CRIMINOLOGICA

NEWSLETTER OF THE
AMERICAN SOCIETY
OF CRIMINOLOGY

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III. Membership

A. Active members shall be:
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B. Associate members shall be:
   Such otherwise persons as the Executive Committee shall find to be eligible.

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*Preamble

The term criminology as used hereinafter is defined as a study of the causes, treatment, and prevention of crime; law enforcement; criminal justice; corrections; and allied fields.
Some Unique Aspects of Research in a Therapeutic Community

Leonard J. Hippchen

Development of therapeutic community approaches to treatment of social deviants, especially among prisoners, is of fairly recent origin. Maxwell Jones and Henry Brill, two modern advocates of the approach, point to the end of World War II as its beginning. A search of the literature shows that little yet has been written concerning the special problems of conducting research in a therapeutic community setting. What is claimed to be the first conference ever to be devoted entirely to the therapeutic community and its related research problems was held at Manhattan State Hospital, Ward's Island, New York, in 1959.

Over the past five years, the author has been privileged to serve as research director of the Air Force's prisoner rehabilitation center at Amarillo AFB, Texas. This program is operated, in principle, as a therapeutic community. As such, it is a rarity in the field of correction today. My purpose in this writing is to extend discussion of the problem of conducting research in a therapeutic community. I would like to do this by sharing with you some of the observations I have made during this most recent of my experiences. It should be recognized that my discussion will lack generality to some degree. This is because most of what I will say is based upon study in but a single therapeutic community, and because this community deals with a very special class of social deviants.

My experience has led me to conclude that many of the unique requirements for research in a therapeutic community lie primarily in the unique nature of the therapeutic community itself. Thus, in this paper, I would like to discuss some of these unique aspects of research within the framework of the major concepts of the therapeutic community. For each of these concepts, I first will attempt to define the concept briefly, and then I will indicate how the concept creates certain unique problems for the planning and conduct of research.

CONCEPTUAL AND RELATED RESEARCH PROBLEMS OF THE THERAPEUTIC COMMUNITY

The Treatment Approach Problem. The therapeutic community approach to diagnosis and treatment of the individual is holistic rather than symptom oriented. Organismic behavior is seen as a response to cues, events, impulses, needs, etc., as a total response. Each act is seen as an expression of the whole integrated personality.

The appropriate research approach to this orientation, therefore must consider multiple variables acting holistically, rather than merely single variable symptoms. Single variables or parts may be correlated without doing violence to the unity of the organism only if due caution is taken in interpreting the data which are correlated. All statistics should be tempered with logic, with clinical judgment, and with experimental knowledge.

Further, the therapeutic community approach to the individual conceives normal, healthy development to be purposive, rather than deterministic, and to be self-actualizing, rather than externally shaped. Hence, it anticipates and expects change. It discards exclusive concern with such "norms" as statistical averages, social convention, cultural relevance, and theological sanctioning, and it is not accepting of the psychiatric orientations which are based on norms of abnormality. Full health and normal and desirable development is seen to consist in actualizing all of the intrinsic and emerging needs and capacities within the individual. It includes the assumption that only a self-actualizing person can ever truly become a constructive, fully socialized being.

This approach is strikingly different from the typical corrections approach to the rehabilitation of prisoners, which tends to emphasize conformity with various externally-conceived norms. The research methodological problems created by this new approach are numerous and difficult. Much of our present methodology developed along with conceptions of normality which largely are rejected by the therapeutic community. Hence, a new methodology is called for. But before a new methodology can be developed, considerably more knowledge and theoretical conceptualization is needed. We need more definitive answers, for example, to such questions as: How will we define normal health in terms of self-actualization or other concepts of becoming? What factors contribute to normal healthy growth? What factors distort or block this growth? What will be our critical developmental concepts of change? What units of measurement will we use? And by what means can these measurements be made and controlled?

Significant beginning theoretical and methodological contributions have been made by a number of social and behavioral scientists in recent years. I would list Kurt Goldstein, Abraham Maslow, Harry Stack Sullivan, Kurt Lewin, Gardner Murphy, Talcott Parsons, and
Edward Shils as being prominent among this group. But much more work in this area is needed.

The Problem of the Means of Treatment. Another of the important basic concepts of the therapeutic community is that the primary problem of the person in need of treatment developed through interaction experiences with an unhealthy (for him) early social environment. Thus, an important aspect of the solution to the problem is seen to lie in providing an unusually healthy environmental structure and interpersonal relationships. Through these means the individual unlearns his unhealthy social attitudes, behavior patterns, and self-perceptions, relearns the reality of his self and other relatedness, and develops new communication and role-playing skills.

Because of this emphasis on interpersonal relationships, an important function of research is to make continuing measurement and analysis of the quantity and quality of interactions between staff and offender, staff and staff, and offender and offender. Definitions of criteria along a continuum of healthy-unhealthy interactions must be developed, and measurement, analysis, and feedback needs to be a continuing process. Feedback is important as a means of self-correction in areas tending to represent unhealthy interactions because of the crucial nature of these interactions to conceptualized treatment goals.

Analysis needs to consider staff roles, conscious and unconscious motivations, status and hierarchy positioning, and verbal and symbolic cues involved in the interactions. Degree of healthy interaction is measured along such hypothetical continuums as acceptance-rejection, understand-non-understanding, closeness-distance, objectivity-non-objectivity, emphatic-non-emphatic, etc.

An additional therapeutic community concept sees the means of treatment as located not in the application by individual specialist of certain therapy, but in the totality of healthy social interaction of community life. Each technique has a function, and each specialist has a vital role. But of greater importance is the dynamic aggregate of all of these functions and roles as organized, interacting and independent entities, which are seen as creating a function new and superior to a simple sum of all the parts. The entire field of interacting, interpenetrating forces contributes to treatment changes, including the person in treatment. The particular combination of forces that can create therapeutic changes in any single individual will be a unique cluster, although similar forces can be found which may contribute significantly to change in the majority of individuals.

It is the task of research to attempt to define and measure the dynamic, interpenetrating forces in the community. Variables should be sought not only from among the unique, individual forces, but also from social structure and culture. Identification of clusters of interrelated variables which have major commonality in treatment effect should be sought. Also, unique variables should be identified and the relationships between these variables and the types of individuals in treatment should be specified.

Non-dynamic, non-current-reality-based variables should be avoided where possible because of the limited value they tend to have for the interrelated therapeutic community. The highest degree of intercorrelated variables for each type of diagnostic and treatment problem should be found. When interpreted in the light of subjective interaction experiences, they can be useful for prognostic and prediction purposes.

Methodologically, it should also follow from these considerations that the experimental approach, which generally is designed for the purpose of controlling all but a single variable, tends to operate under considerable handicap in the interdependent community. Although of great scientific value, findings of experiments in such settings tend to be dangerous when used as a basis for decision-making, especially where administrators do not have a commitment to basic research. Observational techniques, attitudinal surveys, spontaneous staff reports, case studies, multi-personnel situation analysis, etc., are types of methodological approaches apt to be more operationally useful to the community, although they may not meet to the same degree the requirements for scientific validity and reliability of the experimental method.

The Problem of Community Regulation and Control. Operation of the therapeutic community directs attention away from authoritarianism and toward more democratic means of regulation and control. Regulations are limited in number and in terms of restricting freedom of movement. They aim more toward maintenance of self-regulating, group control mechanisms and for development of inner rather than external controls in the individuals under treatment.

Decision-making is not limited to a single or limited number of authority figures, but there is a strong tendency to delegate decision-making authority, especially in areas relating to treatment, to treatment staff and, to some extent, even to those being treated. Emphasis is on providing a climate of free discussion among staff and offenders, especially through planned group interaction, as a means of resolving conflicts and problems. Two-way communication up-and-down the administrative hierarchy is encouraged, even in the setting of administrative policy.

Research has the task of discerning the ways and means by which treatment policies and procedures are determined and implemented, and of evaluating the effects of these activities on treatment of offenders and on the attitudes of staff. Feedback is necessary to continuing program improvement.

