated setting (e.g. special housing); younger inmates

are more likely to experience stress that results from difficulties in coping with confinement in isolated settings (e.g. special housing). Johnson argues that some younger inmates rely heavily on activity as means of adjusting to prison stresses (1976:466). Solitary confinement disrupts this important coping strategy. He writes that "Persons with strong needs for social contact and support may find involuntary periods of segregation an alien and disheartening experience" (1976: b:465). In addition to removing a tool for adjusting to prison, an inmate "may find an empty segregation cell a context for unwanted reflection. Not uncommonly, the person dwells on the various benefits of life in the free world now denied him and experiences intense feelings of loneliness and deprivation" (Johnson 1976: 467).

Inmates 21 or younger are also significantly more likely to injure themselves as a result of aggression or pressuring by other inmates (Fate Avoidance, see Appendix A, Toch 1975: 135, Johnson 1976b). That younger inmates are overrepresented on the Fate Avoidance (fear of other inmates) theme agrees with Lockwood's data on sexual aggression, which shows younger inmates are more likely to be the victims of aggression by others. Some younger inmates may invite peer pressure or sexual pressuring because they "appear comparatively naive and effeminate". (Johnson 1976 B:475). Some youthful inmates may simply lack the "street sophistication or poise required to avoid or rebuff peer confrontations" (Johnson). Again, those most likely to experience this stress have the fewest resources to cope with it. Self-injury may be resorted to in order to acquire support from staff or from fear and despair over what seems an inevitable fate.

Younger inmates are also more likely to injure themselves in order to dramatize the intensity of their feelings about a relationship with loved one(s) (e.g. family members, girl friend) that is falling apart (Self-Certification). Some

younger inmates require more support from other persons outside the prison in order to cope with the pressure of prison confinement. Johnson argues that for some inmates if this need for support is not forthcoming after routine requests, "self-mutilation is a back-up means of securing assistance" (1976 b:471). The stress produced by disrupted family ties falls more heavily on younger inmates.

Lastly, older inmates (over age 21) are more likely to injure themselves out of a belief that they have unknown enemies in the prison who seek to destroy them (Self-Preservation: Toch 1975: Table 5.7).

## 2. History of Personal Violence

Looking only at the group of inmates who had injured themselves, Toch compared the prevalence of crisis themes among inmates with a past record of personal violence (e.g. a conviction for assault, homicide, etc.) to those having no record of personal violence. On two of the sixteen crisis themes significant differences are found according to past violent history. Inmates with no record of personal violence are more likely to experience fear of other inmates (Fate Avoidance). Inmates with a record of personal violence are significantly more likely to injure themselves in order to discharge frustration and aggressive feelings (Self-Release; Toch 1975:Table 5.8).

## 3. Ethnicity

The variable that has been examined most extensively with respect to self-injury in prison is ethnicity. Using the same New York State data presented by Toch, Johnson (1976) conducted a detailed analysis of ethnicity and self-injury. We recall that both white and Latin inmates are overrepresented among inmates who injure themselves and that blacks

are considerably underrepresented among inmates who injure themselves. Additionally, Latin inmates are more likely than white or blacks to have multiple incidents of self-injury (Johnson 1976).

Johnson (1976) argues that ethnic differences bear an important relationship to self-injury in prison. He suggests that differences in cultural background and socialization experiences that are associated with ethnic status have an impact on how well an inmate can deal with stressful situations in the prison. Johnson presents evidence which supports his belief in the primacy of ethnicity as a correlate of prison self-injury. In his text he points out that several background characteristics associated with self-injury operate in a different manner depending on whether one looks at jail inmates or prison inmates. For instance, young, unmarried and non-addicted inmates are more likely to injure themselves in prison settings, while in jail settings older, married and addicted inmates are more likely to break down (Johnson 1976: 43-47). Importantly, he finds consistent differences in rates of self-injury according to ethnic status in both jail and prison settings. The proportion of inmates in each ethnic group who injure themselves in prison is very similar to the proportion of inmates in each ethnic group who injure themselves in jail settings. Johnson reports that, like ethnicity, educational achievement and offense type were related in the same manner in both prison and jail settings. However, when he looks at the interaction between educational achievement and ethnicity he finds that ethnic differences in rates of self-injury are unchanged, that is, whites show the highest rate followed by Latin inmates and then blacks. There is then, evidence which shows that the association between ethnicity and self-injury is strong, that it is consistent across confinement settings (where other characteristics are not) and that it is unaffected by other background variables. We turn now to a more detailed examination of self-injury within each ethnic group.

a. Latin Inmates

Latin inmates are significantly more likely to injure themselves as a result of stress produced by separation from family members and other loved ones.

