

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ATTITUDES AND MORALITY
IN ADULT OFFENDERS

by

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Abstract

This study attempts to evaluate the effect of high level correctional education on penitentiary inmates. A system of education is proposed which will lead to the development of pro-social attitudes and moral judgment. It was also hypothesized that the cognitive style of the subjects would change from global to analytic. Attention is given to various models of attitude change, and to sequential stage development theories.

The results of the study indicate that it is possible to bring about changes in attitudes, as measured by a semantic differential scale, changes towards a more analytic cognitive style, and a development of moral knowledge and moral ideology.

Six hypotheses are tested relating to extraversion and neuroticism, personality factors, cognitive style, attitudes, and morality.

The study was by nature an operational research rather than a laboratory type. However care was taken to make sure that appropriate steps were taken to ensure a reasonably tight design.

The duration of the study was five and one half months from pre-test to post-test. The subjects, numbering thirty-six at pre-test were inmates of a federal maximum security

penitentiary in British Columbia. The subjects were randomly assigned to experimental and control groups. There was some drop out from both groups.

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Chapter One

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to replicate and enlarge on an earlier research carried out by the writer in a minimum security prison. There was an additional purpose in that it forms part of a continuing search for a multiplicity of methods which may be applied in correctional education to reduce the rate of recidivism.

In the earlier study it was hypothesized that college level academic education had a rehabilitative effect. The study was not concerned initially with the experimental investigation of behaviour but was based on observations of a more or less crude nature: the responses of subjects, their careers after release, and such other humanistic observations as seemed meaningful at the time. Later research carried out by the writer and his senior advisor attempted to complement the earlier studies with experimental methodology.

A major difficulty in the earlier studies, and one which continues into this, was the difficulty of finding objective measures which adequately reflect the findings of humanistic observations. Above all there remains the difficulty of spanning and

quantifying events which are commonly observed by psychologists, sociologists, criminologists, philosophers, and educators, and describing those events in a manner acceptable to each discipline.

Thus in this study the research methods are not laboratory type, and some of the measures may be considered as rather inexact indicators of change. However, an attempt has been made to use orthodox methodology, and to apply appropriate statistical treatment to the data obtained.

General Commentary on Correctional Education

So far, despite an enormous and growing interest in rehabilitation and social services, which is paced only by the growing incidence of crime there are no demonstrable and proven methods for reducing the rate of recidivism after treatment, (Wheeler and Cottrell, 1966)

In the case of correctional education no proven methods have been postulated, nor have there been any demonstration of methods. Only two books were written on the subject of correctional education between the beginning of the century and the late 1960's, one by McCormick (1926), and one by Wallock, Kendall, and Briggs (1939). Since that time there have been two more books on prison education by Roberts (1971 and 1973) neither of which can be considered as an important contributor to the field of correctional

education, being but superficial surveys of the various institutions in which experimental work is proceeding.

There are very few papers which deal with deliberate tests of assumptions relevant to correctional education. Glazer (1966) and Michael (1968) have discussed this matter at length, and Glazer, as quoted by Michael, has made four recommendations to correctional educators which are of some importance:

- (1) Broaden the educational challenge to people in prison.
- (2) Change the social relationships among prisoners in educational research.
- (3) Become and remain honest.
- (4) Conduct research.

These dicta are seldom followed by educators in correctional institutions reporting results of programmes which they have used. Frequently the researcher reports subjective analyses of institutional behaviours, which, may after all, not reveal non-recidivist tendencies, but may reflect a process of institutionalization rather than any influence of the educational programme.

It appears that those offering broad educational challenge feel that it is sufficient to have offered college level programmes and that assessment of effectiveness is superfluous.

Apparently it is assumed that the broad challenge of high level education reduces recidivism by virtue of making the criminal more employable. No evidence has been given to support such a contention, and certainly none to support a claim that any reduction of recidivism has been produced.

Other researchers working in the area of social relationships with delinquents, not criminals, as did Cohem, Filipszik and Bis (1965) and Schwitzgebel (1964), have not related their findings to dimensions of personality, attitudes or values. Indeed the purpose of their studies concerns modalities, that is to say, means rather than ends.

Means and Ends in Education

Traditionally, it has been believed that education is necessary for imparting values, and thus providing a basis for the recipient to adjust to the society which provides the education. An alternative to this basic philosophy occurred during the pragmatic period of American education in particular, and in the preparation of artisans subsequent to industrialization in Europe, in which the pattern of education was, by and large, vocational in impact. The aim was to produce citizens who would be productive and disciplined in an industrial society.

Criticism of this departure from education for values to

education for production is frequently found in the literature of both the United States and Europe. It can be found in such literary works as Bellamy's Looking Backwards, Butler's Erewhon, Orwell's 1984, Huxley's Brave New World, and latterly in Burgess's two novels The Wanting Seed and The Clockwork Orange. Many works in literature and in educational philosophy decry the narrow pragmatism of the century. Such criticism is important to this study, and is, furthermore of interest to education generally, for it has led to a re-evaluation of educational processes. The matter of education for values and the development of morality through education seems increasingly to be attracting attention in teacher training colleges and universities.

Frequently the suppositions of the early philosophers appear in the journals of educational psychology and it is probable that the research of Piaget as set out in the Moral Judgment of the Child (1928), and Hartshorne and May's Studies in Deceit (1928-30) have a wider reading audience today than during the era in which they were written.

Through the ages philosophers have stressed the role of education in the development of worthwhile citizens, philosopher kings, and gentlemen. However, none of them have given any clear indication of how to assess the results of such efforts. They have merely indicated in an eminently reasonable and logical

manner that education in the humanities and in beauty should lead to refined and gentle citizens.

The Problem Stated

The previous pages have set out, albeit rather briefly, a number of problems which are worthy of examination. Not the least of the problems and the one which will be of concern in this research is the impact of formal academic education on the criminal. As will be set out later when the literature is reviewed, there are clear historical assumptions that education has a positive effect on both the child and the ordinary citizen. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to assume that such an effect may occur in the case of criminals and that methods and materials of education are discoverable which lead to profound changes in the life style and expectations of incarcerated students.

The most profound change, and the most desirable change, would be that which leads to a change of life style so that the subject of the educational process will no longer be anti-social but will live in harmony with his fellows and within the bounds of the laws of the society into which he will be released.

In the earlier work reported by Parlett (1971) and by Parlett and Ayers (1971) it was assumed that such a pattern and process of education had been found and that there was indeed a

—system of educational acts which would lead to a lower rate of recidivism than other corrective programmes. In those studies there were two major weaknesses. Initially the researches consisted in simple observations of returning releasees through the records of the main receiving institution of the province. These gave some indication that the programmes were effective in that the return rate of subjects who had undergone the programme was less than for others.

In the later studies, measurements which seemed logically and empirically related to the final goals, personality inventories, and tests of cognitive style were used. However, the researcher and others associated with the programme recognized a number of limitations to their investigations, not least of which was how one could account for personality factor changes as a result of education. Furthermore, how could cognitive style, which is reported to be intrinsically stable be changed?

Summary of the Problem

The problem is basically to determine the effect of a particular correctional education programme on recidivism, and to evaluate that effect. The desired goals can be defined either in terms of intermediate goals or in long term results. Intermediate goals may be delineated as amelioration of attitudes, changes in personality, and in moral development.

Specifically:

- (a) Does the educational programme have an effect on the scores obtained on a test of dimensions of attitude?
- (b) Does education have an effect on scores obtained on a test of moral development?
- (c) Does education have an effect on the scores obtained on a personality factor questionnaire?
- (d) Does education have an effect on the scores obtained on a test of cognitive style?

Importance of the Study

In general, programmes introduced to reduce the rate of recidivism of discharged prisoners have been marked by their ineffectiveness in achieving such results. So far there is no evidence at all that any of the many systems of treatment of incarcerated offenders and of parolees has had any favorable effect. In some cases treatment has led to greater recidivism than non-treatment. Such a finding, however, may be an artifact and open to alternate explanations. Thus far, the effect of education on the prisoner has not really been stressed in terms of recidivism rates or in terms of personality and attitude constructs. At the

best the data obtained has only been reported in descriptive terms.

Overview

Chapter Two will be devoted to a study of the relevant research in criminal personality, morality, attitude and attitude change, cognitive style, bibliotherapy, and demand characteristics. There are reasons other than the direct relevance to this study for the large amount of space devoted to moral development. Not least amongst these reasons is the fact that moral development has not been related to rehabilitation efforts in any previous study. It is possible that some clues lie in the research in moral development which may be of assistance to other correctional educators, and which may have been overlooked in this study.

Chapter Three will outline a theory of correctional education which may serve as a starting point to others who wish to investigate the problem. Chapter Four gives the basic design of the study, and recounts some of the difficulties which had to be resolved.

Chapter Five sets out the statistical data which was gathered and attempts to show what areas seem to be fruitful.

Chapter Six discusses the results of this project. It also deals again with the problems of research in an institution and offers some suggestions for other investigators.

Chapter Two

The Related Research

Criminality

In this research, the effort is directed towards the elucidation of a model of education which will bring about an amelioration of criminal characteristics and a reduction of recidivism. In order to accomplish such a task, it is essential to have some idea of what criminality is, and to have a knowledge of what has been said in regard to its cause.

Criminality and delinquency are not well defined constructs. As Sturup (1965) and Polansky (1967) have pointed out, clinical criminologists do not study all criminals, but only one particular group - those who have been convicted of a crime. Furthermore, many of those who have offended and are studied, are but first offenders and differ from multiple offenders in important ways. For example, about 80 per cent of first offenders in most European countries do not return after the first sentence. Thus, the burden of the task of the rehabilitator is not usually towards first offenders as a group but to multiple offenders.

Criminality then, appears to be definable only in terms of the number of offences committed for which a person has been arraigned and for which he has been sentenced. In this research, criminality may be defined as referring to persons who have received a sentence of two years or longer and are therefore incarcerated in a federal penitentiary. There can, in fact, be no precise definition and for every particular group of criminals the term must be re-defined.

Eysenck's Model of Criminality and Causation

Eysenck's theory stemmed from his observations of a very large population of psychotics and neurotics at Mill Hill Hospital during the forties. His orientation was towards the combination of factorial studies of personality with experimental studies to form an overall model reducing subjectivity and atomism and in increasing the validity of personality studies as a whole.

His theory is dichotomic and derives from Kraepelin's (1898) manic-depressive-dementia praecox postulation. Support is drawn from the positions of Kretschmer (1948), Janet (1894, 1903) and Jung (1923), but he develops his own theory in terms of Extraversions, Introversions-Neuroticisms, Stability, related to the spagyric theory of the ancients and to the Galen-Kant-Wundt

scheme of the four temperaments.

Eysenck's theory of criminality, first set out in Crime and Personality (1964), hypothesizes that the causes of crime may be related to both nature and nurture. It is related to nature in that one dimension, extraversion is the result of imbalance in the inhibitory - excitatory facilitation processes of the cortical system. Such an imbalance coupled with an unsatisfactory pattern of conditioning, nurture, is liable to lead to a personality deficient in the capacity to inhibit impulses.