In order to fulfill this task, as well as other tasks previously mentioned, the researcher, rather than being a static onlooker, must be an organic part of the life of the community. (As an aside, we should emphasize that treaters also should have a commitment to be involved in research.) As A. F. Meszaros of Saint Anne's
Hospital, Quebec, has emphasized, the researcher in a therapeutic community must be involved in treatment so that he can realistically diagnose and interpret the self-perpetuating, disruptive interaction patterns in the treatment milieu. He must study both the socio-pathology of the environment, as well as of the individual.

The Problem of Evaluating Program Outcomes. The therapeutic community expectation is that the individual in treatment will undergo certain intrapsychic changes and develop certain social attitudinal and behavioral changes, and that both he and the outside world will perceive that gains in social functioning have been made, both immediately and over a period of time.

Ideally, research would be used to study these changes and their results so that greater control and predictability of the forces operating in the community might be realized. These would be long-term goals. This probably would represent the highest level of research application in such programs.

However, disregarding the numerous difficult methodological problems involved in a basic scientific approach to evaluation, social reality considerations in most institutions dealing with offenders preclude engaging in basic research. Demands external to research in such programs typically direct that research be used to meet the more immediate operational needs of the institution, i.e., to demonstrate the economic or social value of the program, to allow manipulation of the processes or procedures of the program to increase the efficiency and cost of operation, or to maintain institutional prestige.

Generally, it has seemed to me that the best compromise that can be reached by the researcher is to apply the scientific method and strive to achieve the highest degree of scientific validity possible within the limitations of the constant demands for immediate results. If enough social scientists achieve success with such a compromise position, it is possible that our social institutions will move much more readily in the near future toward greater support of basic research efforts. If we can't compromise or adapt, we may soon find that our best laboratories for human study are being denied us.

In the Retraining Group program we have developed several approaches and criteria for evaluation of the program. These meet to a satisfactory degree the operational, institutional needs for valid evaluation. But we have not been able to secure support for controlled evaluative studies.

Criteria to evaluate change within the program include such socially observable and scaleable factors as: military bearing, personal hygiene, career adjustment, career level improvement, academic improvement, attitude toward carrying out orders, housekeeping standards, payment of debts, adjustment of marital difficulties, ability to abide by rules and regulations, attitude toward peers, and religious, recreational, and athletic participation. Intrapsychic criteria include: increased ego strength, insight into personality dynamics related to poor interpersonal relations and to his offense, increased emotional control, indications of greater sincerity, less confusion and distrust, and reduced depression and/or anxiety. Measurement and evaluation of the data is accomplished by a combination of objective before-after rating and standardized personality, social attitudinal, and performance ratings and subjective staff judgments which are based on interpersonal interactions with the offender.

Follow-up success of restorers of the Group is obtained through use of a mail questionnaire to Squadron Commanders and includes such measurement criteria as: successful job performance, skill level improvement, avoidance of legally sanctioned behavior, no letters of indebtedness, no complaints from the wife regarding marital problems, rank improvement, and enlistment into the regular Air Force. The most significant criteria are considered to consist of success in being restored and success following restoration.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It has been my intention in this paper to illustrate the relationships between the major concepts of the therapeutic community and some unique problems which face a researcher in planning and conducting research in such a setting.

Research, in order to supply meaningful evaluative and feedback data to the therapeutic community, must adapt its methods and objectives to the milieu under investigation. It is necessary that research be an organic part of the total interdisciplinary life of the community. It is desirable that its data contribute to modification of the community where found applicable.

Although much of the methodology appropriate for use in the therapeutic community deviates in some respects from rigid scientific requirements for validity and reliability, the theoretical concepts themselves to some degree can serve as a means of self correction of the data. Primarily, however, research should seek to maintain a certain spontaneity and flexibility. It should not be afraid to temper its findings with logic and clinical subjectivity. This fearlessness should be based on a realistic understanding of the limitations of present day knowledge of human behavior and methodological and statistical developments in the behavioral and social sciences, and the social reality of the limitations presented by the institutional situation. On the other hand, research should attempt continuously to refine and improve its design and measurement capabilities in the best tradition of scientific endeavor.

REFERENCES

1. The ideas and attitudes expressed by the author in this paper do not necessarily represent official Air Force or Department of Defense policy.


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**POLICE TRAINING**

*By Harry W. More*

Law enforcement training bills have been introduced in legislatures in the following states: Ohio, Florida, and Washington. These training bills have provisions somewhat similar to those which have been introduced in other states such as California and New York.

* * *

The International Association of Police Professors will hold their third annual conference at Michigan State University, Kellogg Center, East Lansing, Michigan, May 28-29, 1965.

* * *

The Southwest Center for Law Enforcement Education for the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, will hold a seminar on Police Supervision II: Intermediate, May 31 through June 4, 1965 ($30).

* * *

The Northwestern University Traffic Institute, Evanston, Illinois will hold a Police Traffic Records course from May 18 through June 18, 1965 ($185).

* * *

Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan will conduct a course of Traffic Engineering: Fundamentals, from June 7 through June 11, 1965 ($50).

* * *

The Narcotics Training School, Federal Bureau of Narcotics, 1300 "E" Street NW, Washington, D.C. will conduct a Narcotics Control class from June 7-18, 1965 (no fee).

* * *

The Backster School of Lie Detection, 165 West 46th Street, New York, New York will conduct a Polygraph Examiner course from June 7 through July 16, 1965 ($525).

* * *

Northwestern University Traffic Institute, Evanston, Illinois will conduct a Chief's Seminar from June 8 through June 19, 1965 (no fee).

* * *

Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan will hold its 11th annual National Institute on Police and Community Relations from May 16 through May 21, 1965 ($65).

* * *

News items related to police training should be sent to Professor Harry W. More at Washington State University.
Personality Dimensions of Delinquent Girls

A series of recent publications have dealt with the problem of refining the heterogeneous concept of delinquent into distinctive dimensions. These studies have been a result of the growing awareness of both the theoretical and practical importance of a classification scheme which would relate primary personality dimensions with delinquency.

These studies have further implied that current classification systems are not satisfactory in regard to treatment implications and post-institutional behavior. Furthermore Grant has suggested that a classification procedure needs to be considered in interaction with situational dimensions. The implication is clear: further studies need to take into account the interrelationship of kinds of subjects, kinds of supervisors, and differential treatments programs.

As a first step in interrelating subjects, supervisors, and treatment programs, this paper has as its major goal the description of an empirical classification system which was based upon an analysis of a delinquent girl population.

SAMPLE AND PROCEDURE

A sample of 139 subjects from the Las Palmas School for Girls was selected. Ninety-five of these girls were the total population in the institution as of November 30, 1963. In addition, several girls who were released prior to that date and a few who were placed subsequently are included. The study population comprises a 14-months consecutive intake which includes about 40 per cent of the total population ever in the facility. These girls are, from a number of discernible characteristics, representative of all girls who were ever placed in the institution.

At intake each girl filled out a Jesness Psychological Inventory of 155 items concerning attitudes toward such diverse factors as family members, police, school, and the "self." The response to these items were transposed for a Q-Factor Analysis. In a typical factor analysis, or R-Analysis, the correlations are between columns or items. In an obverse, or Q-Analysis, the correlations are between rows or persons. Guilford suggests that a Q-Analysis brings out personality types or syndromes in contrast to an R-Analysis which results in scales of items.

The transposed data were factor analyzed and close inspection of the factor matrix revealed that after the first three primary factors, no more than three girls had high factor loadings on any of the remaining factors. Consequently, only three major factors were extracted and rotated to the varimax criterion. Placement of each girl into a factor type was accomplished by inspection of the rotated factor matrix. A criterion factor loading of 0.35 was used. Each of these primary factors, together with the items that significantly differentiate each type, are presented and discussed below.