The most frequently occurring reason for self-injury among Latin inmates is stress produced by separation from family members and other loved ones. This was a concern expressed by 41% of the Latin self-injury inmates (Toch 1975:134). This source of stress is labeled Self-Linking in Toch's typology, and self-injury among inmates in this group is viewed as "a protest against intolerable separation from significant others, against perceived abandonment by them, as against (the inmate's) inability to function as a constructive member of a group" (1975:51). "The person here feels that his well being is tied to his relationship (usually with his family) and he sees no satisfactory existence without such contact or link" (Johnson 1976:54). Latin inmates are significantly more likely than either black or white inmates to injure themselves as a result of anxiety produced by separation from others. Moreover the family dependence crisis theme is the only one of Toch's 16 themes that is associated at statistically reliable levels with a Latin background, and this association survives "when controls are introduced for a host of demographic and criminal history variables, as well as for frequency of self-mutilation and for the penal setting in which the events took place" (Johnson 1976:55).

Johnson contends that "Latin inmates live in warm, supportive, family centered worlds". He writes that "the centrality of the family in the lives of most lower class Latin men is a theme that permeates virtually every scholarly work on the personal impact of Latin cultural experiences". (1976:14). The loss of contact and close ties with family members is particularly troublesome for Latin inmates. Drawing on data produced by interviews of several hundred New York State inmates who had injured themselves, Johnson reports

that: "in explaining suicide attempts Latin men often tell us that they have found their family lifelines too suddenly and arbitrarily cut off after they have been incarcerated" (1975: 171). Furthermore, incarceration in the prison may serve to rekindle or reemphasize dependency ties to the family, and this is particularly troubling for some Latin men: "continued family support and concern after incarceration, particularly from mothers, make some Latin men feel impotent; so much has been and is being done for them while they have brought only shame upon their benefactors" (Johnson 1975: 172). Lastly, Johnson reports that a recurrent concern among some Latin inmates "is an intense irritation with the day to day abrasions of prison life: slow and censored mail, bad food, arbitrary decisions by staff, lack of interpersonal warmth between inmates and staff" (1975:174). Due to the impersonality and unresponsiveness of the prison environment, especially when compared to prior family socialization experiences, some Latin inmates may resort to self-injury in order to acquire staff services (Aid Seeking) or to dramatize other needs (e.g. Self-Classification, see Appendix).

The concerns of Latin inmates who injure themselves do not differ from concerns expressed by the Latin inmates in the comparison group. Disrupted family ties are the most difficult problem for Latin inmates in the comparison group as well (Johnson 1976: 71, 75).

The close bonds that characterize the family experience of Latin men may also have important positive effects during the incarceration period of these men. Toch observes that Latin inmates are significantly less likely than either black or white inmates to experience stress produced by pressuring or aggression from other inmates (1975: Table 5,6). We mentioned earlier Lockwood's assertion that "Latins in prison form close bonds just as they do in their communities. Newly arriving Latin inmates quickly join existing Latin

groups" (1980:31). That Latin inmates are able to form close ties with other inmates particularly in the early stages of their sentence is an important deterrent to aggression by others (Lockwood 1980: 30-31).

b. Black Inmates

Blacks are significantly more likely than either white or Latin inmates to injure themselves as a result of stress associated with isolated confinement. Blacks are significantly more likely to experience two of the stress themes in the impulse management category. These are themes characterized by strong tension provoking self-destructive impulses (Self-Escape) or by fear of destruction by powerful, unknown enemies (Self-Preservation).

What stands out most about black inmates is that they are considerably less likely than either Latin or white inmates to resort to self-injury. At the time of his study Johnson shows that blacks make up 58% of the prison population but they make up only 24% of the self-injury group (Johnson 1976: Table 4-1).

As is true of other inmates, some of the frequently occurring concerns of black inmates who injure themselves include: fear of aggression by other inmates (Fate Avoidance), feelings of abandonment by family members or loved ones (Self-Linking), and feelings that one is continually a victim of arbitrariness or abuse by the criminal justice system (Self-Victimization) (see Toch 1975: Table 5-6). There are, however, two areas where black self-injury inmates differ from either white or Latin inmates who break down in prison. Blacks are significantly more likely than either white or Latin inmates to injure themselves as a result of stress associated with isolated confinement. Toch suggests that for some of the men who experience stress in segregated settings—men whose tolerance for isolated confinement is low—self-injury may be seen "as a demand for the inmate's release from isolated confinement which he finds fear

inspiring, intolerable and obsessive" (Toch 1975:32). One of the self-injury inmates interviewed in the large New York State study conducted by Toch, Johnson and others made these remarks:

"I had gotten the feeling that the walls was closing in you know:... I had started walking around the cell, you know? And then I started going wall to wall banging myself, you know, my body into the walls. And like then all of a sudden I started crying and shit, you know? An then I started jumping up and down and you know, I gues I just got - I don't know why, I was mad you know. But I wanted out, you know?" (Johnson 1976:105).

Johnson observes that among black inmates who injured themselves in prison Isolation Panic is particularly likely to be a source of stress for younger black inmates. He writes that the Isolation Panic theme "characterizes the crises of close to half of the black adolescents in the interview sample. By contrast, only one out of ten black adult interviewees succumb to such pressures" (1976:57).