The rationale which Eysenck puts forth has been dwelt on in many papers; e.g. Hoghughie and Forrest (1970), Burgess (1972) and is set out hereunder in brief form:

1. The primary dimensions of criminality are the two continua Extraversion-Introversion and Neuroticism-Stability, with the criminal highly extraverted and neurotic. Extraversion is seen by Eysenck as a behavioural pattern and is regarded as the phenotypical aspect of the genotypical excitation-inhibition imbalance.

2. The extraverted infant becomes conditioned more slowly than does the introverted. More slowly and less well is defined here as number of trials to conditioning and number of

unreinforced recitations to extinction. Both the classical conditioning and operant conditioning models are included in the use of the term conditioning.

3. Socialization and conformity to the imperatives of parents and significant others is thought of as being a conditioning process. According to the theory, the extravert, conditioning more slowly, will be less socialized or will socialize less readily than others.

4. Neurotics are more anxious and excitable than are others towards the more stable end of the continuum. Anxiety is considered as a drive creating a necessity for drive reduction. Thus, the neurotically desired goals of the unstable and excitable person will imperatively demand gratification even at the expense of catastrophe.

5. Eysenck's explicitly stated corollary is that extraverts driven by neuroticism will be more likely to commit anti-social and sex acts than will introverts.

In the light of criticism by Hoghughie and Forrest (1970); Passingham (1967, 1972); Foulds (1961) and others, Eysenck has added a further dimension to his inventories and to his theory of criminality, that of psychoticism.

The Relevance of Eysenck's Theory to This Study

In order to substantiate his position, Eysenck has published a number of tests which purport to measure the dimensions in which he is interested. Should his test be valid and reliable then the following tentative hypothesis may be set forth; If Eysenck's tests measure extraversion and neuroticism, and if neuroticism and extraversion are characteristic of criminals then the criminal sample used in this study should show elevated scores on these two dimensions. Furthermore, if the tests are valid and reliable and if an educational programme has an effect on the criminal personality, it is possible that such an effect will be measurable in terms of a depression of the scores obtained on the same tests after the process of education has been carried out.

A Further Test For the Personality Model

In earlier research (Parlett, 1971), Cattell's 16 P.F., was used as the instrument presumed to measure one of the intermediate goals, change in personality. The 16 P.F. was chosen originally because there was considerable recent material on its use with delinquents, and because it is an instrument which has found favour with psychologists in Canadian penitentiaries, being used most frequently as an alternate to the MMPI.

Pierson, Pierce and Cattell (1966) report that four principal factors of the 16 P.F. emerge as being characteristically elevated or depressed in the case of delinquents. These are: Factor E (Submissiveness vs Dominance) on which delinquents attain low scores; Factor G (Strong Super-Ego vs Weak Super-Ego) on which delinquents attain scores at the weak pole; Factor I (Tough-Minded vs Tender-Minded) on which scale delinquents characteristically score towards the tender-minded feminine end of the continuum, and Factor Q3 (Self Conflict vs Controlled) on which dimension delinquents score low.

Factor Q3 appears to be an indicator of self-regarding sentiment and thus according to most writers on delinquency would be expected to be low scoring. Later it will be seen that a remark of McDougall's (1906), in a revived classic Social Psychology is particularly pertinent in referring to self-sentiment.

For we find that the idea of self and the self-regarding sentiment are essentially social products, that their development is effected by constant interplay between personalities, between the self and society; that, for this reason, the complex conception of self thus attained implies constant reference to others and to society in general, and is, in fact, not merely a conception of self, but always of one's self in relation to other selves. This social genesis of the idea of self lies at the root of morality, and it was largely because this social origin and character of the idea of self was ignored by so many of the older moralists that

they were driven to postulate a special moral faculty, the conscience or moral instinct. (P.185)

It will be seen later that this statement and the idea that the criminal and the delinquent attain low scores on Q3 is an essential part of the theory underlying this research.

In addition to the factors specified above, which were derived on the basis of testing the entire delinquent population of the state of Washington, Cattell has reported that criminals show departures from the norm on the following factors: Factor C (Ego Strength) low scores; Factor O (Guilt Proneness) high scores; and Factor Q4 (Anxiety) high scores.

Cattell has noted that more intensive research is needed on the G Factor pattern. He has also noted that criminals seeking parole are likely to fake on this factor. A general caveat has recently been added regarding the type of faking discussed above, in that he has suggested that the Objective Analytic Personality Battery should be used rather than the 16 P.F. with criminal populations.

Cattell has given the central profiles of a number of criminal and anti-social groups in which there appears to be the consistent patterns of criminality set out earlier. The factors upon which there is a deviance from the general population mean

of one sten score or more are set out in Table 1

Table 1
Relevant Factors for Criminal Groups
on Cattell's 16 P.F.

Group	N	Factors
Anti Social Personality	97	C, E, G, O
Criminals	891	B, C, F, G
Sex Crime Convicts	35	B, C, E, G, F
Exhibitionists	38	C, Q ₃
Psychopaths	15	E, G, H, Q ₃

Although Factor B, intelligence, and Factor F, Surgency appear in the data given in Table 1, these do not appear in Cattell's writings as being selectively diagnostic of criminality. Furthermore they have not been found by the writer to depart from the normal in the case of Canadian criminals on the many administrations of this test carried out by him. This matter will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

In Parlett's (1971) study there were found to be some slight departures from Cattell's results, perhaps in part because there were a smaller number of cases. It was found in that study that the characteristic differences to the normal population were Factors C, G, and H which were low and on Factors O and Q₄ which

were high.

McQuaide (1972) in an analysis of the personality profiles of delinquents using Cattell's test reported significant differences in the following personality factors: Factor A, low score; Factor B, low score indicating lower than normal intelligence; Factor G, low score indicating low ego strength; Factor Q2, high; Factor Q4, high. It is observed, however, that only in the case of Factor B was there a deviation of greater than one sten score. In the Parlett and Ayers (1972) study only deviations of greater than one sten from the mean were considered as warranting attention. The position in this paper is the same as that taken earlier, in that it is suggested that going below one sten difference from the mean is not considered sufficient differentiation. Furthermore, such trivial differences as reported by McQuaide, although significant, do not allow for prediction in the individual case.

It will be observed that the depression on Factor H found by Parlett and Ayers was not found either by Cattell and others, or McQuaide.

Factor H is of interest in this study in that it is taken to be a principal component of extraversion and as such should have been elevated according to Eysenck. Furthermore, Cattell has indicated that he would expect both delinquents and

criminals to attain high scores on this factor.

This matter of extraversion is of considerable interest for it is supposed by many to dictate that highly specialized methods of training would be appropriate. Particularly high levels of extraversion would indicate that the subjects would be reducers of stimulation and would seek novel and bizarre methods of arousal.

In two studies involving large samples, one by Hoghughie and Forrest (1970) and one by Burgess (1972), extraversion was not found. It was of some interest therefore, in this study to examine extraversion on both Eysenck's test and the 16 P.F. to see whether it exists in an abnormal proportion in prison inmates.

If Cattell's claims are well-founded and if the research reported by Parlett (1971) and by Parlett and Ayers (1972) is accurate, then it would be expected that departures from the norm would be observed on Factors C, E, G, I, O, Q3, Q4.

In the case of the experimental group in the earlier research, significant changes were brought about on the following factors of the 16 P.F.: C (increase), E (increase), G (increase), H (increase), I (decrease), O (decrease), Q3 (increase), Q4 (decrease). All changes with the exception of

Factor H, were in the predicted direction.

It was proposed earlier that education, if it leads to a reduction of recidivism, should also lead to changes in attained scores on a personality inventory. The reasoning behind that statement was that if criminality is indicated by scores on certain factors of a personality test such is the case because of a characteristic manner of responding to test items. This is a cognitive process and reflects the way in which the subject views the world and the way in which he responds to objective questions about the world. If his view of the world is broadened, or modified in some other way, by the educational process, it is possible that the responses will also change and thus a change in the perceived personality will occur.

Cognitive Style

It was proposed, in the earlier research of Parlett and Ayers (1972), that there "is a cognitive structure, a construct used to help in understanding individual differences ... which permeates all of the individual's functioning and behaviour". This cognitive structure may be subsumed under the general rubric of cognitive style. It has been conceived of by Klein (1954) and Witkin (1965) as the tendency of the individual to view experience as either diffuse and whole or as flexible and

articulate. Kelly (1955) has proposed the same sort of viewpoint about the existence of such a personality differential. Support for it may also be drawn from the expressions of Gardner et al (1959), Holzman and Klein (1956), Rappaport, Gill, and Schafer (1945), and Witkin, Lewis, Hertzman, Machover, Meissner, and Wapner (1954).

The labels constricted and global cover the tendency of some individuals to perceive experience in a wholist manner. There is no perception of detail, only an amorphous experience. Flexible and articulate, on the other hand, denote that there is a tendency for experience to be structured. The separate components of an experience are perceived as discrete.

The proposition is made here, on the basis of earlier studies, that criminals, by and large, tend to perceive experience in a constricted or global manner. It was postulated in the earlier research that on a test of cognitive style, The Hidden Figures Test, the subjects would attain low scores indicative of constricted or global style of perceiving. It was hypothesized that the subjects who received a special education programme in which they were called on to analyse a number of hypothetical situations would become more analytic (flexible, or articulate), and would reflect that change by attaining higher scores on the Hidden Figures Test.

Morality

In the final analysis, crime is a moral issue involving

social issues of right and wrong, evil, sin, goodness, and virtue. In most societies, morals are inextricably interwoven with both the life style and the religion of the society. Lord Patrick Devlin (1965), in discussing the moral aspects of certain types of crime, has stated that: "What makes a society of any sort is community of ideas, not only political ideas about the way its members should behave and govern their lives; these latter ideas are its morals." (P. 4). He goes on to point out that in societies there are two structures that are unified into a whole, the political and the moral. Thus morals in a sense become indirectly legislated.

Society demands a certain value system of its subjects and sanctions are applied to those who transgress. There must be a sense of moral obligation to other members of society if such a system is to function as a coherent whole. The argument that society is composed of moral and political structures appears to indicate that inclusion as a full member of that society demands adoption of the political and moral codes of the society. One of the main functions, then, of the educational process is to foster adoption of society's codes.

Morality has sometimes been defined as being the score obtained on certain tests. In so doing it is possible that a central issue has been avoided, and that the

positivistic practice of substituting phenomena for reality is a degeneration toward triviality (Douglas, 1967). There is no guarantee at all that instruments which are supposed to measure morality do so:

"this form of behaviourism violates the most basic principle of any analysis of social meanings and actions, the principle of contextual determination of meaning: the concrete meaning of anything is adequately given to members only when its concrete or situational context is provided." Douglas (1970).

It is common practice in research to avoid the issue of dealing with morality directly. In many cases, the word is avoided and such terms as value substituted in the hope that such a substitution avoids the central issue more easily.

E. L. Thorndike (1936), in taking the "value" way out of the dilemma, was obviously aware of the problem when he stated:

"Judgments of value are simply one sort of judgments of fact, distinguished from the rest by two characteristics: They concern consequences. These are consequents to the wants of sentient beings. Values, positive and negative, reside in satisfaction or annoyance felt by animals, persons or deities. If the occurrence of X can have no influence on the satisfaction or discomfort of anyone present or future, X has no value, is neither good nor bad, desirable nor undesirable. Values are functions or preferences. Judgments about values - statements that A is good, B is bad, C is right, D is useful - refer ultimately to satisfactions or annoyances in sentient

creatures and depend upon their preferences. Competent students judge the existence of things by observations of them; they judge the value of things by observation of their consequences.