RESULTS

The three major factor types derived from the analysis were tentatively labelled and descriptions of girls in each type was accomplished by evaluating differentiating items and by operational staffs' perceptions of the three groups of girls. The number and percentage of girls in each Q-Factor Type, and combinations of factor types, are indicated in Table 1.

![Table 1](image)

About twenty-four and twenty-two percent of the girls were in Types I and II, respectively. In addition, over one-fourth of the girls were classified as Type III. Seventeen percent of the girls had high factor loadings on two of the three types, and fourteen, or 10.1 percent, were not assigned to a Q-Factor Type. Intercorrelations among the three primary factors are shown in Table 2. Reasonable independence among the factors is evident.

![Table 2](image)

Items which statistically differentiated the factor types were determined by a chi-square analysis. Girls in each "pure" type, in succession, were compared with all other girls. In addition, as a rough validation measure, names of girls in each type were given to selected operational and treatment staff at Las Palmas who were familiar with the behavior of girls and their case histories. The institutional staff was asked to describe each list in terms of specific adjectives along an array that seemed adequate to describe a variety of behavioral dimensions. There was a fairly high degree of correspondence between our evaluation based upon the Q-analysis...
and institutional staffs' evaluation based upon their everyday interaction with the girls.

Type I:

Some of the items which significantly differentiated Type I girls from all others are shown in Table 3. This type of girl was labelled as Disturbed-Neurotic. Item responses indicate extreme anxiety—"I worry too much about doing the right thing," nervousness—"I am nervous," self-blame—"When something bad happens, I almost always blame myself instead of the other person," psychosomaticism—"I have a lot of headaches;" and a preoccupation with conformity to normative imperatives—"I think that someone who is fourteen years old is not old enough to smoke;" and "I don't lie if I'm in trouble."

Over-internalization of rules and standards may be involved, as there appears to be a concern with order, regularity, and law; and a readiness to accept cultural norms. Self control and ritualism are primary dimensions, but these have been put aside by delinquent acts and there is evidence of guilt feelings and neurotic reactions.

Independent evaluation by members of the institutional staff resulted in such descriptive adjectives as "depressive, anxious, passive-withdrawn, and conformers." One operational staff member added that these girls appeared to be those who became delinquent as a result of some interpersonal situation with which they could not cope, and their reaction was delinquent behavior. In addition, the delinquency pattern was seen as being of a relatively recent origin and presumably of short duration.

Type II:

A number of the items that differentiated Type II girls from all others are shown in Table 4. As a result of inspection of item responses, these girls were labelled as immature-impulsive. The emerging picture is that of immaturity, impulsiveness, and a lack of internal integration and control. There is a rejection of ritualistic behavior and external controls. Immediate gratification is of primary importance and impulsive behavior results in punitive sanctions. Behaviors patterns appear to reflect manifest attitudes.

These girls rebel from authority—"When somebody orders me to do something, I usually feel like doing just the opposite;" and revengeful—"If somebody does something mean to me, I try to get back at them;" perceive a lack of opportunity—"People hardly ever give me a fair chance;" are distrustful—"A person is better off if he doesn't trust people;" and they don't care what other people think of them and feel that life is rather dull and devoid of excitement.

Staff evaluation included descriptions of aggressiveness, impulsiveness, and overt manipulation, with evidence of immaturity and sociopathic tendencies.

Type III:

The third type of girl proved to be the most provocative. Girls in this type responded to the Inventory quite differently than the previous two. The item response pattern indicates girls who are emotionally healthy, normal, and non-delinquent. However, the case histories of these girls showed us that this picture was an obviously distorted one. Our conclusion was that these girls were falsifying the test and giving the "expected" answers. Their responses were not according to their attitudes, but responses that would make them appear to be "good."

Girls of this type are self-assertive and attempt to control their environment. They are ritualists and are overly concerned with "external" appearances and reputation. Overt behavior is oriented toward the expected, but latent attitudes are at variance with behavior. As long as expectations and structures are given, conforming behavior is observed; however, covert manipulation is continuous.
The institutional staff independently verified our conclusion by describing these girls as clever, intelligent, manipulators, with sociopathic and aggressive tendencies. After further discussion, the staff consensus was that these girls, when first institutionalized, were hidden or convert manipulators. Once their manipulative activities were discovered and countermeasures taken, these girls became aggressive, and as one staff member put it, "sneering, hostile girls." This girl, then, is one who "fakes" the test and can confuse an institutional staff with a facade that may take months to penetrate. Girls of this type were labeled covert manipulators.

**TABLE 5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item No.</th>
<th>Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>I worry too much about doing the right things. (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>My feelings get hurt easily when I am scolded or criticized. (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>When somebody orders me to do something, I usually feel like doing just the opposite. (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>I have very strange and funny thoughts in my mind. (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>It's hard to have fun unless you're with your buddies. (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>I notice my heart beats very fast when people keep asking me questions. (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Others seem to do things easier than I can. (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>I seem to &quot;blow up&quot; a lot over little things that really don't matter very much. (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>It makes me feel bad to be bawled out or criticized. (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>I can't seem to keep my mind on anything. (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>If somebody does something to me, I try to get back at them. (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>I don't think I will ever be a success or amount to much. (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65.</td>
<td>Most of the time I can't seem to find anything to do. (N)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These items are taken in inventory order. An additional twenty-three items discriminated at the .01 level; thirty-five other items differentiated to the .05 level.

**DISCUSSION**

A convergence of research has been noted in respect to "typing" delinquent and criminal populations. For example, Quay has suggested that there is "a chain of accumulating evidence which indicates that the personalities of delinquent boys can be meaningfully viewed within a three or four dimensional framework." This also appears to be true for delinquent girls. The subcultural, or gang type, delinquent was not expected to appear in this research as a result of the systematic exclusion of this type of girl from the institution where this research was conducted. The effectiveness of this exclusion is illustrated by the data analysis results in which we found two other major types repeatedly reported both in psychological and sociological literature, but not the socialized gang type.

The disturbed-neurotic and immature-impulsive are consistently reported dimensions in boy studies and have emerged as clearcut types of delinquent girls in this analysis. Another dimension not delineated in previous studies, but alluded to by Hewitt and Jenkins in their early classical study of delinquents, and later reported by Schrag and his students, was empirically identified in this research. Hewitt and Jenkins describe this type as "the 'con-man' who deliberately works himself into the confidence of others for the purpose of exploiting that confidence to his own gain..."

The manipulator type of girl empirically identified in this research fits this description quite well.

**SUMMARY**

The systematic classification of delinquent girls into three primary types has been accomplished by a Q-factor analysis of a psychological inventory. Institutional staff independently described the girls in each type and a fairly high degree of correspondence was noted. In addition, similarities between these types and those reported in prior research suggest that at least two of the three delineated types are quite general to delinquent populations. The third type has been mentioned in previous research but never empirically identified as we have done.

Our conclusion is that this empirical exploration has resulted in an objective general typological system that has relevance for selecting kinds of supervisors and has utility for assigning delinquents to alternative treatment modalities. Both of these aspects will be treated in forthcoming papers, as will the etiological implications of this research.

**REFERENCES**

*Supported in part by Public Health Service Grant MH 00718 from the National Institute of Mental Health. Appreciation for computational assistance is expressed to the Western Data Processing Center and to the Health Sciences Computer Facility, University of Washington at Los Angeles, to the Picker of the University of Southern California, Graduate School of Business Administration Computer Center, and to the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, for secretarial assistance. Mr. Ray Kawaguchi, Los Angeles State College, served as research assistant.


7. Some of the items which differentiated the types at the .001 level are indicated in Tables 3, 4, and 5. Items which discriminated to the .05 level are available on request.


12. Hewitt and Jenkins, op. cit.


*Professor Edgar W. Butler, Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.*

**Juvenile Gangs**

Juvenile delinquency is costly to the community and in active delinquent gangs this cost tends to become highly intensified. This is the conclusion of an analysis of the readily visible economic cost that the principal members of a particular Los Angeles gang generated as they lived through a specified age period.