Black self-injury inmates are also more likely than either white or Latin inmates to fall into the Self-Escape and Self-Preservation Crisis theme grouping. (See Appendix for descriptions). These are crisis themes where stress is associated with very paranoid and fearful states of mind. Johnson tells us that "Self-Escape and Self-Preservation are psychotic crisis motives that comprise a theme cluster related to "projected or subjective danger". These crises themes reflect efforts to escape "destructive impulses which are strong and unpleasantly tension provoking" and "cumulating harm where the person builds up the conviction that he is in substantial physical danger from pervasive and all-powerful enemies " (1976:54).

Another component of Johnson's examination of self-mutilation among prison inmates involved interviewing a randomly selected group of men who had not injured themselves

or otherwise made attempts on their own lives. He was interested in comparing the relative prevalence of concerns that produced stress among non-injury inmates. He sought to determine whether the concerns that produce stress among inmates who injured themselves were the same as or different from sources of stress experienced by inmates who had not injured themselves. He notes, for instance, that among Latin non-injury inmates a large majority (71%) claim that family problems are their main source of discomfort in the prison (1976:71, 75). We recall that separation anxiety and other family related problems are frequently expressed by Latin inmates who injured themselves. However, among blacks, the predominant sources of stress among inmates who injure themselves are different from those expressed by inmates in the comparison group. Members of the comparison group of black inmates were significantly less likely than inmates in the self-injury group to experience fear as reaction to stress experienced in prison. Comparison group black inmates were less likely to experience fear connected with confinement in isolated settings, fear associated with beliefs that one is in danger of injury or destruction from enemies in the prison, or fear produced by destructive impulses (Johnson 1976:74-77). The comparison group of black inmates were more likely than self-injury black inmates to experience stress resulting from feelings of resentment and from inability to affect ones own fate (e.g. Impotence Dilemmas). Black comparison group inmates are significantly more likely than black self-injury inmates to see themselves as "victims of arbitrary abuse by the criminal justice system or its agents (Self-Victimization)" and to experience "difficulties in managing feelings of anger and resentment (Self-Release)" (Johnson 1976:76). Black inmates who do injure themselves in prison are more likely than the average black inmate to experience stress associated with fearful, self-destructive impulses.

Looking at the wide differences in rates of self-injury in confinement among Latin and black inmates, Johnson suggests that there may be something about the free world experiences of black and Latin inmates that affect their susceptibility to self-injury in the prison (1976:163).

Black inmates from urban, lower income communities may more frequently experience types of stress that are prevalent in prison. Having dealt with some of these types of stress in one's free world experience may give an inmate "a coping edge in confinement" (Johnson 1976:164). Several investigators have observed that many urban lower class neighborhoods are characterized by danger, unpredictability and uncertainty of the motives of others (See Johnson 1976:179, note 5). Johnson argues that growing up in unpredictable and uncertain settings "require(s) a continuous posture of self-defense". It is more likely that a person will acquire "the ability to avoid or escape unnecessary and unmanageable situations" as well as the "readiness to deal with such situations when they arise" (1976:164). Some inmates may be better able to deal with certain types of prison stress (e.g. pressuring from other inmates) because they have more often had to face and cope with these types of stress on the outside.

c. White Inmates

\* Whites are significantly more likely than black or Latin inmates to fall into only one of the sixteen crisis themes. They are more likely than black or Latin inmates to injure themselves as a means of Self-Punishment due to feelings of having failed to meet job or family obligations.

When they compare the occurrence of stress themes among black, Latin and White inmates Toch (1975:134) and Johnson (1976:60) find that only one of the sixteen stress themes occurs significantly more often among whites than among Latins and blacks. Whites are more likely to injure them-

selves as a result of stress produced by feelings of personal failure, of having failed to meet family and job obligations. This stress theme is labeled Self-Retaliatio, and Johnson states that it involves "Self-Punishment, where the person feels he is placed in an intolerable position as a result of his own past acts, and feels angry and resentful at himself" (1976:54).

Johnson (1976:68) notes that among white inmates who injure themselves three out of four do so for reasons that fall into the Self-Assessment category of crisis themes (see pages 101-102). We recall that these are types of stress stemming from difficulties in relations with other persons both inside and outside the prison. These are stress themes characterized by a negative self-image or by feelings of worthlessness in the eyes of others. The Self-Retaliatio crisis theme mentioned above (i.e. injury is seen to result from an attempt at self-punishment for past personal failures) is one of the stress themes in the Self-Assessment category. Another source of stress that occurs frequently among white inmates is fear resulting from pressuring by other inmates.

Johnson (1976:127) writes that "A prevalent reaction to prison pressure among white inmates, and particularly among younger, less experienced men, involves panic (Fate Avoidance, see Appendix B p.119). Younger white inmates-especially those who appear naive or effeminate - are particularly likely to experience pressure for sex (See Lockwood 1980). Because many young white men are unable "to play the roles required to obtain immunity from prison pressure" (Johnson 1976:129), they may resort to self-injury as a means of gaining safety from predatory inmates'.