Whether the term morality or value is used appears to be of no consequence to Thorndike, although he is obviously aware that he is combining fact and value. What is important is that he puts forth a logical argument that statements of fact measure values.

No such reticence has been shown by Flugel (1961) who bluntly declares that: "Values happen to be facts of mental life, and psychology, since its task is the study of mental life, is also concerned with the examination of values as parts or aspects of this mental life." (p.11). He further proposes that "moral action is action in accordance with values." He has supposed, following the lead of McDougall (1908) through Burt (1925), that morality is instinctive and spontaneous.

The instinctive view of morality, or inborn specie specific morality is rejected by many, if not most, behavioural scientists, but there is evidence for a form of morality, charity, in Chimpanzees, reported by Hebb. It is of passing interest to observe that the Russian novelist Feodore Dostoevsky in a letter to his friend Mihail N. Katkov, in September, 1865, speaks of the matter of in-born guilt in discussing Raskolnikov's state after the killing

of Marmelodov in Crime and Punishment.

Webb (1915) in discussing character observes that there appears to be a general factor of a moral nature which he called 'w' for will. This general factor appears to be an isomorph of Spearman's factor 'g', and has been commented on by Burtt (1938) and referred to as the 'e' factor.

In the final analysis there appears to be two main components of morality, the cognitive factor and the orectic factor. Some, including Flugel, maintain that the major component in moral judgment at least is the orectic component. However orexis is difficult to measure except through calling on the cognitive processes. In this study the major emphasis is on the cognitive component, and on the measurement of morality through the medium of objective tests.

The Developmental View of Morality

According to the developmentalists, moral development parallels other forms of development in that it proceeds through a series of sequential and irreversible steps, as for example in the theories of Piaget (1928), Kohlberg (1965), and Bull (1970). There appear to be four clearly definable stages in progression towards full moral development and a full sense of moral obligations. These four stages have been defined by Bull (1970) as:

(1) Anomie, a completely selfish stage present at birth and carrying through early infancy. This is referred to by some writers as being the amoral stage.

(2) Heteronomy, in which stage the subject responds to the dictates of significant others i.e. of parents. Frequently, people progress no further than this stage. It is possible that the vast majority of certain segments of society remain fixed at this stage.

(3) Socionomy, in this stage the person admits and conforms to the laws of society. It is probable that this is the most frequently found stage of development, in Western civilization at least.

(4) Autonomy, the stage of highest development in which the person lives and operates according to the dictates of his conscience and perceives moral situations in terms of universal concepts of right and wrong. It is probable that a very small proportion of the population reaches this stage, (Kohlberg, 1965).

Community Factors and Moral Development

Education must be interpreted in its largest sense when

discussing the progress of a person towards socialization. This larger view of education includes the impact of immediate society as well as the formal instructional processes of the school.

It is frequently stated that crime is rooted in the lower strata of society, (Burt, 1925), (Fyvel, 1961), (McCord and McCord, 1959). If crime is a product of poor social environment, and if crime is also symptomatic of character defect, then it is reasonable to suppose that character formation is dependent on certain community factors. Young and Wilmott (1963) have pointed out that adhesion to family and neighborhood in the lower classes presents tremendous problems in slum clearance programmes. The lower classes are in large part, unable to leave the home area with ease. In developmental terms this may lead to an inability to develop morally beyond the stage of heteronomy.

Bull (1970), discussing socio-economic class, points out that there are great differences in child rearing patterns in the different social classes and that boys, in the lower social classes, are much more heteronomous at 17 years of age than are boys of other classes and of girls in the same social class. Sugarman (1967), in discussing the lower classes, has pointed out that members of lower status families are convicted of crime, in general, more often than those of higher status. Bernstein (1965)

has argued that the lower class person not only has a smaller vocabulary than the higher class person but is also different in the way he strings his vocabulary together in the lack of richness of symbolization.

In a series of papers (1958, 1959, 1961, 1970), Bernstein has elaborated on this difference to point out that there are two main linguistic codes: "restricted" and "elaborated". The restricted code is known by everyone; the elaborated code is used by the middle classes.

The restricted code is deficient in expressing abstractions and subtle distinctions of feeling. Among speakers of the restricted code there is a disinterest in the way in which events grow; attention is focussed in what is immediate in a situation. As will be discussed later this may be related to the cognitive style and to the impulsivity of the criminal and the delinquent.

Insofar as this research is concerned, absolute poverty is not the deciding factor but rather the deciding factor is the poverty of moral stimuli which seems to be the pattern of child rearing in the lower class home coupled with the inconsistency of punishment and reward.

Morality and Conscience

Kluckhohn (1952) in discussing values and value orientation, has proposed that "conscience" may be the last residuum of instinctive behaviour in man. Kluckhohn regards conscience as an inhibitory mechanism and morality as being the inhibition of certain acts.

On the other hand Eysenck (1964) has stated that conscience is developed and is "a conditioned anxiety response". The matter is raised because formation of conscience is a facet of Eysenck's theory of criminality dealt with earlier.

Eysenck assumes that conscience is a conditioned anxiety response on the basis of Watson and Raynor's conditioning of "Little Albert". Conscience and hence morality, according to Eysenck and many other behaviourists, is no more than a conditioned reflex. Mild aversive stimuli may be regarded by the child as a withdrawal of love. This point has been reiterated by Solomon (1968) who demonstrated that aversive conditioning was much more effective with puppies which had been hand-fed in contrast to those which had been machine-fed.

According to Eysenck, a criminal is so because he has not conditioned well. In his discussion of this point, he lists two kinds of learning, hedonistic learning and condition-

ing. This is similar to Mowrer's' differentiation between teaching and training.

Hedonistic learning is supposed by Eysenck to be that which accrues from pleasurable experience. He posits pleasurable acts as remembered acts and, therefore, learned. (It may be argued that punished acts may be equally as well remembered, and thus much of the differentiation disappears.) Such learning, he says, is a function of the central nervous system. Conditioning, on the other hand, is a function of the autonomic nervous system. Conscience, according to Eysenck, is an autonomic response. It may be assumed, taking Eysenck's position, that any cognitive process associated with conscience is an ex post facto phenomenon.

This reflects a fundamental problem in the present research, for the burden of the argument is that resocialization or socialization can be brought about by education. It may be said that part of the argument is that the criminal may be given a conscience through cognitive processes. This is in contrast to Eysenck's argument, which is that morality is rooted in conscience which is conditioned.

If conscience is conditioned as Eysenck states then it is possible that moral sensibility is intimately connected to

certain prohibitions which are conditioned in early childhood. A low level of "conditionability" would then, perhaps, lead to a low moral level. It is taken here that the prohibitions which are conditioned in early life form the foundation for later development. The task of extending the level of morality at a later age than would seem to indicate a pattern of operant or classical conditioning.

If, on the other hand, morality is a cognitive process derived from interpersonal relationships and psychological experience, then it is possible that morality may be extended through cognitive processes. In the first case, morality extension would be a matter of training; in the second, a matter of teaching.

Skinner (1953) has proposed a further argument on this matter, although he speaks of socialization rather than conscience formation. Skinner's position is that socialization is attained through successive approximations towards the desired standards. Such a position is amenable to an educational model, and has indeed been used as such a model by Cohen, Filipczik and Bis (1965), in the treatment of delinquents.

Moral Development

McCauley and Watkins (1925-26) researched the environ-

mental influences on moral value development, using rather simple tests. Two important conclusions were reached in a study of over 3,000 school children, spanning the ages 5 - 16:

- (a) Children build up a value system to acceptance of social convention.
- (b) There appears to be a pattern of development in this growth.

Hartshorne, May and Maller (1928-30) in an extensive study of the moral development of a large number of children from various socio-economic levels and ages, using a variety of tests reported a number of interesting findings. The main conclusion was that moral development stems from such an array of influences that it is impossible to make any generalizations about the development of moral behaviour. They reported that moral behaviour was specific to situations:

We endeavoured, without success, to form a scale which would include the tests representing a variety of situations, both in the classroom and out. That is, the attitudes associated with an act or distinct type of deception, are apparently bound up with it in such a way as not to be operative, in other acts or types of deception. They are, like the act itself, a specific motive

response which is as much a function of the situation as is the individual or better, which is part of the total; functioning complex that includes both the individual and the occasion. (p. 238)

It may be observed that in the research of Hartshorne et al and the earlier investigation of McCauley and Watkins, the general controversy which has marked research in moral development, is formulated. McCauley and Watkins see a broad pattern of development by stages, whereas Hartshorne et al see no such thing.

Piaget and Piagetian Research

Piaget (1928) in a rather exhaustive study of a relatively small number of children, centred his research on three major facets of development.

- (a) The influence of adults;
- (b) The effect of social influences and cooperation;
- (c) Intellectual growth and its effect on moral judgments.

His conclusions include the finding that in early childhood, rules are regarded as obligatory and inviolable. There is then a transition to a stage of realization that rules exist by virtue of social agreement. He also concluded that

there are two fairly distinct forms of moral judgment. One form, the more primitive, is based upon the material consequences of wrong-doing. The second form, the realization of intentionality, is a matter which has since been pursued at length by Breznitz and Kuglemass (1967).

Edwards (1959) in a study of Secondary Modern School-boys (11-16 years), found no distinct differentiation into these two types of judgments. In his sample, younger boys could not be differentiated from older boys, in that the older boys paid no more attention to the intentional aspects of actions than did the younger boys.

Brennan (1961) in a research finding, which supports Piaget's claims of developmental stages, particularly the development from moral realism to autonomy, extends the findings to a postulation which is relevant to the nurture of retarded and disturbed children. His conclusion is that Piaget's research and his own, dictate that parents and other authority figures should deliberately withdraw their influence in order that moral realism shall diminish most rapidly. This is, of course, in contradiction to the modelling process suggested by Bandura and MacDonald (1963.)

In the final analysis, Piaget in deference to

Durkheim, concludes that morality is socially defined:

"All morality consists in a system of rules (p.1) ... morality presupposes the existence of rules which transcend the individual and these rules could only develop through contact with other people. Thus, the fundamental conceptions of childish morality consist of those imposed by the adults and of those borne of collaboration between children themselves. In both cases, that is to say, whether the child's moral judgments are heteronomous, or autonomous, accepted under pressure or worked out in freedom, this morality is social, and on this point Durkheim was unquestionable right."
(P. 344)

Although it is generally conceded, and especially so during the last few years, that many of Piaget's conclusions are sound, he is not without critics. Isaacs (1930-34) refutes many of Piaget's findings and rejects his terminology which she finds unnecessarily abstruse. She argues against his contention of developmental stages, and sponsors a process of cognitive accretion. "It is not that one kind of structure gives place to another, it is rather that there is progressive ordering by relational thought of the child's responses to the world." (p. 97) Harrower (1934) also disagrees with Piaget's findings of the development of justice independent of adult influence. She, furthermore, finds no evidence of stages. Lerner (1937) supports Harrower in that he finds no basis for Piaget's version of adult constraint which he considers too

superficial. He does, however, support the general idea of developmental stages.