The follow-up study of 24 gang members over a period of six years disclosed a total expenditure of about $200,000 for the boys. The biggest single component of cost ($61,401) was borne by the California Youth Authority; the next largest ($51,099) was borne by the Probation Camp System of the Los Angeles County Probation Department. The 12 younger boys averaged considerably higher on court and probation costs than the 12 older boys.

"The linking of costs and gang membership ... is not meant to imply that gangs are a cause of delinquency or that the costs arise out of the fact of gang membership. Gangs may in fact serve as a center of convergence for delinquent boys or as instruments for the intensification of delinquent activities."

*(Los Angeles County, Calif. Probation Department, The Cost of a Juvenile Gang; by Borden Olive and Others. 25p (mimeo) (Research report no. 16) Los Angeles, October 1964)*
The Dissenter's Role In A Free Society

Thomas E. Gaddis

Where a Free Society Exists, there will be found some voice of disagreement, some eye that looks askance. The voice often irritates. The eye offends.

We can be sharing our togetherness with satisfaction, pulling as a team, when someone yanks at the harness. We grow irritated with him. We vote him down. We fire him, we expel him, expose him, and occasionally, kill him.

This protean individual has many names. He is the maverick, the eccentric, the gadfly. In groups, he is a screwball, a loner, an “agitator.” In correctional parlance, this is the “hard case” or “hot air merchant.” Sociologically, he is deviant. Psychologically, he is maladjusted, negativistic, narcissistic, or psychopathic.

The term “dissenter,” first used in a religious context after the Revolution of 1688, now is used to include anyone who disagrees with commonly-held beliefs in a social group. “Dissenter” is not an ill-chosen term, since its true meaning is encysted in the word. “Dissent” literally means “to feel apart,” not to think apart. It is this feeling of apateryl which is the source and power of the dissenter. He is the natural antithesis of togetherness.

“Dissent” also connotes expression. The disagreement must be voiced, the protest expressed. Risk is involved—some overt expression that runs contra the establishment.

The dissenter may be Socrates trudging the streets of Athens, mortal but deathless, or some forgotten “odd ball” in the local PTA. Or even a university president, if he is Robert Hutchins, who wore a white football helmet to an alumni banquet after he had abolished football.

What makes a dissenter? Psychologists agree that we all have a need to belong. The dissenter may have suffered some early despair which made him abandon acceptance. Or, his group may be in his mind, selected from past or future.

Freudians used to look for the motivation of the dissenter in early, unhealthy relationships with authority figures. But only a few psychologists—notably the late Robert Lindner—have stressed rebellion as man’s most typical human attribute. Far from “adjusting” everyone into conformity, Lindner felt, society should encourage rebellion and utilize it. But this is not the major trend.

We live in a society of increasing organization and bureaucratization. Groupness is pervasive and all-embracing. As individuals, we swim in an ocean of “norms.”

Our separateness becomes an increasing threat to the care, nurture and happy life of growing groups. More and more we are guided, adjusted, coerced and compressed into the group. If we cannot get along with groups, we cannot work or maintain status. The individual can be ostracized by his company or blackballed by his union or listed as a subversive by his government’s secret police because of what he buys, reads or says.

The newspaper he unfolds is increasingly the only daily in his city. His radio and television are networked. His news magazines present all sides, all sides of one view. He lives in a world of standardized products, opinions and modes of being; and the forces which determine his life stem from decisions made elsewhere. The visibility of our standardized culture increases hourly. Living under these changes, the lot of the dissenter becomes increasingly forlorn. Dissent is a dangerous luxury for the individual. But is it becoming a vital necessity for society?

What is the role of the dissenter? In the political and legal arena, the dissenter challenges the system. He checks the fabric of the group, the organizational net. He pummels the legal structure and the power combines. The result is exposure of weak spots, the uncovering of evils, the disclosure of places where our great check and balance systems falter. The dissenter’s questions cauterize areas of complaisance and corruption in the system.

Legally, the dissenter will sue on principle, and we shall benefit from a new set of precedents. Strangely, he may never attain his goal; more strangely still, his goal may prove unimportant. What is important is the discovery of something else in the process.

This process of “happening on to” something more valuable than one’s original goal is serendipity. It produces more valuable discoveries and insights than is recognized in orthodox thinking. And as our togetherness deepens, the human spirit springs more into revolt against the mechanistic and “operational” credos of closed minds. Dr. Roentgen stumbled on the X-ray while looking for something else less important. This was a non-threatening discovery and he was honored for it. But in Lister’s day, Dr. Semmelweis was driven insane by skeptical Viennese colleagues because he insisted that obstetricians wash their hands to prevent the spread of infection from one lying-in woman patient to another. The ability to innovate which is currently so highly touted in the social sciences, may originate from a stance of dissent. This principle is better expressed by the French: “Il faut chercher pour trouver mais pas pour
trouver ce qu'on cherche."

The people who produce these happy but fortuitous improvements may be men of no eminence and great determination, like the identical twin pilots who hijacked an airplane from a government marshal to prove that the government had illegally seized it. By enraged authority, the dissenter shows how far authority can go—until calmer men in shame apply remedies to restrain authority. Eminence and success may sometimes mitigate, but they do not destroy the "feeling-apartness" of the true dissenter. Cyrus Eaton, from his pinnacle in industry, outlined the dangers of a bureaucratic secret police. Edward R. Murrow attacked McCarthyism at its source in the most sensitive of public media. Murrow again mined the vein of dissent by disclosing the use of prostitution in competitive big business.

More recently, John Howard Griffin plumbed the depths of dissent by wearing a black skin. His perception-shattering experiences were reports from another world.

It cannot be assumed, however, that the fruits of dissent are always valuable per se. But how can we know at a given time which are valuable and which are not? The value of dissent often is like a signboard, so close to us that we cannot read it. This is why the role of the dissenter in society should be studied, safeguarded and recognized as a vital function.

Recent changes in the judicial view of the individual's rights show increasing concern for him. This will help to protect the dissenter's role in society. His lot is not a happy one, but he may soon be recognized, however grudgingly, as society's natural resource.

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THE RESPECTABLE CRIMINAL*

Why some of our best friends are crooks

Donald R. Cressey

Spring has returned, and with it two of the major themes of strategy in American life—how to win a baseball pennant and how to beat the income tax collector. Because as a sociologist I’m professionally interested in why people cheat, I’ll leave theories about baseball to others.

At this time of year many of us toy with the idea of income tax evasion. Some succumb to the temptation. Those who do are not poor, culturally deprived slum dwellers. They do not like to think of themselves as “criminals.” Tax evaders, along with people who pad their insurance claims, embezzle from their employers, or conspire with others to fix the price of goods usually have steady jobs and wear white collars to work. They are, nevertheless, committing what we call “respectable crimes.” As recent newspaper headlines remind us, these are widespread forms of criminal behavior in our society. To develop a truly comprehensive theory of criminality we must learn more about why such men become violators of the law.

My own interest in “respectable crime” goes back to my days as a graduate student at Indiana University after World War II. My major professor, Edwin H. Sutherland, was conducting a study of the crimes committed by the 70 largest non-financial corporations in the U.S. He invented the concept of white-collar crime and encouraged criminologists, administrators of criminal justice, and laymen to reexamine the generalizations they had traditionally made about crime and criminals.

Sutherland’s examination of the laws on certain kinds of business practices—such as restraint of trade, infringement of patents, false and misleading advertising, unfair labor practices—convinced him that these were indeed criminal laws. Violation of these laws is, accordingly, a crime; crimes of this sort must be included in any generalization about crimes and criminals. Sutherland found that the 70 largest corporations had about 980 decisions recorded against them for violation of four laws—an average of about 14 for each corporation. At the time of the study, the most popular criminological theories tended to link criminal behavior to social and personal pathologies of various kinds. Theoreticians emphasized poverty, poor education, broken homes, and psychological characteristics of criminals. The white-collar criminals that Sutherland had discovered, like the high officials of G.E. and Westinghouse who were convicted of conspiracy to fix prices in 1962, were persons of respectability and high social status who had committed crimes in connection with business. They did not fit the theoretical description. It followed that the theory would have to be revised to account for this type of criminality.