A third crisis theme that falls into the negative Self-Assessment category and which occurs frequently among white inmates is labeled Self-Certification. Here self-injury is related to bids for support from persons outside the prison. Johnson tells us that:

Many white adolescents find incarceration to be an extremely stressful experience. They feel they need support from significant others to cope with the alien pressures of confinement. There is a difficulty, however, in that family ties may be weak or non-existent. Many have survived in the outside world without family support and have allowed family ties to decay. When support (predictably) fails to materialize in prison, these men feel helpless. Self-mutilation may represent a dramatic bid to gain an unearned response from significant others. (1976:123).

C O N C L U S I O N

In this paper we review the findings of studies that have examined characteristics of inmates as they relate to three areas of behavior: prison disciplinary adjustment, victimization by other inmates, and self-injury. Somewhat surprisingly, quite a bit of research examining characteristics of inmates as they relate to institutional misconduct has been done. Only a few studies have examined characteristics of inmates associated with sexually assaultive victimization in prison or characteristics of inmates associated with self-injury in prison. We have drawn some general conclusions from this research. The wide differences in the studies reviewed with respect to geographical location, time period, type of facility, methodological rigor etc. require that these conclusions be taken with some caution. On the other hand the fact that some variables are related to institutional misconduct at statistically significant levels across studies conducted at different times and locations means that we can place added confidence in the observed relationships. Since we are most interested in the behavior of inmates in New York facilities we have placed added weight on research that has recently been conducted in the New York system.

How frequent are the types of behavior studied in this paper? The answers depend on how the behaviors are defined and whether we use official or unofficial reports.

In general, we find that most inmates young or old, black or white, etc. make a successful adjustment to prison. Most inmates do acquire disciplinary infractions during their confinement. However, only about 10% of the inmate population can be characterized as frequent rule violators. Estimates of the incidence of assault range from 2% to over 25% (the latter figure representing self reports of assault). Estimates of sexual

victimization range from less than 1% completed sexual assault to 30% for sexual pressuring of varying degrees of seriousness. Estimates of the incidence of self-injury range from 1% to 7%.

Looking across all three areas some general observations are possible. First, younger inmates (e.g. 22 or younger) seem to have more difficulty adjusting to prison than do older inmates. They are more likely to violate institutional rules, they are more likely to be involved in aggressive transactions, they more frequently fall victim to sexual aggression and they are more likely than older inmates to resort to self-injury.

For some types of prison conduct ethnicity is an important variable, for other types it is not. Based on the research evidence currently available and looking specifically at the New York state system we do not find meaningful differences in the frequency of disciplinary infractions (as recorded on inmate record cards) according to ethnic status. Based on data from the "Unusual Incidents" records maintained by NYDOCS we find that Hispanic inmates are more likely to have assaulted other inmates and black inmates are somewhat more likely than other inmates to have assaulted a staff member. Studies of inmate victimization show that whites are disproportionately targets of sexual aggression. Aggressors in incidents of sexual aggression tend to be black. With respect to self-injury in state institutions, ethnic status is a very important variable. Blacks are considerably underrepresented among self-injury inmates. White and Hispanic inmates are overrepresented. Moreover, there are significant differences according to ethnic status in the types of distress experienced by inmates who resort to self-injury.

Inmates who reside in more populous, urban areas are somewhat more likely to violate prison rules. Inmates who live in less populous cities or in small towns or rural areas are more likely to be targets of sexual aggression. The population size of an inmate's residence is not related to inmate self-injury.

Several pre-incarceration characteristics of inmates that we grouped together as "social characteristics" do show statistically significant relationships with prison conduct. Looked at overall it seems to us that inmates who have a somewhat more stable life on the outside tend to adjust to prison with fewer difficulties. The studies reviewed show that inmates who have been married at some time in the past have fewer recorded disciplinary infractions than inmates who have never been married and they are significantly less likely than inmates who have never been married to resort to self-injury. Inmates with greater job stability are less likely to violate institutional rules and inmates who have held a skilled or semi-skilled job are less likely to be targets of prison aggressors. Employment status is, however, not related to self-injury. Although school grade level achieved is consistently found to bear no association with disciplinary infractions, we find that inmates who have completed more school grades are less likely to be found among self-injury inmates. Some research studies have found that characteristics of the home are related to institutional misconduct, other research finds that these variables are not related to misconduct. It is clear that inmates who have had mental health problems (as indicated by residence in a mental health facility or attempted suicides etc.) before coming to state correctional institutions have more difficulty in adjusting to prison. These inmates are more likely to fall victim to sexual pressuring and are more likely to attempt suicide or purposely injure themselves. In New York State facilities inmates with a history of drug use are more likely to acquire disciplinary infractions while inmates with a history of drug use are less likely to be found among self-injury inmates. Among younger inmates those with alcohol problems violate institutional rules more frequently, older inmates with alcohol problems are less likely to violate institutional rules. Alcohol dependence is not related to self-injury.