MacRae (1950) disagrees with both Piaget and with Lerner, and states that both had mistakenly assumed only one factor in moral development. In effect, MacRae supports the work of Hartshorne and May, whilst Piaget and Lerner are of the McCauley and Watkins school of thought.

Havighurst and Taba's Contribution

Havighurst and Taba (1949) propose that character, and it is this variant of the term morality which they use, stems from three major influence sources; reward and punishment; imitation learning; and reflective thinking. They put forward only two levels of character, one which is controlled by social expectation, and the other governed by the idea of moral ideals. It is easy to see that the social expectation idea fits neatly in with the model of deviance proposed originally by Becker (1963) and later by Schuur (1970) and now generally referred to as labelling theory.

Havighurst and Taba also propose that within the two levels of character, it is possible to identify character types - the self directive, the adaptive, the submissive, the defiant, and the unadjusted.

In contradistinction to most research in character and moral development, which uses pencil and paper questionnaires or projective methods, the Havighurst and Taba research utilized reputation as the yardstick of character. Also, in contradistinction to most of the research in the area, they have not opted for a particular position, but span the various positions. They are midway between the basic contention of McCauley and Watkins and the position of Hartshorne and May.

Swainson's Work

Swainson's (1949) hypothesis is that moral development consists in integration of the total psyche through accretion of experience gained by relationships and the forces of the environment. In this hypothesization, she is following the traditionally British pattern set out by Susan Isaacs. There are indications of Gestalt psychology in her postulations in that the developing person needs to attain congruity, and to establish more complex and comprehensive cognitions to explain experience.

She proposes development to more analytic thought and "closure", and that there is a kind of "love morality" which is the integration of society and the individual. A third factor in her explanation is that morality, in great part, involves a

feeling of responsibility.

She rejects the psychodynamic view of moral development - internalization of the same sex parent through thwarted impulse, and the idea of conformity to social pressure. Her final conclusion is that:

Child morality springs primarily from the positive impulse to love-relationships within the individual and develops in proportion as he becomes a more complete person, in response to an ever-widening environment. Development takes place by means of creative tensions between the morality of being true to oneself, and the morality of relating to the other. Yet these apparent opposites become reconciled in the realization that the self is not fulfilled without the other, so that in moral maturity, the conflicts of youth are resolved into a glad acceptance. (p. 126)

Peck and Havighurst's Investigation

Peck and Havighurst (1960) commence their work in moral development with the general premise that morality is not specific as postulated by Hartshorne and May, but is general. Furthermore, their orientation is towards the motivational or psycho-dynamic view of moral development through the oral, anal, phallic and genital stages. They expand this view by calling on Fromm's (1947) adaptation of the Freudian stages into the receptive, exploitative, hoarding, and marketing personalities. They hypothesize from the Freud-Fromm model, five distinct

character types insofar as moral level is concerned: the amoral, the expedient, the conforming, the irrational conscientious, and the rational altruistic types.

They suppose that development into one of these types is a function of parental and family influences. In describing the characteristics of the various types they set out the descriptions given below.

(a) The Amoral Person is grossly eccentric and leads a life devoted to self-gratification. Such people are often referred to as psychopathic in that there is no sign of mental disorder (sic). His need for gratification is immediate, and he often feels a great deal of guilt and hostility. People at this level have weak ego strengths. They do not perceive social situations in a structured manner and their hostility is unstructured. They have weak superego strength and lack "integrated systems of internalized moral principles". They are impulsive and both extra and intro-punitive.

(b) The Expedient Person is egocentric self-centred, and refuses to consider the welfare of others. This type of person often appears to act from moral principles, but only when it suits his own ends. The indications are, from his propensity to act immorally as it suits his own ends, that there is no

system of internalized moral principles. As they always take the easy way out and subscribe to authoritative sanctions, there is not so much an active morality, as an absence of immorality. "They give up much of their spontaneity, yet get little in return. The self-defeating nature of insincere expedient, adaptation to society could scarcely be more demonstrated." (P. 93)

In commenting on the familiar inheritance of the trait of expedience, Peck and Havighurst comment:

The cause of the problem is this, each generation tends to perpetuate its strengths and weaknesses of character, largely unchanged. A sizeable minority of adults are heavily amoral or expedient in character. They treat their children this way and their children strongly tend to turn out like their parents. This fraction of our population provides our criminals, probably most of our psychotics and a great many who are never institutionalized, but who have drifting, fear ridden, or hate ridden lives. From among this group come the actively evil members of society; the viciously hate-filled sadists, the conscienceless exploiters, the men and women whose terrible greed corrupts our law-guarding forces in community after community. Such people are sick, with crippled distorted perceptions of life, but they are also dangerous and must be firmly controlled, lest they destroy the rest of us. (P. 97)

(c) The Conforming Person is controlled by conformity to all the group rules. His anxiety where it exists stems from possible disapproval of the group. Peck and

Havighurst maintain that most people become fixated at this level of development. There is a strong super-ego but weak ego. In terms of Eysenck's theory they verge on the neurotic-obsessoid character.

(d) The Irrational Conscientious Person differs from the conforming, only in a matter of degree. The superego is more powerfully developed and is not on the verge of being obsessoid, but is, in fact, obsessoid. In Piagetian terms, this personality has not made a full transition from heteronomy to socionomy. They faithfully follow the internalized rules of childhood without ever bringing rational thought to bear on the moral situation confronting them. As Peck and Havighurst have said: "More than any other consideration, they are ruled by the dictates of their conscience, which consists of a firm well integrated body of moral rules." (p. 95)

(e) The Rational Altruistic Person was found by Peck and Havighurst to have the highest moral reputation. Such people act altruistically in that they are aware of the welfare of others. They observe situations accurately, see implications beyond the immediate and can experiment mentally to decide upon the most moral course of action. They recognize objectively what other people want and how they feel. They are

able to feel as they do or know how they would feel in their position without losing perspective by completely identifying with them.

Peck and Havighurst, on the basis of the motivational orientation of their model, have in the final analysis proposed that moral development is a function of ego and super-ego strengths. The amoral person has a weak ego and a weak super-ego. The expedient person has a weak ego but a "significant amount of super-ego control". The conforming character has a weak ego and a moderate amount of super-ego control. The irrational conscientious person has a moderate ego strength but is "utterly guided by super-ego directives". Only the rational altruistic type has both a strong ego and a strong super-ego.

It may be observed, then, that if super-ego and ego strengths are taken as orthogonal - whether they are or are not is questionable - a quadrant form of graph similar to that which Eysenck proposed for the extroversion-neuroticism dimensions, may be set up. Within the quadrant, the various types of characters will be assignable.

Kohlberg's Developmental Position

Kohlberg's (1956) position is, in fact, a nice summarization of most of the developmental models, stemming as most of

them do from Piaget's (1928) seminal statement of the problem. He has stated that there is evidence relating moral character to ego strength factors as intelligence, anticipation of future events, control over fantasy and self-esteem. It is of interest to observe that Cattell's analysis of the criminal personality holds that these factors are of importance. It will be recalled that Cattell hypothesizes that the criminal has low ego strength, is a slave to impulse, has low self-esteem, and has poor anticipation of future events. It may be construed that high ego strength is indicative of resistance to impulse and of ability to defer gratification. It is probable that the person of low ego strength will not only function poorly in moral situations but will function poorly on cognitive tasks despite a good level of intelligence.

If these two factors, ego strength and cognitive functioning are related, then variation of one may lead to variation of the other. It is possible that poor cognitive functioning generates a poor self-concept. Conceivably, taking this point of view, and referring back to Sugarman's comments quoted earlier, if the cognitive functioning of a person low on morality or morally retarded is improved, such a modification may provide a mechanism for delaying gratification and for reducing the level of impulsivity.

Grim, Kohlberg and White (1968) in pursuing this thread of argument have suggested that the correlation between "delay in action and cognitive functioning defines ego control in a negative way". They contend that there must be a positive or active component of ego control. The delayed response, they maintain, is based on a logic different to the logic governing impulsive responses. The delay in responding to cognitive problems allows for logical determination of behaviour which is different from the underlying determinants of impulsive response. To put this in Bruner's (1956) conception of focus conserving as opposed to focus gambling, would appear to be a reasonable assumption. Focus gambling would be impulsive in effect. This differentiation of differences in strategy has been remarked by Bourne (1963) and differentiated as partist versus wholist; partist being the most primitive. It takes no intuitive leap to observe that this almost seems to be the same concept defined earlier as cognitive style. It may be observed that the web of theories hang together as coherent.

Kohlberg is not so much interested in his analysis of moral development with the content of moral responses but with the underlying thought processes (Kohlberg 1958, 1963, 1968). To study such development of thought processes he has devised a number of stories that call forth moral responses which can be

analysed to see whether they fit into various stage levels.

Kohlberg has identified six stages of moral development which may be broken into three levels:

Level 1: Reliance in external quasi-physical happenings, in bad acts or in quasi-needs.

Stage 1: Obedience and Punishment Orientation.
Deference to superiority or power or prestige.

Stage 2: Naively Egoistic Orientation. Right action is that which is instrumentally satisfying to the self. Naive egalitarianism and orientation to exchange and reciprocity.

Level 2: Moral value resides in performing good or right roles, in maintaining the conventional order and expectancies of others.

Stage 3: Good-boy Orientation: Oriented towards approval and to pleasing and helping others. Conformity to stereotypical images of majority or natural role behaviour and judgment by intentions.

Stage 4: Authority and Social Order Maintaining Orientation: Orientation to doing duty - respect for others,

and maintaining existent social order for its own sake.

Level 3: Moral value resides in conformity by the self to shared standards, or duties.

Stage 5: Contractual Legalistic Orientation.

Recognition of an arbitrary element or starting point in rules or expectations for the sake of agreement. Duty defined in terms of contract, general avoidance of violation of the will or rights of others, and majority will and welfare.

Stage 6: Conscience or Principle Orientation. Orientation not only to actually ordained social rules but also to principles of choice involving appeal to logical universality and consistency. Orientation to conscience as a directing agent and to mutual respect and trust.

His research indicates, on the basis of longitudinal studies, that moral development is a rather longer process than had been theorized by Freud (1923), and by Sears (1957). These stage sequences have been experimentally supported in studies of a number of different cultures (Kohlberg (1968), Turiel (1966), Rest et al (1973)). All in all, there seems to be support for two major postulations put forward by Kohlberg:

- (a) That the six moral stages form an invariant sequence, and

- (b) That the movement from one stage to another is through a restructuring and displacement of the preceding stage.

There was a further interesting finding in the study by Turiel (1967) which is of importance in this research. Commonly there is some mixture of the stage above the dominant stage and the stage below the dominant stage. One statement is of particular importance in that it is speculated that if adults have not attained higher stages then there will be some considerable consistency of stage level with little inclusion of higher and lower stages with the dominant stage. On the other hand, when a higher stage is being achieved, that is, when moral judgement is caused to be transiently upward there will be much greater instability of stage in the utilization of higher stages than the dominant stage. There is a further proposal that attainment of higher stages may not occur until adulthood. Moral maturity, then, lags behind other forms of cognitive maturity, at least in the aspects of cognitive development as have been discussed by Piaget.