Sutherland’s position was confused by the fact that he studied corporations, rather than individual white-collar criminals. I tried to correct this defect by making a study of embezzlers. It was my impression that embezzlers are white-collar criminals whose backgrounds are not likely to contain the social and personal pathologies which popular notions and traditional theory ascribe to criminals. Actually I doubt that these characteristics are in fact present in the background of most criminals. On the basis of my study, I know that they are almost never present in the background of embezzlers.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF EMBEZLLING

When I turned, as a first step, to the existing literature for an explanation of embezzling, I found that there was a basic confusion about the nature of this crime. Most books about embezzling are written by accountants—guides to businessmen to help them avoid embezzling in their own firms. Their major thesis is that weak internal controls and poor auditing systems cause defalcations by failing to eliminate the possibility of committing the crime.

While I must agree that a detailed check on all business transactions would prevent defalcations, I doubt whether these crimes can be “explained” by the absence of such checks. In the first place, even the most “foolproof” accounting procedures can never eliminate cheating entirely. The versatility of embezzlers is astounding, and greatly underestimated. In the second place, modern society presupposes business transactions based upon a considerable amount of trust. No matter what accounting system is used, an element of trust remains. A brief review of the history of embezzlement will make this point clear.

When commerce was beginning to expand in the 16th century, the legal rule regarding financial relations between masters, servants, and third persons was simply this: (a) property received from the master remained in his possession, the servant having “mere charge of custody” of it; but (b) property received from a third person for the master was in the servant’s possession, and he was not guilty of a felony if he converted it for his own use. As business expanded and “servants” became in fact clerks and cashiers, the situations in which the master retained possession were expanded. It became the rule that if a clerk placed money in a cash drawer, it thereby came into the possession of the master; if the servant subsequently took the money from the cash drawer to keep, this act was larceny. But until 1799, if a clerk received money from one of his employer’s customers and put it directly into his
own pocket, he had committed no crime; the money had not yet come into his employer's possession. Later that same year the first general embezzlement statute was passed in England. The new law covered "servants" but it did not cover "agents"; when in 1812 a stockbroker took money given to him to invest and converted it for his own use, the court held that the general embezzlement law did not cover this act. New legislation to cover brokers, agents, etc., was passed almost immediately. Clearly, the common law of fraud and larceny had been sufficient for a relatively simple economy where there was no need to trust servants with business transactions. But with the growth of business firms in the 19th century, embezzlement statutes had to be invented to cover the new offenses which arose with the new economic structure.

Dependence upon trusted employees, agents, brokers, and factors has increased steadily since the passage of these first statutes. To argue that criminal violation of financial trust can be prevented by rigid accounting methods is to overlook the pertinent point: if strict controls were imposed on all trusted persons, embezzlement could be prevented, but very little business could be conducted. To remove "the temptation, the opportunity, and even the suggestion to violate the solemn trust which has been placed in officers and employees," as one accountant-author suggests, would eliminate both "solemn trust" and large numbers of business transactions.

Writers who are not accountants have an alternative explanation of embezzling; they blame it on the weakness, moral depravity, natural dishonesty, weak moral fibre, etc., of the violator. The trouble with explanations of this sort is that they are always after-the-fact. Such hidden variables can be said to cause almost any kind of behavior. They usually become evident only after a person has proved that he is "bad" by stealing from his employer. The notion that an evil result must have something evil as a cause is a fallacy.

In my own attempt to explain this kind of crime, I spent about a year at the Illinois State Penitentiary at Joliet interviewing embezzlers. I then moved to California State Institution for Men at Chino. I was also able to gather a considerable number of cases from other studies. But I was disturbed because my sample of embezzlers included very few bankers; this was because embezzlement is a federal offense and most of my interviews had been conducted in state prisons. So I spent a summer working in the United States Penitentiary in Terre Haute, Indiana. From these interviews I developed a generalization which I think can be applied to all the embezzlers I talked to. I see no good reason to believe that it does not apply to all embezzlers, although I realize that one should not generalize beyond his data.

THE COMPLEAT CHEATER

What I came up with was the idea that embezzle-
the opportunity to embezzle. Let me give just one statement, made by an embezzler (and former accountant), about the opportunity and techniques of embezzlement:  

In my case, I would have to say that I learned all of it in school and in my ordinary accounting experience. In school they teach you in your advanced years how to detect embezzlements, and you sort of absorb it...  

It is just like a doctor performing abortions... I did not use any techniques which any ordinary accountant in my position could not have used; they are known by all accountants, just like the abortion technique is known by all doctors.

The third process in my generalization, verbalization, is the crux of the problem. I am convinced that the words that the potential embezzler uses in his conversation with himself are actually the most important elements in the process which gets him into trouble, or keeps him out of trouble. If he sees a possibility for embezzlement, it is because he has defined the relationship between the unshareable problem and an illegal solution in language that lets him look on trust violation as something other than trust violation. If he cannot do this, he does not become an embezzler.

To illustrate, let us suppose a man who is a pillar of the community, a respected, honest employee, a man with a background no more criminal than that of most of us. This man finds himself with an unshareable problem, and an objective opportunity to steal money from his company. The chances are very good that if in that situation I walked up to him and said, "Jack, steal the money from your boss," he would look at me in horror, as if I had suggested that he could solve his problem by going down and sticking a pistol into the face of the local cigar store owner. Honest and trusted men "just don't do such things." However, honest and trusted men do "borrow," and if he tells himself that he is borrowing the money he can continue to believe that he is an honest citizen, even as he is stealing the boss blind. Since he wants to remain an honest citizen, the "borrowing" verbalization becomes the key to his dishonest conduct.

I do not wish to overemphasize the idea of "borrowing." There are many verbalizations used, some of them quite complex. The "borrowing" verbalization is simply an example of a vocabulary that can adjust two contradictory roles—the role of an honest man and the role of a crook. I call the use of such a vocabulary a rationalization, which is different from the way psychoanalysts use the term. Let me give an illustration of rationalization that does not involve a dishonest role.

Suppose a Dean who is swamped with work in his university is invited to speak at a seminar of businessmen. He might at first feel he should decline the invitation, on the ground that he doesn't have the time, or he has to get the budget in, or he has to finish writing his book. But then suppose he says to himself, "A Dean should get out of the ivory tower now and then," or "Theoretical knowledge is no good unless it is passed on to practical men." Now he can accept the invitation, and does.

Vocabularies of motive are not something invented by embezzlers (or anyone else) on the spur of the moment. Before they can be taken over by an individual, these verbalizations exist as group definitions in which the behavior in question, even crime, is in a sense appropriate. There are any number of popular ideologies that sanction crime in our culture: "Honesty is the best policy, but business is business"; "It is all right to steal a loaf of bread when you are starving"; "All people steal when they get in a tight spot"; Once these verbalizations have been assimilated and internalized by individuals, they take a form such as: "I'm only going to use the money temporarily, so I am borrowing, not stealing," as "I have tried to live an honest life but I've had nothing but troubles, so to hell with it."

If my generalization about the psychological elements of embezzling is valid, it should have ramifications for crime prevention. Some change in prevention techniques is clearly necessary, for the embezzlement rate in the United States is on the rise. Increasingly complex business organizations need larger proportions of "trusted employees." Business procedures are becoming so involved that the whole fabric of an enterprise depends more and more upon men who have been given independent control over some segment of the enterprise. At the same time, studies of professional and technical workers indicate that many are dissatisfied with their jobs. These disgruntled employees are potential embezzlers.

It follows from my generalization that embezzling can be effectively blocked at the unshareable problem point or at the verbalization point.

- Trust violation rates might be reduced by eliminating some of the unshareable problems among employees. This means development of company programs so that employees have fewer financial problems and/or feel that they can share their financial problems with their employer. Wherever a company program solves a financial problem, or makes it shareable, embezzlement will not occur.