Some aspects of an inmate's criminal justice system history are related to one or more types of prison conduct. Though studies do not all agree, there is a tendency for those inmates who have had police/court contact at an earlier age, who have committed violent offenses as a juvenile, and who have been committed to an institution as a juvenile, to have higher rates of misconduct in state prisons. Juvenile convictions or commitments are not related to vulnerability to sexual pressuring. Looking at commitment offense type the findings are mixed. It was noted that about half of the studies reviewed found no association between commitment crime and misconduct. In those studies where differences are found there is some evidence that inmates who are convicted of assaultive or violent offenses except homicide are more likely to violate rules or to assault others. Targets of prison aggressors are less likely than other inmates to have used force in either the commitment offense or in prior incarceration.

Research studies show that time served and sentence length are related to institutional misconduct. At least in New York State Prisons, inmates who actually serve longer than five years show rates of disciplinary infractions that are about one-half that of inmates who serve five years or less in prison. Interestingly, these long term inmates violate rules at lower rates from the very beginning of their sentence. Inmates who have long court mandated maximum sentences are similarly found to be less likely to violate institutional rules. Among New York State inmates who serve short term sentences (e.g. five years or less) an inverted U-shaped pattern of disciplinary infractions is observed (Flanagan 1979). The highest rates of misconduct occur during the middle stages of the sentence. The fourth period of the sentence—when inmates approach a parole board date or a release date—is characterized by a sharp decline in disciplinary infractions. In general, both age and sentence length work together to reduce

disciplinary infractions. Inmates who are older (and as they grow older in the facility) and inmates with longer sentences violate institutional rules at lower rates. With respect to inmate victimization, sentence length is not related to the likelihood of sexual pressuring. On the time served dimension we know that most incidents of sexual aggression occur during the victim's first 16 weeks in prison (Lockwood 1977).

The number of prior convictions does not appear to be related to rates of institutional misconduct or to the likelihood of being victimized. Having served a prior prison term is related to misconduct, but the direction of the relation is inconsistent. Some research finds that those inmates with a prior term are more poorly conducted, others find that inmates serving their first term are more poorly conducted.

In a few studies statistical procedures that allow the researcher to assess the predictive power of a set of pre-incarceration characteristics have been employed. These efforts have been somewhat more successful in California (e.g. Jaman 1972) than in other states. Efforts to predict institutional misconduct in a large sample of New York State inmates show that only about 17% of the variation in institutional misconduct can be accounted for by pre-incarceration characteristics (Flanagan 1979). This figure would undoubtedly decline if the prediction equation developed from this first sample of inmates was applied to a second validation sample.

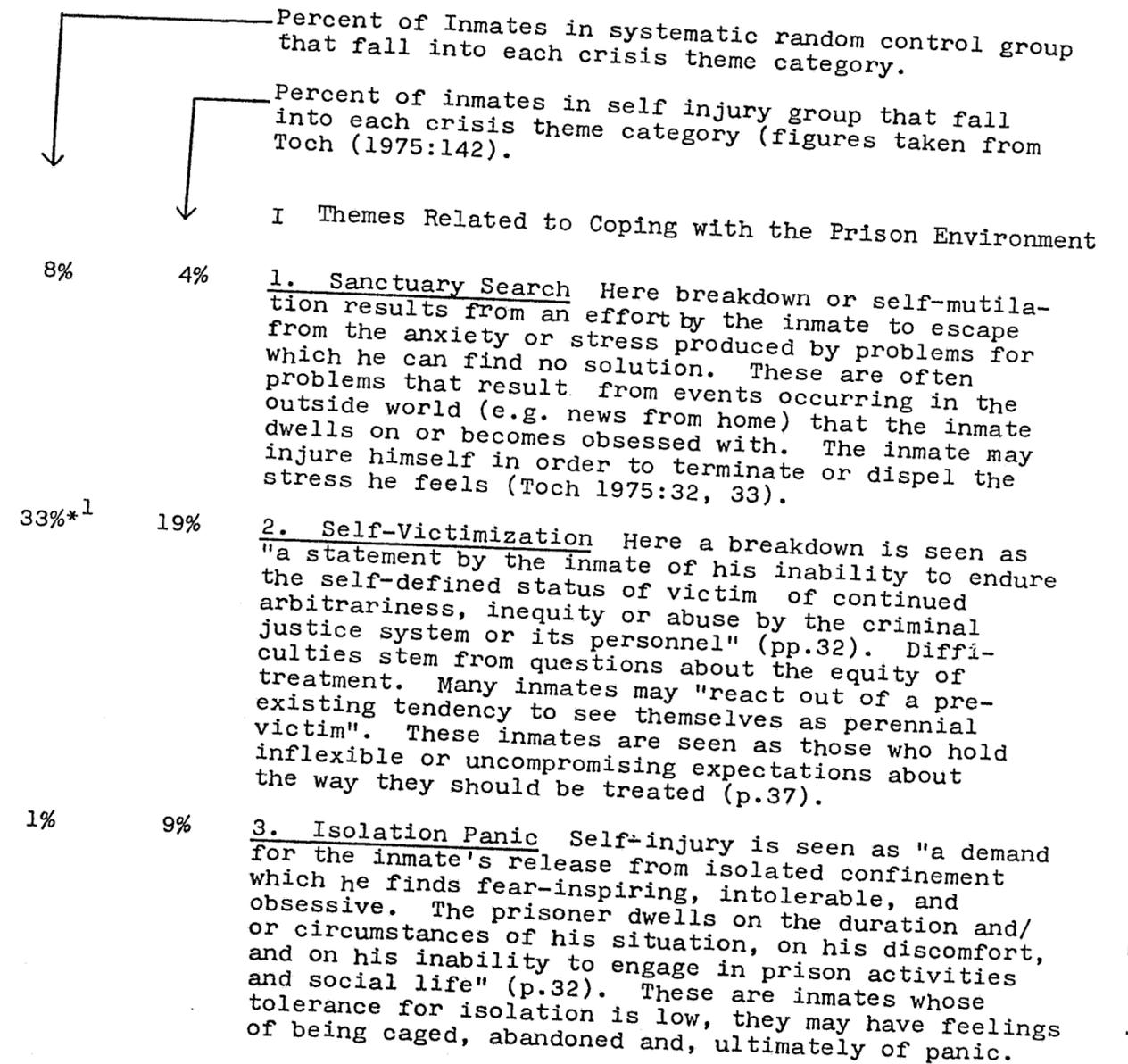
The research in this New York State study cautions against using pre-incarceration characteristics of inmates alone as a basis for predicting the later disciplinary adjustment of inmates. Our survey of research reveals that there is no single pre-incarceration characteristic or combination of characteristics that will predict whether an inmate is likely to be a security risk by virtue of his record of institutional misconduct. (There have been no predictive studies relating pre-incarceration characteristics to victimization or self-injury). Too much depends on the inter-