Assessment of Moral Judgment

How to measure level of morality or level of moral judgment is a problem in this research as it is in ordinary life. Much of the disappointment in life consists in main from the performance of immoral acts by others in whom trust is placed. Unhappiness commonly stems from being lied to, being stolen from, or having some unpleasant action visited upon us by one in whom we placed trust. Someone, in fact, has broken the woof and warp of moral obligation.

Two methods may be sought to measure the level of trust which can be placed in others, and thus avoid unhappiness. These two methods in ordinary life are observation and questioning. It is not accidental that in scientific study of man's morality the same two methods are used, but in a more sophisticated manner.

Eysenck (1964) has pointed out that there is a small but positive correlation between moral knowledge and moral acts. Hartshorne and May (1928, 1929, 1930) have revealed that there is, in the case of children at least, a sort of lacunae in level of honesty. Some children were found to be moral in some areas but not in others. Some other few were found to be honest over the whole spectrum of behaviours examined and others, dishonest over the whole spectrum. As a rule, according to their analysis of the data, honesty was to be considered as specific rather than general.

This point of view has been questioned by others who have re-analysed the Hartshorne and May data. Burton (1963), who carried out an extensive re-analysis of the data, has indicated that the generality of honesty may be greater than suggested. His point of view has been supported by Eysenck (1960), Maller (1934), Brogden (1940), and by Nelson, Grinder and Mutterer (1969).

There is reason, therefore, to assume that moral responses may be indicative of actual morality. This is the general consensus of those who have written tests of morality and tests of values: Allport and Vernon (1931), Duffy (1940), Crissman (1942), and Rest, Cooper, Coder and Coder (1972).

In this research there is an assumption that moral values and moral judgments are measurable by objective tests. Moral judgment, according to Rest (1972), is a theoretical construct which concerns thought processes. These processes may not always be reflected in behaviours. Often we are unable to interpret behaviour and what may appear to be immoral is not necessarily so.

Attitude and Attitude Change

A great deal has been said about the attitudes of criminals, and the general consensus seems to be that the criminal tends to have deviant attitudes towards the law, the courts,

the law enforcement agencies, and towards society in general. However, penologists and others who work with criminals seldom define what they mean by "attitude", and seldom hypothesize what methods are applicable to attitude change.

There is an extensive list of research related to this study. To review all relative matters would be a major undertaking. Consequently, this study will be concerned with the work carried out by Kelman, Bem, Osgood and Tannenbaum, Sherif and Hovland and others, who have worked in areas directly related to the general theory which will be spelled out later.

The Definition of Attitude

Kretch and Crutchfield (1962) have defined attitude as an "enduring organization of motivational, emotional, perceptual and cognitive processes with respect to some aspect of the individual's world".

Sherif and Sherif (1956) have written of attitudes as more or less lasting and implying characteristics and selective responses to relevant objects. Sherif (1958) later spoke of attitudes as implying "characteristic modes of readiness to respond to particular people or objects or classes of people or objects".

Young (1957) in discussing attitudes maintains that attitudes are "learned in relation to objects, persons and values" and that "attitudes are often related to feelings and emotions".

Many other researchers define attitudes in ways similar to the definitions given above but none seem to have surpassed Allport's (1935) classic statement which takes account of the principle dimensions of attitude:

- (a) An attitude is a mental and neural state.
- (b) It is a readiness to respond.
- (c) It is organized.
- (d) It is gained through experience.
- (e) It is capable of exerting an influence on behaviour.

The concept of attitude is extremely useful in discussing moral development for it may be that the problems of specificity and generality may be resolved if moral actions or moral development is thought of as an attitude or a set of attitudes. The specificity sometimes found in moral response may be accounted for if the response is thought to be the result of selective responses to relevant objects as defined by Sherif and Sherif (1956). This would allow for some specificity and would

allow for an understanding of Hartshorne's and May's problems when they reviewed a broad spectrum of responses and found that sometimes there is no carryover from one situation to other.

Contrast - Assimilation Theory

This theory was developed by Sherif and Hovland (1961) to account for attitude changes after exposure to information. The basis of the theory, which was developed from psycho-physical experiments, is that individuals form reference scales that allow for the relative placement of incoming stimuli.

An existent attitude or belief structure is considered to be an anchor point. Anchors may be external or internal. An internal anchor would be an existent belief or attitude held, whilst an external anchor may be thought of as an intruding communication of a persuasive nature relating to an attitude.

Contrast is a shift in judgment away from an anchor, and assimilation is a shift towards an anchor. Should an incoming information be within the boundaries of internal anchors it will be assimilated as part of the belief structure or attitude system. Should the incoming stimulus fall too far from the internal anchor it will be rejected.

According to the theory, attitude change is dependent on

the degree of discrepancy between the position advocated by the communication (external anchor) and the held attitude or opinion (internal anchor) of the recipient. If the communication advocates a position that is close to the position held by the recipient it will be assimilated, and the total attitude structure will be varied by that amount. If, on the other hand, the communication advocates a position too discrepant from the existent attitude contrast will occur leading to a rejection of the intruding stimulus, and possibly a hardening of the existent belief structure.

Osgood, Tannenbaum and Suci (1957)

These researchers have identified attitude as a major dimension of meaning and thus amenable to quantification by the semantic differential methods. They also identify a general principle governing cognitive processes. This general controlling principle is the principle of congruity and is similar to the consistency principle which is common in the attitudinal change research field.

They hypothesize that attitudes are "implicit processes having reciprocally antagonistic properties". Furthermore, attitudes mediate evaluative behaviour, and are the paramount part of the internal mediational process. Attitude is identified by them as being within the evaluative dimension of the total

semantic space.

The Principle of Congruity

Osgood et al state that cognitive events do not take place in isolation and that, because of this, there is variability in attitude. Constant, if small, modifications of attitude take place because of continuous interactions among cognitive events.

The general principle underlying such attitudinal changes as occur is stated:

Whenever two signs are related by an assertion, the mediating reaction characteristic of each shifts toward congruence with the characteristic of the other, the magnitude of the shift being inversely proportional to intensities of the interacting reactions.
(p. 201)

This presumes that when two cognitions (or signs) are presented at the same time which may be antagonistic towards each other, changes take place in the evaluation of each cognition. By extension it may be presumed that if a sign (or cognition) is presented which is antagonistic to a cognition already held, then a similar modification would be expected to occur. Such changes as do occur may be quantifiable on the semantic differential scale.

Osgood et al opine that even though the individual is bombarded by cognitions (or signs), attitude structures retain some degree of stability because the existent cognitions are not linked to other cognitions by an assertion. Most incoming statements are thus "noise". In cases where change is required then the two signs must be related by an assertion, either positive or negative. Further, if the cognitive interaction is brought about repeatedly there will be a change towards congruence. As Osgood et al have put it:

Each time two signs are related in an assertion, the intensity of the mediating reaction characteristic of each in isolation is shifted towards that characteristic of each in interaction, by a constant fraction of the difference in the intensity. (p. 208)

The typical situation in attitude change is that in which some source makes an evaluative statement about some object or concept. Considering the source as one sign and the concept evaluated as another sign and the evaluative statement, there are present the components for the operation of the congruency principle. According to Osgood, the magnitude of change is dependent on the existent attitude towards the concept and the nature of the assertion. There is an overriding fiat operative in the case of the congruity principle which is that the assertion must be credible to the recipient.

Any message which is grossly incongruous with the attitudinal or cognitive makeup of the subject leads to the discreditation of the source or to a rationalization of currently held belief structures.

It is essential, furthermore, that the assertions made must be relevant to the belief structure of the subject. All in all, the Osgood et al postulations appear to set forth a model which lends itself to certain methods which may be important in the gaining of attitudinal change in incarcerated subjects.

Kelman's Theory of Compliance, Identification, and Internalization

Kelman's (1961) theory is usually referred to as an instrumental theory. This instrumental function of attitudes has been dealt with by Katz (1960) who perceived attitudes as being utilitarian. Furthermore, it is possible to draw some sort of parallel between this definition and the concept of heteronomy spelled out by Piaget (1928), Bull (1970), and others.

The functional use of an attitude appears to be based on a perception of the utility of the attitudinal object for the individual. According to Katz, "both attitudes and habits

are formed towards specific objects, people, and symbols as they satisfy needs".

Kelman's research is in actual fact, based on opinion and on opinion change, but it is directly relevant to the study of attitudes and attitude change. The genesis of the research is the initial questions posed by Kelman:

- (1) What is the likelihood of expressed opinions being carried forth into behaviour?
- (2) What is the nature of the actions that are tied into particular opinions?
- (3) What is the permanency of opinion and how generalisable are opinions?
- (4) What conditions bring about abandonment or change of opinions?

In order to answer these questions, Kelman sets out a social influence model of opinion formation and change, and mentions three broad directions which social influence research has taken:

- (1) social influence on judgments and prestige suggestions (Asch, 1952);
- (2) the study of small group interactions; and
- (3) the study of social influence by persuasive communication (Hovland, Janis and Kelly, 1953).

He concludes that these three areas have converged and that certain general principles have emerged. However, he points out that quantitatively different changes are brought about by each of these models and that these differences are in the relative permanence of the opinion change brought about.

In the final analysis, he distinguishes three distinct processes of social influence each characterized by antecedent and consequent conditions. He has called the three processes: compliance, identification, and internalization.

Compliance

Compliance is said to occur when an individual accepts influence in order to win reward or to avoid punishment. The individual adopts the prescribed response not because he believes in it but because it is instrumental in gaining

reward or avoiding consequences. To the extent that the subject perceives that a given piece of behaviour brings about certain social effects, behaviours will tend to take the form of compliance.

In this case the subject perceives the influencing agent as a dispenser of means which the individual needs for the achievement of his goals. When the individual's choice of response is limited, that is to say, when the induced response becomes prepotent, influence tends to take the form of compliance.

When compliance is the form taken, the induced opinion (or attitude) is only elicited under conditions of surveillance by the influencing agent or his power structure. Such compliant attitudes are abandoned when they are no longer perceived as the most efficient pathway towards social rewards, that is to say, they lose prepotency. As Kelman says, time and again, attitudes brought about by compliance belong to part of a system of external demands specific to certain settings. Such values as are observable are instrumental and may not be related to the intrinsic value system of the individual.

Identification

The process of identification occurs when behaviour,

opinions, beliefs, or attitudes are adopted because in doing so the individual is able to attain a satisfying self-defining relationship in respect to the influencing agent. Such a "take-over" of attitudes may take the form of classical identification in which the individual attempts to be the other person. Such identification is observed when the influencing agent occupies a desired role, or who possesses characteristics which are lacking and yet desired by the individual.

The acceptance of influence commonly takes place when the influence is seen as relevant to a reciprocal-role relationship. In reciprocal-role relationships the individual does not take over the role of the influencer but rather empathically reacts to the other person's expectations.

Identification differs from compliance in that the individual actually believes in the opinions and actions that he adopts. Such actions or attitudes are dependent on the role that the individual takes at any particular time. The subject forms a role for himself and is not concerned with pleasing the influencer so much as being concerned with the others expectations of him.