- Companies could introduce education programs that emphasize how trust violators commonly use verbalizations. These programs would make it increasingly difficult for trusted employees to think of themselves as "borrowers" rather than "thieves" when they take the boss's money. It is highly probable that our current practices in this regard actually encourage embezzlement. We tend to emphasize the notion that embezzlers are people who are the victims of "wine, women, and waging." Because this lore is so popular, a person with an unshareable problem who is not gambling, drinking or running around with women can easily think of himself as a non-embezzler who is simply "borrowing." What
I am proposing an educational program in which we say over and over again that a person who "pilfers" or "taps the till" or "borrows" or who is guilty of "defalcation," "peculation," or some other nice term is, in fact, a crook. And if the trusted employee rejects the notion of himself as a crook (and as a "respectable" type, he must), he will also reject the possibility of embezzling.

CRIME AS BUSINESS POLICY

The generalization I have developed here was made to fit only one crime—embezzling. But I suspect that the verbalization section of the generalization will fit other types of respectable crime as well. There is a study of crimes among New England shoe manufacturers that supports this notion. In the eight New England communities studied, there were wide variations in the number of shoe firms violating labor relations laws. In Haverhill, Massachusetts, for example, 7 percent of the shoe firms violated these laws, while in Auburn, Maine, 44 percent violated them. The author, Robert E. Lane, concluded that one of the reasons for the differences among the towns was differences in "attitudes toward the law, the government, and the morality of illegality." Those shoe manufacturers who associated with men whose attitudes favored violation were more likely to break the law; those manufacturers who were isolated from these attitudes were less likely to break the law. This influence on attitudes was evident even in the reading habits of these men; those who had violated the law had immersed themselves in a segment of the daily press so hostile to government that violation of the law seemed quite appropriate to them. Here, even the newspapers were providing verbalizations that made crime "all right." Lane predicted, on the basis of such observations, that managers of companies located in bigger cities, with a cosmopolitan press, diversified social life, and greater tolerance for heterodoxy, would accept legal restrictions on how they conducted their businesses more readily than would small town management. This prediction was borne out; firms located in small towns violated the laws much more frequently than did similar firms located in larger cities. The small town atmosphere provided a rationale to justify this particular crime; (government shouldn't tell a man how to run his business; "that man" in Washington is no good anyway; labor unions are cor-

rupt). The bigger cities did not provide this justification. Another study, by Marshall B. Clinard, analyzed O.P.A. violations during World War II and concluded that businessmen violated the regulations simply because they did not "believe in" them.

The G.E. and Westinghouse officials must have had a formula that made their conspiracy to fix the price of electrical equipment something other than a crime. Perhaps it was a generalized dislike of government regulation of business; perhaps they had convinced themselves that no one really abides by the Sherman Antitrust Act anyway and that, like the prohibition amendment, it could be transgressed without any stigma of criminality. And surely all the income tax evaders do not see themselves as stealing money from the U.S. Treasury—to them the government may seem so rich that "they'll never miss it" or the intricate tax laws may seem a kind of game that allows an advantage to the shrewd player.

But whether the stakes are high or low, whether the financial game is played by an individual or a conspiring group, an aura of personal respectability does not erase (though it may temporarily obscure), the act of a criminal.

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Crime and Correctional Rehabilitation

Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to help meet one of the most critical needs of our time. As this Congress already knows, much has been accomplished in the field of vocational rehabilitation; in large part because of the well-designed program of Federal assistance. Yet within this field there is a neglected area, the area of correctional rehabilitation, and today there is a need for an objective, thorough and nationwide analysis and reevaluation of the extent and means of resolving the critical shortage of qualified manpower in the field of correctional rehabilitation.

Last week President Johnson in his state of the Union message called the Nation's attention to this matter when he reiterated the right of every citizen to feel secure in his home and on the streets of his community and when he expressed his desire for the recommendations and constructive efforts of the Congress in attacking the national problem of crime and delinquency. I hope that many of us will rise to this challenge, since crime and delinquency indeed constitute a problem of increasing seriousness and magnitude in a society characterized by sharp increases in population, growing concentrations of people in cities and towns, industrialization, automation, assimilation of minority and immigrant groups in the American middle class, and changes in cultural values. All these developments have wide implications for the incidence and nature of crime and delinquency.

For example, behavior once regarded as normal in a largely rural and pioneer society, such as discharge of firearms in village streets or the taking of a small amount of farm produce from fields, is now regarded as illegal in a more crowded world. This is true because the danger of wounding another individual or of having one's crop ruined, has been increased by the sharp rise and concentration of population. Industrialization has brought an enormous number of new crimes never known to an agrarian world, such as stock swindles, pure food and drug law violations, and a host of other offenses. Minority and immigrant groups, with predominantly non-middle-class values, have swelled the crime rates because of their lack of understanding of and adjustment to our modern American world. Too often, they lack the resources or skills to employ legal counsel or other kinds of help to minimize prosecution for offenses sometimes committed out of ignorance or apathy.

The United States of the 1960's is not necessarily a less moral society than the United States of the 1760's. In fact, the general level of moral and ethical behavior may well be far higher. The problem is rather that our citizens today face a more complex world in a more crowded country with more laws and more opportunities to violate the laws.

Our approaches to crime today may therefore need to be tailored to a different world. The very causes may be different and the methods of prevention and control may need to be different.

This is not to suggest that we should simply tolerate more misconduct or law violation, or that we should drop all our laws from the statute books. Such actions may reduce official crime statistics, and indeed many laws may need to be dropped for various reasons. But failure to prosecute for law violations or removal of offenses from the statute books obviously would attack symptoms rather than causes.

I suggest that our approaches to crime and delinquency control have been very primitive and groping in comparison with our approach to other social problems such as mental health or public health because we have never seriously undertaken to provide the kind and number of personnel required for workable prevention and control programs. We would never for a moment imagine that good public health laws or preventive vaccines or sanitation laws alone would insure good public health. Our attention is directed immediately to establishing enough facilities and resources to turn out an adequate number of qualified physicians, nurses, and other personnel. We think also of ways to induce them to enter public health careers and to remain there. Yet we have naively assumed in our halting and uncertain attempts to prevent and control crime that good laws and a great many institutions and jails alone should do the job.

Let us remember too that all our people are entitled to rehabilitative services when they have committed offenses, both because they are people in need as well as because curing their problems will also protect the rest of us. Research shows that the vast majority of offenders have remediable physical, mental, emotional, or other defects.

The American system of criminal justice, and its counterpart for children and youth in the juvenile courts, has received increasing attention in recent years as a part of our striving toward equality of opportunity and justice for all our people. This attention has so far been directed toward revising the antiquated criminal and juvenile codes, toward improving law-enforcement facilities, toward updating archaic bail bond requirements,
and toward strengthening judicial and legal processes.

But there is a serious gap in our remedial approaches so far. We have failed to give adequate attention to the services and facilities for the redirection and treatment of identified and adjudicated offenders, adult and juvenile. Our prisons remain overcrowded, poorly staffed, and subject to riots and disturbances. Our probation services are so inadequate that proponents of the juvenile court philosophy claim that such inadequacies have prevented any real testing of the juvenile court idea. Training schools for delinquents are notoriously poor in program and services, with very few exceptions. Parole staffs in most of our States have enormous caseloads and are ill equipped to offer constructive guidance. Private correctional agencies, planning and prevention programs, camps, halfway houses, and other correctional machinery are far more promising in their hopes than successful in their accomplishments.

There is fairly clear evidence, and a growing consensus, that the major key to genuine and lasting improvement of correctional services lies in the substantial increase of well-qualified personnel who will enter permanent career service in prisons, probation, parole, and other correctional programs. Good correctional laws, sound program planning, and innovative and promising services are only as effective as the people who put meaning into the laws, activate the plans, and staff the services.