action between the characteristics a man brings to prison and the circumstances he meets there. However, our survey of research has identified pre-incarceration characteristics that are clues to possible security risks. Staff can know that inmates who possess certain characteristics identified in this paper need to be assessed with special care to prevent security problems.

It seems clear that a more complete understanding of institutional adjustment would have to include other factors that affect inmates during their confinement. Some of these factors would be characteristics of the physical institution, characteristics of staff and the jobs they perform, administrative policies, inmate involvement in treatment, education or prison jobs, and situational variables. For example, one large-scale study finds that involvement in jobs or treatment programs is related to disciplinary adjustment. Learning in what ways pre-incarceration characteristics of inmates interact with the programs and environment of particular institutions may add to our ability to predict who will do best where.

APPENDIX A

This typology of prison Self injury crisis themes was developed by Toch (1975). Definitions are extracted from his text.



<sup>1</sup> Asterisk identifies those categories where the difference between the two groups is statistically significant.

Percent of inmates in systematic random control group that fall into each crisis theme category

Percent of inmates in self injury group that fall into each crisis theme category (figures taken from Toch 1975:142).

3%\*

9%

4. Self-Classification Self-injury reflects "an inmate's effort to communicate to staff the seriousness of his need for a specific milieu among those available in prison" (Toch 1975:32). The inmate attempts to make clear to staff the importance to him of staying, for instance, in a particular prison, on a particular tier, in a living situation made up of inmates of a particular ethnic status or around a group of supportive associates. This act underlines the seriousness he attaches to staying in a setting, or, of being moved to a new setting.

3%

5%

5. Aid-Seeking "An inmate's demand for staff services which as the inmate sees it, cannot be ignored by staff. Such a demand occurs when a physical problem becomes the focus of the inmates discontent, and he becomes obsessed with the need for attention to his complaint and upset about staff failure to comply with or respond to direct requests"(1975:32). "The inmate may feel an acute need for support, understanding, or help which peers and custodial personnel cannot satisfy because he doesn't trust them, views them as unsympathetic to his requests for aid, or sees them as incapable of assisting him" (47).

II Themes Related to Negative Self-Assessment  
(Problems Based on the Relationship between Self and Others.

10%

18%

6. Self-Deactivation Vulnerable inmates who fall into this category are characterized by a lack of interest in day to day life. This lack of interest is derived from or is a continuation of past failures. Toch suggests that this state usually follows a review of past life events "which makes the person increasingly apathetic and discouraged, he sees no future for himself and loses interest and drive". Inmates in this category felt that "given their pasts, no satisfying future is possible for them, that the future will inexorably replicate a past that was not worth living. They see themselves as inescapably relegated to the junk heap" (1975:52).

Percent of inmates in systematic random control group that fall into each crisis theme category

Percent of inmates in self-injury group that fall into each crisis theme category (figures taken from Toch 1975:142).