According to Kelman, identification occurs when the individual is concerned with the social anchorage of his behaviour. Identification is based, furthermore, on the

attractiveness of the change agent's power. Kelman does not mean by attractiveness that the agent is "likeable" but rather that his qualities make a continued relationship desirable. When the desired response becomes prepotent because the requirements of a particular role are delineated, identification may be said to have occurred.

Internalization

This process may be said to occur when an external attitude or opinion is accepted because it is congruent with the value system of the individual. The contents of the attitude are intrinsically rewarding, but may not be utilitarian and may not define the role of the respondent. Internalization only takes place when the influencing agent is seen as a credible source. This process can come about, and commonly does come about, on a rational basis. Experts, thus become sources of internalized attitudes, although typically the attempted influence is not accepted piecemeal but is modified to fit the recipient's existent situation. This means, according to Kelman, that induced behaviour, rational or otherwise, must be integrated with the individual's existent values. In effect the induced attitude increases the number of possible cognitive ways in which to deal with situations.

The credibility of the influencing agent is of paramount importance, in that the influencing statements must be believed to be truthful, valid, and worthy of serious consideration.

Although Kelman does not put forth a method of attitude change, he delineates the parameters of the attitude change influence and what may be expected within those parameters. Later, in the construction of a general theory of correctional education, it will be observed how his postulations fit within the framework of the model of correctional education.

Bem's Hypothesis

Bem's (1956) theory of the generation of attitudes and changes of attitudes is based on the premise that the individual's ability to respond differentially to his own behaviour is a product of previous and current social interaction. He calls upon Mead (1934); Ryle (1949) and Skinner (1953-1957) to support this premise. He further hypothesizes that self-descriptive statements are derived in the same manner as are descriptive statements of the environment. Furthermore, many self-descriptive statements that appear to be under the discriminative control of private stimuli may in fact be under

the control of public events.

This last statement of Bem's is supported by the concept of Stigmatism as suggested by Goffman (1963). Variants of this are seen in the concept of "prisonization" (McLaren, 1973 and Bennett et al, 1971).

Bem applies certain of Skinner's (1957) theories to the matter of attitude change, particularly respecting the concept of Mands and Tacts.

Tacts are described as verbal responses which are under the control of some portion of the environment. Frequently they are objective statements of fact such as "I am hungry". Attitude statements have the properties of tacts of the reinforcing effects of stimulus situations, e.g., "I hate rainy weather".

Mands on the other hand, are under the control of specific contingencies. A speaker who emits a "Mand" is asking for a particular reinforcer. Only characteristic consequences reinforce mands. Mands are often disguised as tacts, for example, in the case of the panhandler who asks, "Have you any loose change?". In this case, the tact question really disguises the demand characteristic "Give me some money".

This matter of mand and tact characteristics is extremely important in that the listener must discriminate the mand-tact characteristics of the communication. Thus a communicator is credible only insofar as the matter of communication is discriminated as a series of tacts.

Bem's major thesis is that an individual's belief and attitudes statements and the beliefs that an outside observer would attribute to him are functionally the same. Further, an individual's beliefs and attitudes may be predicted and controlled (changed?) by manipulating his overt behaviours. This is a postulation which will be seen to be of some importance when the general theory applicable to this research is enunciated.

Attitudes to Law, Courts, Police and Morality

Cleaver, Mylonas and Reckless (1968) and Toro-Calder, Cedeno and Reckless (1968) have discussed the attitudes of criminals and others towards the law, the courts and the police. The first mentioned authors have derived scores from a questionnaire for North American groups which appears to differentiate between criminals and others. Mean scores for the groups appear summarily in Table 2. Standard deviations are not available in the literature.

Table 2
Group Means on
Attitudes to Law, Courts, and Police Scale

Sample		Law	Courts	Police
Black Prisoners	(M)	34.39	40.96	44.91
White Prisoners	(M)	30.34	37.53	40.97
Black Prisoners	(F)	38.69	47.72	50.76
White Prisoners	(F)	33.23	42.99	46.62
Union Members	(M)	24.40	30.37	33.78
Mothers P.T.A.	(F)	23.66	30.01	32.64
Prison Guards	(M)	23.55	30.91	30.51
Police Officers	(M)	21.25	30.18	24.49
Mormons	(M)	21.85	29.20	31.92

They conclude that attitudes towards law, courts and police are internalized from experience and that the experiences which make up the background of prisoners is such as to engender an unfavourable attitude towards these three agencies of social control.

The scores given above indicate that high scores (unfavourable attitude) are highest in the case of black female prisoners. It may be speculated that female prisoners represent a quintessence of illegality. It is speculated that females are generally dealt with more leniently by the courts than males and

only the most intransigent wind up in the prisons. It will be noticed that the white female prisoners have more unfavourable attitudes than the male white prisoners.

The Toro-Calder, Cedeno and Reckless study was concerned with the Ross cultural application of the Attitudes to Law, Courts and Police questionnaire and its relationship to a test of morality (the Crissman Test). The results which they obtained are set out in Table 3.

In these samples, high scores on attitude towards law, courts and police indicates an unfavourable attitude, whilst high scores on the morality test indicates a more moral attitude.

It may be seen that there are certain cross-cultural variations in magnitudes but the criminals always have more unfavourable attitudes towards the social agencies and make moral responses of lower amplitude within a culture.

In the case of the Crissman Morality Scale, which is rather old and has been used frequently, the scores attained by Crissman (1942) in 1929 and 1939 for a sample of college students were fairly stable around a mean of 358. This score has been weighted in order to make it equivalent to the manner of scoring used by Toro-Calder et al. Time and altering social

TABLE 3

Average Scores on Total Attitudes to Law Courts
& Police, and Morality Scores

SAMPLE	L, C & P	MORALITY
Greek Prisoners	281.48	326.86
Greek Labourers	249.09	344.29
Greek Police	210.18	368.37
Korean Prisoners	250.19	328.35
Korean Labourers	224.07	320.03
Eng. Canadian Prisoners	290.67	258.70
Eng. Canadian Labourers	235.83	312.94
Eng. Canadian Police	173.68	317.56
Eng. Can. Prison Guards	191.05	339.39
Fr. Canadian Prisoners	302.21	289.61
Fr. Canadian Labourers	237.49	328.00
Fr. Can. Prison Guards	206.91	326.52
Fr. Canadian Police	187.18	321.20

values have brought about changes in score attained on individual items, but such changes as have occurred have usually been compensated for by changes in other items. The mean has remained relatively unchanged for samples over the years.

Cognitive Style and Attitude Change

Related to cognitive style is the dimension of cognitive need. The differentiation is between those who seem to have an insatiable desire to pick up information of all kinds, useful and useless.

Implicit within the cognitive style structure is the dimension of cognitive clarity - the ability or need to define and impose meaning, integration and organization to experience. Some persons seem to have this ability, but crude observation would appear to suggest that prison inmates have this to a lesser degree. Cohen (1957) has investigated the dimension of cognitive clarity and those with low need for cognitive clarity. Essentially the findings indicate that high need subjects are more amenable to attitude change than those with low need.

Kelman and Gohler (1959) have termed the two poles of cognitive style 'levelling' and 'sharpening'. They found in experiments that 'levellers' (the global end of the continuum) were more apt to accept authoritarian sources in their decisions

than the 'sharpeners'. Furthermore, 'sharpeners' were revealed as more apt to be open to the substantive content of argument and more apt to retain attitude change information.

Personality and Attitude Change

Hovland, Kelly and Janis (1953) concluded that there are definite personality variables involved in attitude change. They have referred to these variables under the generic term persuasibility. This tendency to be persuaded seems to be quite independent of the subject matter or the type of appeal which is made. In the same volume, Janis and Field (1953) report that persuasibility appears to be inversely related to low self-esteem.

Cohen (1959) in discussing self-esteem has defined it as the value a person places on himself as a function of past successes and failures in meeting aspirations.

Following up this approach he has demonstrated that people of low self-esteem tend to be persuaded by people of high self-esteem.

Janis and Rife (1953) in a further experiment with hospitalized people found that persuasibility is more pronounced in emotionally disturbed subjects.

Leventhal and Perlow (1962) in an experiment with college students produced evidence that subjects with high self-esteem are more readily influenced by optimistic, gratifying communications than by pessimistic ones.

Hovland and Janis (1953) have suggested that the following personality factors affect persuasibility:

1. Perceptual Dependence. Subjects who are affected by environmental conditions are more susceptible to persuasion than are those who rely on internal cues.
2. Authoritarianism. Authoritarian types are more susceptible to persuasion than those not of that type.
3. Other Directedness. Value systems which emphasize group adaptation and conformity lead to greater persuasibility.
4. Social Isolation. The isolated person is more amenable to persuasion.
5. Richness of Fantasy. Subjects rich in fantasy and imagination have greater ability to foresee outcomes, thus they are more persuasible.

Cohen (1964) in discussing the above dimensions, has issued a caveat in stating that the above assumptions have been derived from studies of college students and middle class urban Americans and as such may not be generalizable to other groups without much further experimentation. Furthermore, there have been a number of experiments which have produced gender differentiations. He has also suggested that child rearing patterns may have a great deal to do with the persuasibility factor.

In summarizing, a great deal of work on personality and persuasibility Cohen stresses three major points:

1. Failing, inadequate, inferior individuals are motivated towards conforming so as to avoid social disapproval.
2. The persuasible individual may feel guilty about the past. He may feel socially inadequate and compensate by mechanisms which give rise to a pattern of motivated gullibility.

McGuire (1969) has indicated somewhat tangentially, but logically, that there is likely some positive relationship between attitude change and personality components. The personality variable has a twofold influence in that it affects both the subject of the attitude change attempt and the attitude

changer. Both parties to the process bring dimensions of personality into the paradigm.

McGuire proposes that there are certain steps in attitude change which he regards as a stochastic process. He derives his steps from antiquity: Aristotle's four causes, the material, formal, efficient and final. These are put as attention, comprehension, yielding, retention and action. Each of these steps must be gone through if attitude is to change, although he admits that the first two have some similarity, and may be traversed as one.

McGuire's paradigm has been dealt with rather elegantly as it relates to attitude change through education in the prison setting, elsewhere. (Hoppe 1972)

Demand Characteristics

Although there has been little research in the demand characteristics and responses of adult learners, it is commonly observed that in adult education programmes at a low level there is a high drop-out rate. The figure commonly quoted by workers in vocational school upgrading courses is usually about forty per cent. In this paper, a high level education course is recommended on the basis that it has previously been found successful.

Ryan (1958) in discussing the results of test performance has stated "I shall assert that a very large proportion of behaviour is initiated by tasks, and that a very large proportion of tasks leads to the behaviour specified by the tasks". Put simply, Ryan is asserting that in terms of task performance, one gets what one asks for or a large proportion thereof. If a low level of performance is demanded, such as Grade Ten academic performance, a low level is delivered and there will be a high level of non-success.

Locke (1968) in discussing simple task performance concluded on the basis of a number of experiments that the harder the goal the higher the level of performance. One unequivocal result cited by him was to the effect that in the case of very hard goals, although few subjects attained the goal, they performed at a much higher level than did those with low level goals.

Atkinson and Feather (1966) have assumed that probability of success and incentive value are inversely and linearly related. A task with a high probability of success yields low satisfaction. Completion of a task in which there is a low probability of success yields high satisfaction.