Unfortunately, to date our interest has been only in devising and demonstrating new laws, new techniques, and new approaches. A comparatively small number of highly qualified personnel have moved around from new project to new project, “testing out” these new ideas. But, as they move on to newer and more exciting programs, each of the previous demonstrations has faded into comparative oblivion. There has been no permanent well-qualified cadre of personnel to pick up on the “demonstrated” idea.

We will never capitalize on our research findings in crime and delinquency until we have enough skilled rehabilitation and prevention personnel. For example, we know that over 90 percent of our offenders shift back and forth from legitimate to illicit careers at one time or another and are not genuinely “career criminals.” This 90 percent or so can therefore be potentially directed into permanently legitimate careers. Yet there are only 50 full-time psychiatrists in all the prisons and reformatories serving adult offenders in the Nation, a ratio of approximately 1 psychiatrist to 4,400 offenders. How much genuine rehabilitation can any one person, no matter how qualified, be expected to bring about in such a small army of offenders?

The situation with respect to psychologists is little better, about 1 to 2,000. And there is 1 teacher for every 400 prisoners.

Research evidence indicates that such a drastic shortage of professional personnel has alarming consequences. Too few professionals may be worse than none at all. Prison education, for example, contributes significantly to postrelease success only when the education is extensive and intensive, and a small amount of education impairs postrelease prospects by inspiring unrealistic job aspirations.

Is it any cause for wonder, with such shocking lack of qualified personnel to steer offenders into productive careers, that the value of property stolen in 1963 was $785 million, and, when the cost of police court and correctional services are added, the total cost of crime exceeded $2 billion a year? Is it any cause for wonder that since 1958 crime has increased five times faster than the population growth? Is it any cause for wonder that the population of the prisons, reformatories, training schools, jails, and workhouses on any given day reaches almost 400,000?

Yet research clearly shows that the prison employee who has the greatest reformative influence on the offender is the one who is able and prepared to demonstrate sincere and sustained concern for and confidence in the offender’s rehabilitation.

Recognizing the critical need for attention to problems of recruitment and retention of a large cadre of well-qualified and professionally prepared men and women in crime prevention and control services, I have encouraged the national organizations interested in correctional manpower and training to meet together and to provide the Congress with an analysis of needs and a blueprint for action. They have followed these suggestions. In June 1964, 61 organizations sent almost a hundred official delegates to an Arden House Conference which was the result of 2 years of planning, writing, and discussions. A blueprint for action at State, Federal, and non-governmental levels, was agreed upon, and I am including a copy of one of the decisions of that conference as a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

JOINT COMMISSION ON MANPOWER AND TRAINING

Many of the action proposals being considered by the Arden House Conference on Manpower and Training for Corrections cannot be undertaken by existing organizations alone for a variety of reasons. Many of these proposals require a degree of unity and cohesion in the field of corrections which will take staff time and concentrated effort to attain. Other activities lie closer to the objectives of the existing organizations or have higher priority. Funds and staff time in existing organizations are lacking. Some proposals require studies, co-ordinated recruitment campaigns, liaison with many organizations. Again, much concentrated effort will be needed. For all these reasons a joint commission whose interests and activities will be in the area of correctional manpower and training should be established.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JOINT COMMISSION

A Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training should be established for a 3-year period.
TASKS

This joint commission should:

(a) Identify the goals of corrections;
(b) Identify the several tasks to be performed to achieve these goals;
(c) Identify the knowledge, skills, and other qualifications needed to perform the tasks;
(d) Identify the preparation necessary to achieve these skills;
(e) Identify the disciplines which should contribute to, and the professions which should take responsibility for, the preparation of correctional personnel;
(f) Take an inventory of present correctional jobs and project future needs;
(g) Inventory and identify existing and needed resources for training;
(h) Promote vigorous recruitment activities by the various professions;
(i) Promote the development of added training resources;
(j) Take such other action as in its opinion will further the cause of correctional manpower and training.

MEMBERSHIP

The membership of the joint commission should be composed of representatives of the various national and regional organizations related to the correctional field, and members at large from the communications media, business, industry, labor, and other key groups in the Nation.

FINANCING

The joint commission should be financed by public and voluntary funds.

THE INTERIM COMMITTEE

The five sponsoring organizations are hereby authorized by the Arden House Conference on Manpower and Training for Corrections to establish an interim committee composed of representatives of these sponsoring organizations and others as appropriate, to implement the formation of the joint commission.

As this indicates, one outstanding decision was to establish a 3-year Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training to compile the known data about correctional manpower to accumulate new findings, and to launch a massive national action program at all levels and in all parts of the Nation. I have given my full support to the group planning this joint commission. As the commission arrives at a point of consensus as to detailed plans and programs, I shall propose a White House conference to launch the national action program in this field.

It is my sincere conviction that a carefully planned multidisciplinary effort such as this involving all the national groups and bodies is a far more promising venture for leadership in crime prevention and control in a democratic society than any narrowly based effort involving a single approach, a single philosophy, or a single discipline. I urge the Congress to support what is truly one of the great democratic action programs of our times to alleviate a serious and growing social problem.

The bill which I have introduced today would amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act and would provide a comprehensive 3-year study of current and anticipated needs for all levels of personnel in the correctional field, a study of current and anticipated requirements for educational and training facilities, a study of curriculum changes in undergraduate and professional education, and a thorough review of the changing trends and developments in correctional tasks and correctional training. Known as the Correctional Rehabilitation Study Act of 1965, the legislation provides a $500,000 appropriation for the first year of the study and $800,000 for each of the 2 succeeding years. Additional funds are being sought from a number of foundations. The act is fully backed by over 60 national organizations which approved the study at an Arden House Conference on Manpower and Training for Corrections in June 1964. It has the support of the Federal agencies concerned with correctional rehabilitation, and the national Governors' conference will shortly consider a resolution supporting the act as recommended by the Council of State Governments.
ACROSS THE DESK
By Dorothy C. Tompkins

PENNSYLVANIA CORRECTIONAL SYSTEM

An abortive prison break at Eastern State Correctional Institution in Philadelphia, in January 1961, led to a study of state and local correctional systems by a Task Force and Advisory Committee of the Pennsylvania Joint State Government Commission. Major reforms proposed by the Task Force included construction of a network of low cost penal facilities to house one-third of Pennsylvania's penal population who now work outside prison walls but return each night to sleep in maximum security cells; abandonment of Eastern State Correctional Institution and its replacement with a $15 million clinical prison in Philadelphia; development of a statewide probation service; formulation of a uniform policy to use county jails for short term commitments and creation of regional prisons; and greater use of psychiatric and psychological services in the examination and treatment of criminals in and out of penal institutions.

(Criminology News, CRIME COMMISSION OF PHILADELPHIA, 5: 3, February 1965)

PAROLE NARCOTIC PROJECT

After three and a half years experience, the Philadelphia Parole Narcotic Project has demonstrated that readmission to a considerable extent, the failure rates for addicts can be significantly reduced by reasonably efficient parole services, thin-layer chromatography is a relatively inexpensive and efficient technique for determining the presence of opiates and other drugs in the urine, and community stereotypes of the addict are generally inaccurate and detrimental to those ex-addicts who are trying to establish themselves in their communities.


COMMISSION ON LAW ENFORCEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

By the summer of 1966, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice will report on its study of the organization of law enforcement, the steps to be taken to create greater understanding at the state and local level of the efforts of federal courts to insure protection of individual rights, the kinds of federal programs that can be most effective in assisting state and local enforcement, the adequacy of education and training for those who administer the criminal laws, the correctional programs that are most promising in preventing recidivism, and steps to be taken to increase public respect for law and law enforcement officers.