18%

15%

7. Self-Sentencing This stage follows an inventory of past and current conduct vis-a-vis friends and relatives which sparks shame, guilt, self-condemnation, and a dismal prognosis for the future. The person adjudges himself a complete liability to himself and others and sees no prospects for improvement"(51). The inmate becomes convinced that friends and strangers alike would benefit from (his) demise—that given a future in which one functions as either a burden or a source of misery, as a person unaccepted and unacceptable, the world would be a better place if one could remove oneself from it"(59).

8%

7%

8. Self-Retaliation This stage follows a recounting by the inmate of past life events which produces feelings of bitterness, self-contempt and self-hate. "A person experiences self-hate or engages in self-punishment because he attributes his intolerable position to his own past acts, and feels justifiably angry and resentful at himself"(51). More than just escape, an inmate in this category injures himself in order to punish himself for past mistakes and ineffectiveness (60).

26%

25%

9. Fate Avoidance "A stance stemming from a person's inability to survive current or impending social situations which he fears because he sees himself as weak, ineffective, or unable to appropriately respond" (51). A good example of this problem is sexual pressure in the institution. An inmate may face a situation that causes him great fear and anxiety which may force him to alter his daily life style drastically, and for which he sees few options or resources that can help to ameliorate or solve his problem. Young inexperienced inmates when they first arrive at a facility may for instance face stress in maintaining both their own self-image and the integrity of their personhood.

50%\*

26%

10. Self-linking A person's protest against intolerable separation from significant others, against perceived abandonment by them, or against his inability to function as a constructive member of a group (51). The person rejects the possibility of an independent life, feels that his well-being is inconceivable without continuation of certain vital relationships and that no satisfactory existence is possible without them (p.51). The concern here is with perceived abandonment,

Percent of inmates in systematic random control group that fall into each crisis theme category

Percent of inmates in self-injury group that fall into each crisis theme category (figures taken from Toch 1975:142)

the difficulties in coming to terms with a loss of social support, and the possibility that feelings of betrayal or abandonment may prompt the review of past unpleasant life experiences, feelings of despair and worthlessness and which may lead in some cases to self-injury.

8%\*

18%\*

11. Self-Certification Self injury is seen as an "effort to convince the other party (family, wife, lover) in a degenerating or terminating relationship of his seriousness about the relationship and his inability to survive its dissolution. The effort takes the form of a dramatic demonstration of resentment, self pity or personal sincerity" (52). Self-injury marks a breakdown in relationship which the offending party sees no other way to mend (79).

Percent of inmates in systematic random control group that fall into each crisis theme category

Percent of inmates in self injury group that fall into each crisis theme category (figures taken from Toch 1975:142)

III Themes Related to Impulse Management

1%\*

9%

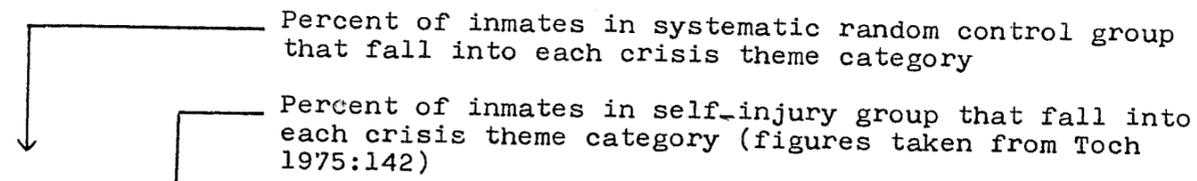
12. Self-Alienation Toch suggests that men in this category experience "a reluctant or passive compliance with alien impulses and commands that direct the person to destroy himself" (93). Self injurers in this category are seen as living in two worlds: In one world the inmate is in charge of himself and his actions, "the other "alien" world is one in which needs and impulses have a life of their own, in which a man is impelled rather than in control. He may respond as a helpless pawn to commands he feels originate outside himself; he may see himself as a passive recipient of sights and sounds imposed on him in improbable ways" (94). Toch also points out that the crowding and stimulus deprivation of the prison setting put added stress on inmates with other disturbances.

26%\*

13%

13. Self-Release<sup>1</sup> A catharsis or strategic loss of control designed to discharge aggressive feelings and to end tension and discomfort related to such feelings. This occurs as a temporary loss of contact with reality after accumulation of resentment, tension and anger, and is followed by emotional drain and experienced relief (93-94).

<sup>1</sup> Inmates in the comparison group who experience crisis that fall into the Self-Release category are not strictly comparable to the self-injury inmates who are classified in this theme group. There is not the same sense of a continual struggle with feelings nor the same degree of helplessness or loss of contact with reality among inmates in the comparison group. Comparison group inmates are having difficulty managing feelings, but they generally have the resources to deal with these problems. An angry reaction may be one of several options among the comparison inmates. Among the self-injury inmates the reaction to stress is more akin to an explosion which involves a loss of contact with reality and possible self-injurious behavior. For inmates in the self-injury group resort to injury reflects a more serious long term struggle than is true of inmates in the comparison group.



- 7%\*      13%      14. Self-Escape The crises described by men in this category consist of "generalized painful states of fear". Many men may experience panic from free-floating anxiety. Injury among inmates in this grouping may be seen as "an effort to preserve sanity -or escape- that is made when the person experiences strong, tension provoking destructive impulses. The person may feel disturbed by imagined threats combined with experiences of his own destructive potential" (94).
- 4%\*      14%      15. Self-Preservation "An attempt to escape cumulating harm, made when the person builds up the conviction that he is in substantial physical danger from pervasive, all powerful enemies. The person may destroy himself because he fears "imminent destruction by others" (1975:94).
- 2%\*      7%      16. Self-Intervention A demand for professional help in the understanding and control of one's own impulses and moods. The person makes a last ditch effort to secure such help through action because verbal requests for help are seen as non productive.

APPENDIX B

Multiple Regression

In general terms the multiple regression procedure is used to "explain" or "account for" the variation in a particular dependent or criterion variable, such as, institutional misconduct. The method provides the researcher with an assessment of how well a set of independent or predictor variables can, taken together, account for the variation in the dependent variable. Regression analysis also permits us to measure the separate contribution towards explained variation made by each of several independent variables when it is considered in combination with other variables in the equation. In what is termed the forward solution (Kerlinger and Pedhazzer 1577:285) the multiple regression procedure begins by selecting from among all the variables that variable which is most highly correlated with the dependent variable. This variable constitutes the first item in a regression solution because it does the most "work" (i.e. it has the highest correlation with the dependent variable) in explaining the dependent variable (in this case, institutional misconduct). In the next step the regression procedure selects as a second item in the regression solution that variable which does the most work in explaining the variation in the dependent variable that remains after the first variable has done all the work that it can. In a similar manner the third item in the regression solution is selected on the basis of its ability to explain the variation in the dependent variable that remains after variable one and two have done all the work that they can. In general the regression procedure ceases when it cannot find a variable that makes a statistically significant contribution in explaining the variation in the dependent variable over and above those variables that have already been selected. Or, the researcher may elect to stop selecting variables at a point where he believes that the addition of any one or more variables to the equation would have no meaningful impact.

Regression analysis out-put provides us with an index ( $R^2$ , or the coefficient of determination) of the predictive efficiency of the regression solution. This statistic is an index of how well our set of predictors explain the variation in institutional misconduct. The importance of any given predictor variable as a factor that influences the dependent variable can be assessed by observing the contribution that it makes towards explaining variation in the dependent variable. This is done by noting the change in  $R^2$  (our measure of the extent to which variation in the dependent variable is explained by the predictor variables) that is produced when a variable is considered for inclusion in our regression solution. Regression

analysis output also provides us with statistics (called Standardized regression coefficients or beta weights) that indicate the relative effect on the dependent variable of each independent variable when the effects of other variables have been taken into account. Knowledge of the relative influence of each variable in a regression solution is particularly useful when our intent is to predict some future condition in a new sample of inmates because they indicate how scores on the predictor variables should be weighted so as to achieve the greatest predictive ability.

The multiple regression technique is not without its weaknesses. There is a tendency for regression coefficients to change with different samples and to change when different numbers of independent variables are used. The multiple regression technique, as does other statistical techniques, runs the risk of capitalization on chance variation. Due simply to chance variation some of the correlations between independent variables and between the dependent variable and the independent variables will be inflated in the sample population (that is, they are higher than their true values in the population). Since the regression procedure selects at each step those variables that are most highly correlated with the dependent variable it capitalizes on the error variance that inflates some of the correlation coefficients in the sample. Consequently, the total variation explained by the predictor variables is also inflated or biased upward. If we were to apply the regression solution derived in one sample of inmates to a second sample of inmates (that is, we adjust the scores on the independent variable of the inmates in the second sample according to the weights derived for these predictor variables in the first sample) we will almost always find that when we compare the outcomes predicted by the regression equation that was derived from the first sample with the actual outcomes observed in the second sample we would see that our regression solution has done a poorer job of predicting outcomes in the second sample than it did in the first. This phenomenon is referred to as shrinkage. The differences between the total amount of variance accounted for in the first sample (often called the construction sample) and the total amount of variance accounted for in the second sample (often referred to as the validation sample) is an indicator of the amount of bias or error due to chance effects that were present in the first sample. Simon provides us with a clear statement on the problem of shrinkage and the need for validation studies.

If strong predictive relationships exist in the population they should be present in both samples (if these have been properly chosen) and the multiple regression will take them into account; but the validation will show up the bias resulting from the incorporation of chance effects present in the first sample. The predictive power of the regression equation, artificially high for

the first sample, will shrink to an unbiased estimate of its true level. Validation is thus an essential step in the making of a predictor, (1971:6).

Unfortunately, in only a few cases have validation studies been conducted in research efforts attempting to predict institutional misconduct.<sup>A</sup>

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<sup>A</sup> For detailed analysis of the issues raised in this brief appendix see Gottfredson (1967), Francis (1971), and Kerlinger and Pedhazur (1973).

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