(U.S. President, Crime, Message, (89:1, H. Doc. no. 103) Congressional Record, March 8, 1965: 4165-68)

ORGANIZED CRIME AND DRUGS

The structure and methods of criminal syndicates (Mafia and Cosa Nostra) and the network of narcotics traffic that channels drugs from the Middle and Far East and Latin America into the United States have been examined by the U.S. Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. Based on hearings during 1963 and 1964, the Subcommittee has recommended that Congress consider legislation which would grant immunity to witnesses in establishing violations of the Racketeer-Lane Travel Act and political corruption, would make it a federal crime to threaten witnesses prior to formal initiation of judicial proceedings, would provide wiretapping authority under specific conditions, and would establish a commission to act as a national clearinghouse for criminal intelligence. Other recommendations concerned the illicit narcotics traffic and treatment and rehabilitation of narcotic addicts—program of civil commitment for addicts in federal jurisdiction, federal funds to aid state and local authorities in maintaining treatment centers for care of addicts, etc.


ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS

From 1955 to 1962, illegitimate births to mothers aged 15 to 24, increased from 99,747 to 171,700. These figures are based on reports by 33 states to the National Office of Vital Statistics.


SOCIAL PREDICTION TABLE

The Glueck Social Prediction Table, an outgrowth of their study Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency (1950), was designed to distinguish potentially delinquent boys from pseudo-delinquents and non-delinquents as early as the age of six. It is based on certain factors in family life, especially parent-child relationships.

In 1953, the New York City Youth Board embarked upon the first follow-up of young children to test the validity of the Glueck Social Prediction Table. After ten years study, the Table was found to be 84.8 percent accurate in predicting delinquency. "There was a positive relationship found to exist between the type of discipline a child received in the home and his behavior at school" and "there was a relationship found between school behavior and the score a boy received on the Glueck Prediction Table. Of the boys who became delinquent, 97% were behavior problems in school."

(New York City Youth Board, A Manual of Procedures for Application of the Glueck Prediction Table, by Maude M. Craig and Selma I. Glueck, 14p New York, October 1964)
THE CORRECTIONAL REJUVENATION OF RESTITUTION TO VICTIMS OF CRIME

Stephen Schaffer, Florida State University

A common misconception suggests the understanding of compensation or restitution to victims of crime virtually confined to the sphere of a social obligation, or the obligation of the offender, to make up the harm, injury or other disadvantage caused by the criminal offense. This reduces this concept to the field of damages, and could result only in the criminological mumification of civil law provisions.

However, a refined revival of the Medieval composition and a rejuvenation of the civil law compensation to a correctional restitution could be a part of the synthetic punishment and a response of criminal justice to the functional responsibility of the criminal. The universalistic trend of criminal law and criminology attempts to lift crime from its isolated individualistic position and tries to place crime and criminal into broad social perspectives. A reformative-corrective restitution, as a part of the sentence, could help to follow the universalistic demands of criminology, also a more efficient integration of criminal and civil law.

PATTERNS OF VIOLENCE IN SAN JUAN

Samuel E. Wallace, Columbia University

The San Juan study interviewed about 590 victims and a limited number of aggressors and transcribed the data selected by police, court, and prison officials in a study of 988 situations within which an act of violence took place. The specific acts ranged in severity from aggravated assault to first-degree murder. All were committed during the first five months of 1961. The acts were those reported to the San Juan Metropolitan Area Police, who in turn reported them to us, to enable our own staff to interview the victims or eyewitnesses and to collect a bulk of the data firsthand. To date an article has been published in English and Spanish, and a book-length manuscript, now in preparation, will be completed by September, 1965.

Violence in Latin America takes place between friends and kin; in the United States, between strangers and enemies. Violence in San Juan is committed in a momentary heat of passion with no attempt at concealment or later denial. Just the reverse of the situation here. The time, place, setting, and weapons used also differ in unpredictable directions, save for the fact that there is alcohol present in most situations of violence, regardless of which country. In Latin America, not only are victim and aggressor actively involved with each other before the act occurs, but the spectators come to play a vital role in influencing the outcome or preventing the violence: a quite different pattern from the non-involvement of urban populations in the United States so frequently cited by the newspapers.

THE ATTITUDES OF OFFENDERS TOWARD OCCUPATIONS IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Paul B. Weston, Sacramento State College

Offenders who have been arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to prison do not like policemen, public defenders, district attorneys, and judges—in that order—though they favor parole officers slightly and really like postmen and firemen. A sampling of the attitudes of felons, miscreants, and juvenile offenders indicates that a simple model of "hostility to authority" cannot explain the attitudes of offenders toward occupations in the administration of justice, and suggests a cause-and-effect relationship between the expectations of these offenders and prevailing practices. An analysis of the diversity and range of the attitudes expressed by the inmate respondents reveals that less-favored attitudes can be improved, but strongly implies a need for corrective action within the structure of the arrest-to-release occupations charged with the administration of justice. Collected data is based upon the responses of inmate-recipients and 37 students in a control group to a 32-question forced-choice questionnaire, and the utilization of a simple percentage formula for determining the prestige of the occupations reviewed.

ACROSS THE DESK, cont.

RESTITUTION FOR VICTIMS OF CRIMES

Should restitution be made by federal, state, or local governments to victims of crimes committed within their jurisdictions? This question was considered by the Illinois Academy of Criminology at its January 20, 1965 meeting. Two popular justifications for government provision for the compensation of victims of crime were cited. "The state has the obligation to provide for the safety of the property and persons of its citizens and failing in this should be liable for compensation. On the other hand, allowing that crime is endemic to all societies and the specific victims largely a matter of chance, the problem can also be approached in terms of shared risk. Provisions would be made for the victims of crime on some basis similar to workmen's compensation for accidental injury on the job or the compensation provided through the Veterans' Administration for victims of aggression from external sources."


BAIL PROJECT

A one-year pilot bail project has been instituted in Delaware to reduce the number of defendants imprisoned before trial because they cannot raise bail. Similar to the Manhattan Bail Project, the pilot project is sponsored by the Delaware Citizens Crime Commission. (State Government News (Council of State Government) 8:1, February 1965)
RE: WHAT IS A CRIMINOLOGIST?

To The Editor:

In all the provocative discussion of this question I do not seem to recall that adequate attention has been devoted to the CRIME PREVENTION aspects of the field of Criminology. I suppose its all right to refer to criminology as a 'field' connoting the view that it is a science and an art combined. Certainly it is inter-disciplinary in both theory and practice, and the crime preventive aspects contain ingredients involving inter-alia methodology, goals and evaluations of other aspects.

Probing at random; certain of the issues involved with capital punishment hinge on inquiry and findings as to preventive effects; various social welfare theories and practices regarding delinquency revolve around objectives and effects of a crime prevention nature; rehabilitation is intimately bound up with prevention; management of police and investigative functions, implicitly or explicitly, have secondary functions that are broadly crime preventive.

It seems a truism that our present day practices in crime prevention are extremely fuzzy, and so much so as to explain the tendency to overlook this aspect when marshalling a description of the field of criminology or organizing it academically or for professional practice. But it takes very little reflection to develop a conclusion that crime prevention is as vital to the field of criminology as public health is to the field of medicine.

As the well-organized school of medicine has a department of public health, the well-designed institute of criminology should have a department of crime prevention, or similar sectional specialization.

The analogy appears quite useful. Both are inter-disciplinary. Both require attention to theory and technique in statistics, sociology, psychology, education, communication, and so on. Both are concerned with engineering and technology, and with testing or other forms of observation. Both are concerned with victims and potential victims.

In modern society, victims and potential victims of crime are a group co-extensive with the community at large. The community at large means the neighborhood, the city, the region, the nation, or the international community of nations. From a practical point of view this is a compelling incentive for pursuing studies of the art or science of criminology. The protection of society, its defense against weaknesses or malevolent influences is self-evidently one of the basic and proper purposes of institutions devoted to the study of crime. But it must be done broadly and with full application of the necessary academic disciplines. Otherwise, it remains a pious verbalism routinely used in debates. It should be one of the driving forces in the advance of the profession of criminology.

Michael Fooner
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Letters to the editor on any subject related to the field of criminology or its adjunct disciplines are cordially invited. They should be typed, double-spaced, and submitted in duplicate. Ed.
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