Bryan and Locke in a 1967 study found that the harder the task, the greater the production. An issue of interest has been brought up by Stedry (1960) who asserts that there is a difference

in output dependent upon whether the task has been assigned or chosen. High production, he says, only results when the hard task is chosen or accepted. If the hard goal is not accepted, then the performance is of low level.

Bryan and Locke (1967) in further studies demonstrated that subjects trying for a specifically hard goal performed at a higher level than did students who had been told to 'do their best'.

Mace (1953) had produced similar results using a complex computational task. He also found that improvements in performance were greatest with the assigned group as compared to the 'do best' group.

Bibliotherapy

As much of the theoretical position to be spelled out later concerns the use of literature as a method of attaining rehabilitation, the research which has been carried out using reading as a remedial tool is worthy of some attention.

Although much of the research carried out in bibliotherapy is of a non-empirical kind, some of the comments and claims which have been made are of interest. Slavson (1950) has suggested that literature may bring about universalization,

identification, catharsis and insight. Feelings of guilt, inadequacy and shame may be diluted through universalization, and social attitudes and values may be formed through identification with literary characters and situations.

Gray (1960) has described a programme of adult education of the Great Books variety in an Oklahoma penitentiary and has stated that subjects taking part in the programme showed signs of rehabilitation. Unfortunately his observations are not supported by any hard data.

Freud (1924) has written of the power of the imaginative writer to redirect the emotions of the reader. Shrodes (1961) has added to this in stating that a story may be so compelling that it becomes interchanged in the reader's mind with facts of his own life. One may add the common observation that many peoples' lives have reportedly been changed either for better or worse, by the workers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. If literature is of no avail in changing the lives of men, then it would mean that the Society of Gideon is spending a great deal of money needlessly in the hotel rooms of the world.

Witty (1964) has described the ways in which reading can help young people to attain a sense of identity by working through the basic developmental tasks of adolescence. Through reading about and identifying with youthful literary characters

they learn insights and behaviour appropriate to their age before problems become pathological.

Transfer of Training

It has been suggested that educating at a high level for values carries with it the inference that training for values through literature for transfer to values for everyday life runs counter to some classical statements. It is often asserted that training or educating in one area is only transferable to the extent that the two tasks are similar in nature. Thorndike (1923) propounded the theory of 'identical elements' to exemplify this facility. In this study it is maintained that transfer consists not so much in applying directly what is learned by subject qua subject, but some rather general cognitive patterns, together with the ability to be more reflective. The literature is not taught solely for literature's sake but to develop a general pattern of reflection and delay in judgment. It is maintained that the process rather than the content is transferable.

Such transfer as may take place may be of short term nature and the longevity of the transfer is a matter to be taken up in the follow up of subjects. However, it is suggested that there may be the same sort of transfer of training as has been reported by Miles (1960) for T-group participants. Miles, it will be recalled, was able to demonstrate that transfer did

occur in the case of high school administrators who had participated in T-groups. The transfer in this case was from T-group to job performance behaviour.

Chapter Three

The Theoretical Basis of the Study

In Chapter Two a considerable amount of research was summarized. No criticism of the points of view was attempted, for to do so would have extended the scope of this work further than intended. Rather the aim was to marshal those points of view which seemed relevant to the writer on the basis of his own work in correctional education settings.

Personality

The work of Eysenck in extraversion and neuroticism was discussed because the inmates of penitentiaries seem to be what is generally termed extraverted. They are as a general rule, noisy, brash, flamboyant, and outgoing. Some of them, but by no means all of them, appear to have neurotic symptoms, as neurosis is commonly interpreted. They report medical symptoms quite frequently, such as backache. They complain of being "up-tight" and nervous, of having black-outs, of being unable to concentrate.

Whether Eysenck's tests measure the signs and symptoms set out above, or indeed whether what is commonly meant by the terms extraversion and neuroticism means the same as Eysenck means is a matter for conjecture.

What is important in this study is that it is assumed that penitentiary inmates are more extraverted and more neurotic than the general population, and that education will reduce the amount of extraversion and neuroticism.

It is also assumed on the basis of Cattell's research and the other research reported that criminals are more tense and anxious, feel more guilty, have poorer self concepts, have lower ego and super-ego strengths, and are more tender minded than the general population. Furthermore, on the basis of earlier studies by Parlett and Ayers, they are more global than most males in cognitive style. It is assumed that each of these facets of personality can also be changed by education.

In summary, an attempt has been made to assemble research to support the postulation that the subjects to be used in this study form a sub-group characterized by certain peculiarities of personality which set them off from other groups of people and from the population in general. The position is then taken that there is a method and material of education which may be used to make this special group more nearly similar to the general population so far as these particular dimensions are concerned.

Morality

Morality and moral development are discussed because it is assumed as axiomatic that the criminal is by definition immoral

in that he has been found guilty on a number of occasions of committing acts which are anti-social or anti-ascetic. Such acts are the essence of immorality.

It may be considered by some that the long discussion of moral development, dealing as it does with childhood and adolescence, is totally irrelevant to this research. Such a point of view is questioned by Kohlberg and others who maintain that moral development is not a matter which is concluded in childhood, but continues through early adulthood and into maturity. Furthermore, the moral development of childhood forms the base on which later moral development is built. It is felt that if some steps of that development are not completed in childhood, then very similar methods to those used to bring about moral development in children may be used to good effect with youths or even with adults. It is contended that the method of education which is to be described shortly will, in fact, make the immoral prisoner more capable of forming moral judgments.

There may be some virtue in referring to the general life history of the greater part of criminals at this time to underline some of the reasons for the criminal being less moral than others. (This general life history may not agree with textbooks, but is as observed.)

As a general rule, the criminal career commences with the

onset of puberty. Prior to that time the potential criminal has been no more than a "difficult child". At puberty the potential criminal comes into conflict with the law for minor or major delinquencies, truancy, shop-lifting, simple house breaking, auto theft and other generally minor offences against property. After one or two probationary periods, he is then, after repetitions, sent to a boys' training school. This generally occurs in the eleventh to thirteenth year, the time at which most boys are in transition from second stage to third stage morality, in Kohlberg's terms. At the training school he is thrown together with other boys of like style and is treated in an authoritarian manner by the school's staff. His models are boys in trouble with the law and those members of the staff who demand compliance and no more. What is right and moral in this setting are the dictates of the authority figures and the exploits and boasting of older multi-offender peers.

Many of the boys will make only one journey to the boys' training school. They will in all probability never appear in the courts again. Others will be recidivists. It is from these latter that the potential penitentiary inmate is drawn.

The recidivist will graduate to one of the juvenile institutions, and from there to a young offender unit, and thence to a common gaol and finally to a penitentiary. All in all he

will arrive at the penitentiary gate at about age twenty to twenty-one. Thus for some eight or ten of his most formative years he has spent the greater part of his time with the very quintessence of immorality and crime.

He has, in effect, been denied normal peer models, and non-authoritarian mentors for most of the very important years of adolescence and youth. It is suggested that moral development from second to third stage has been repressed and we are faced with a young man both morally and educationally retarded.

Attitudes

Attitude and attitude change was discussed at length because it was felt that morality is no more than an attitude structure. Furthermore, the attitude change models reviewed provide an essential basis for the educational model to be set out shortly.

Kay (1968) asserts that moral growth is generally thought of in the same terms as intellectual growth. The comparison, according to him is true as far as moral thought is concerned. Moral thought is probably no more nor no less than the application of general intellectual processes applied to moral problems. This may not be true of moral behaviour. It is true that reciprocity is made possible through intellectual growth, the development of

reversible operational thinking. It may also be observed that appreciation of moral sanctions emerges only as egocentricity diminishes, and is in effect subject to sequential development as demonstrated by Piaget and others. If one considers moral sanctions one is led to a consideration of attitudinal models. Sanctions frequently act as motives to behave morally, and often it is difficult to separate motives from attitudes. For any sanction to operate, the subject should have a positive attitude to the sanctioning authority.

It may be suggested that moral development consists in the development of the following attitude structures: prurudential attitudes, authoritarian attitudes, social attitudes, personal attitudes, rationality, altruism, responsibility and finally independence. All of the stages of moral development can thus be couched in terms of learned attitudinal structures.

The Educational Model

In this model the matter of the purpose of correctional education is pursued and certain suggestions are made. Correctional education, it has been suggested, must perform the major function of preparing an inmate for life in society and in so doing must give him appropriate social and ascetic attitudes.

It is most important therefore that both the instructors

and the materials presented must be suitable models. The full scope of the material used is given in Appendix A. One item from the curriculum may be used as an example of how the material may be used to present a model of behaviour. The first work dealt with in the English literature course is The Antigone of Sophocles, in which the following issues are dealt with: the right of burial of both enemies and friends, the duties of children to parents, the right to protest unfair or unjust laws, the prerogatives of legislators, moderation and wisdom, and obedience.

The play was written as a lesson for the citizens of Athens, and its message remains, and no doubt will remain, pertinent. It is argued that the points put forth in the play and the models which are exhibited dramatically may be internalized by the subjects, in much the same manner as in the original productions in Athens. It is at this point that the attitude change theories become important for it is suggested that attitudes will change through the internalization of the models presented in the literary work.

Kelman's theory dictates that there are three steps in the process of attitude change, the first of which is compliance. Compliance is what McGuire has referred to as yielding. As pointed out earlier the subjects used in this study were all volunteers and as such may have been more compliant than other prisoners who did not volunteer for the programme.

Furthermore, the prevailing attitude in institutions of all sorts is compliance. In the penitentiary the emphasis on compliance is especially notable.

It is suggested that, during the course of discussing the arguments presented in the literature, the student will begin to identify with the teacher and with the literary characters. This may occur because the student will be persuaded in the Platonic tradition to agree with that which is logically true, and to accept as a belief that truth. McGuire has pointed out that persuasion of this kind causes adjustments of belief structures. The student will be aware in an inchoate way that he is sharing the same belief system as the instructor, and incidentally as the literary character and society at large. Thus the process of identification in his role of student has begun. He is not yet that which he is professing for he may only profess these new beliefs in that student role.

According to McGuire, there will be a gradual but general filtering through of new beliefs to the whole cognitive structure. As new or changed beliefs occur other beliefs must be modified in order that there shall be coherence and consistency.

It may be argued that persuasion by the written word has not been proven effective. The usual percentage of change recorded for the written persuasive method is between four and

five percent belief change (Bem, 1970). Further, it may be pointed out that belief changes which have been measured in the scientific manner have usually been beliefs concerning fairly hedonic matters, choice of toothpaste, preference for rock and roll records, and other trivia. Furthermore the media persuasion attempts have not involved interpersonal confrontation and argument, study and consensus of peers. These are variables which are not present in the usual persuasion studies, but which are always present in the pedagogical situation. Especially is this the case when the pedagogical situation follows the Alexandrine tradition.

It is suggested that identification takes place through persuasion. The student identifies with the teacher, but only in the beginning to the extent that he plays the student role. Identification it is suggested leads the way to internalization of the value systems implicit in the literature. The identification leads to incipient internalization through virtue of the prestige of the teacher as a member of the staff of a university, and through a realization of the truth of the arguments as they form part of the spectrum of the whole course of studies. The beliefs change on the basis of many arguments.

Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum's conception of attitude change is also important here for, if the instruction falls within the bounds of the subjects' congruity range, their beliefs will be

modified. This is according to the model, but herein lies no little danger for the instructor, for as the subjects' beliefs are modified, in like manner are the instructor's beliefs modified. This, of course, is what is meant by the term institutionalization as it refers to staff as well as it refers to inmates.

It is theorized that, as the presentation of materials proceeds, the subjects will take up the role of student on an ever increasing scale. The instructor will mand the attitudes required whilst disguising his mands as tacts. Following Bem's argument that behaviours follow attitudes, the assumption of the student role will be followed by student-like attitudes.

The changes in attitudes and thereby changes in level of moral judgment (for most of the works studied deal with moral issues and sanctions) may well be reflected in changes towards the normal on the attitude and morality scales used in this study. It is possible that attitudes towards social agencies may change and be reflected on such a measuring device as the Attitudes to Law, Courts and Police Inventory, and on certain concepts used in a semantic differential scale.

Taking into account the fact that the subjects used in this study had not generally progressed any further than Junior High School, the work assigned to them was extremely demanding.

Such a high demand, it is theorized, calls forth high achievement. In fact, virtually all the men completed at least two university courses in four months and many completed three. High achievement, it is theorized, will enhance the subject's self image.

Cognitive Style - Inconsequence and Education

It is possible that during the education process, in a more or less structured setting, certain perceptual difficulties may also be remediated. Principally it is suggested here, there may be a reduction of that deficiency which Stott has referred to as inconsequence. In inconsequence first impulses are not restricted but are acted upon; this is a salient feature of many criminals, and may be similar to the impulsiveness of extraversion. As Stott has pointed out, inconsequent children make wild guesses. It is theorized here that these same children, as adults, make wild guesses at such measures of cognitive style as the Hidden Figures Test. It is this inconsequence which may account for the low scores on tests of cognitive style which have been commented on in Chapter Two.

Theoretically, and according to Stott, an attractive situation is desirable in cases of inconsequence. In the prison setting, it is suggested, a university programme is the most attractive of a small number of alternatives.

Stott suggests that permissive settings are most unsuit-

able for inconsequential children. It is proposed here that the same thing applies to the adult prison student. In point of fact when the writer was conducting classes for inmates he made a point of insisting on highly structured classroom situations. Riesmann (1962) makes the same point in discussing the types of schools suitable for the deprived children of the ghettos.

It is proposed here that inconsequence is a facet of global cognitive style, and, if inconsequence is managed and reduced, and, if any learning takes place, there will also be change in the cognitive style.

Propositions and Specific Hypotheses

Proposition 1

The related research leads to the supposition that criminals are more extravertedly neurotic than are others. The theory proposes that extraversion and neuroticism may be reduced by education. This leads directly to the first hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1

At post test the mean scores of the experimental group will not differ from those of the control group on measures of extraversion and neuroticism.

Proposition 2

The related research indicates that criminals attain high

scores on Factors I, O, and Q₄; and low scores on Factors C, E, G, H, and Q₃ of Cattell's 16 P.F. The theory which has been put forth proposes that a special educational programme leads the subjects to make more normal responses to the statements in the questionnaire. The changes in response, it is proposed, lead to reductions in the high scores, and increases in the low scores.

Hypothesis 2

At post-test the mean scores of the experimental group will not differ from the mean scores of the control group on Factors C, E, G, H, I, O, Q₃, and Q₄ of Cattell's 16 Personality Factor Questionnaire (16 P.F.).

Proposition 3

The related research indicates that criminals are more global than analytic in cognitive style. The theory proposes that the special correctional education programme leads subjects to become more analytic. Arising from this proposition the following hypothesis may be set forth:

Hypothesis 3

At post-test the experimental group will attain mean scores which will not differ from the mean scores of the control group on the Hidden Figures Test, a test of cognitive style.

Proposition 4

The related research indicates that criminals should have an unfavorable attitude to law, courts, and police, and that the unfavorable attitude should be reflected in high scores on the Attitudes to Law, Courts, and Police Scale. The theory proposes that the special educational programme will foster favorable attitudes to the three social agencies, resulting in lower scores on the Attitudes to Law, Courts, and Police Scale. This leads to hypothesis four.

Hypothesis 4

At post test the mean scores attained by the experimental group will not differ from the mean scores attained by the control group on the Attitudes to Law, Courts, and Police scale.

Proposition 5

The related research indicates that attitudes may be evaluated by the semantic space occupied by certain concepts. The theory proposes that attitudes may be changed and that those changes are reflected in changes in the positions of certain concepts in semantic space. This leads to the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 5

The position of certain concepts in semantic space for the experimental group will not differ from the position of the same concepts in semantic space for the control group.

Proposition 6

The related research proposes that criminals may not be so morally well developed as normals. It was also proposed that the special programme of educational studies would lead to an advancement in moral level. It was further proposed that moral development levels may be measured by the Crissman Scale, and by the Defining Issues Test. On this basis the following is set forth:

Hypothesis 6

(a) The scores attained by the experimental group will not differ from the scores attained by the control group on the Crissman Scale.

(b) The scores attained by a group which has received the special educational programme will not differ from the scores attained by groups used as controls who have not received the programme, on the Rest Defining Issues Test.

Chapter 4

Method

Initially the experiment was conceived as a true research design in the form of Campbell and Stanley's Type 4 illustration:

$$\begin{array}{r} R O_1 \quad x \quad O_2 \\ R O_3 \quad \quad O_4 \end{array}$$

Randomization took place from a total of 36 volunteers meeting certain criteria:

- (a) eligible for parole or release within one year of commencement of the experiment.
- (b) educational standing of general grade 8 or better.
- (c) willing to forego transfer to reduced *security for the period of the experiment* (six months).
- (d) willing to be tested before and after the experiment and after release from prison.

A need for this type of design emerged both for the necessity to control for the seven rival hypotheses indicated by Campbell and Stanley, and not least to give some indication at pre-test of whether or not the tests used were appropriate for

the task.

Immediately after the completion of pre-tests and after commencement of the five month course of experimental treatment, it became obvious that more was involved than a simple laboratory type of experiment. The lengthy period of testing, four days, the type of subjects involved and the demands of the prison had led to incomplete test data in a few cases, incompleteness of tests in others. Furthermore, it became obvious that several of the tests used were inappropriate.

During the course of the experiment a number of difficulties occurred which were completely beyond the power of the experimenter to control:

- (1) loss of experimental and control subjects through early release.
- (2) increases in length of sentence by Crown Appeal.
- (3) transfer of control subjects to reduced security.
- (4) segregation of experimental group to a separate cell block.
- (5) refusal of National Parole Board to honour a previous commitment to parole control and experimental subjects under

a special arrangement.

- (6) difficulty in arranging for certification of the courses.
- (7) loss of credibility of the principle experimenter in that he was directly blamed for the Parole Board difficulties.

It became abundantly clear by the end of the second month of the experiment that the research could not be considered to meet all the requirements of an experimental design. The research could be rather thought of as an approach to a research and development model.

The basic design of the experiment was therefore changed to conform to two patterns: (1) Campbell and Stanley's Type 4 design discussed previously, and (2) Campbell and Stanley's Type 6 design. Thus, for the instruments which were used at both pre-test and post-test, the design may be diagrammed as:

Table 4
Before - After Two Group Design

Group	Assignment	Before Observation	Treatment	After Observation
1	R	O _b	X	O _a
2	R	O _b	--	O _a

R = Randomization.

O = Observation.

For other measures which were either substituted for instruments found to be unsuitable, or added because of an emergent need, the design set out in Table 5 was used.

Table 5
Randomized Two-Group Design

Group	Assignment	Before Observation	Treatment	After Observation
1	R	--	X	0 _a
2	R	--	--	0 _a

At post-test it became clear that one of the fundamental components of the study, development of social values, had not been adequately measured. However, the experiment had been, according to the penitentiary administrators, successful, not as an experiment, but as a method of control and treatment. At the insistence of the administration, a further group of students was enrolled to carry on what had become a successful method of control. This group was not randomly selected but consisted of a group of volunteers who wished to embark on what the inmates considered to be a successful college course. This group was tested at the end of their programme (O₇ in Fig. 1).

No special criteria was demanded of the group except that they work diligently at academic tasks and refrain from acting the part of "convict" whilst in the classroom. No guarantee was

asked of them that they would not accept assignment to reduced security or take parole before the end of the course.

This new group gave an opportunity for the administration of the questionnaire Opinions About Social Issues (The Defining Issues Test), considered to be an index of moral development. The test was administered at the completion of the total course, and after the students had written University of Victoria finals.

At this point the prison administrators again requested a repetition of the programme. By this time it was called by the inmates "The Donner Project" and had become an integral part of the prison programme. The inmate committee and individual inmates had requested that the administration support the funding of the programme on the basis that it was the only worthwhile training medium in the institution. A third and currently ongoing (April, 1974) group was therefore commenced using the same basic course outline and the same theoretical basis.

It was assumed that this third group was similar in structure to the preceding group and the Opinions About Social Issues questionnaire was administered at the commencement of the programme to generate a comparison group for the preceding one (O 8 in Figure 1)

The experimenter was aware of the danger involved in interpreting the results because of the quasi-experimental nature

of the design involved when comparing one inmate group that had received treatment with an apparently similar one that had not. This applied particularly with respect to lack of control in selection where differences between the two inmate groups might be due to differential recruitment and to lack of control for mortality where differences might be explained in terms of selective drop-out.

Two additional non-inmate comparison groups were tested with a view to showing that selection and mortality were probably no invalidating factors. These two groups were: (1) practicing teachers in a University of Victoria Summer School course in Philosophy of Education, and (2) Armed Forces warrant officers undergoing training at H.M.C.S. Naden. In using these groups it was assumed that the teachers would be more highly developed than both the prisoners and the servicemen, especially in the areas of moral development and the defining of social issues, and thus provide further comparison groups to assist in establishing the validity of the results.

The total sequence of events from the beginning of the experiment to the present time is set out in Figure 1. The tests used on each occasion are set out in Table 6.

Table 6

Table of Test Instruments Used

0₁ and 0₃ (Exp. and Cont. Groups)

Pre - Tests (First week of April 1972)

Eysenck Personality Inventory Forms A & B

Cattell's 16 Personality Factor Questionnaire Form A

The Hidden Figures Test

Attitudes to Law, Courts, and Police

The Crissman Morality Scale

0₂ and 0₄ (Exp. and Cont. Groups)

Post - Tests (Last week of August 1972)

Cattell's 16 Personality Factor Questionnaire Form B

The Hidden Figures Test

Attitudes to Law, Courts, and Police

The Crissman Morality Scale

0₅ and 0₆ (Exp. and Cont. Groups)

Post - Tests (Last week of August 1972)

Eysenck's Psychoticism, Extraversion, Neuroticism Scale

The Semantic Differential

0₇ and 0₈ (2nd week of May 1973)

Opinions About Social Issues

The sequence of events was that, at the commencement of the experiment, thirty-six volunteers were randomly assigned to either the experimental educational group or to a control group. The control group members were to be involved in any programme of their choosing subject to permission of the Inmate Training Board, as is the usual administrative custom, except the special educational programme.

At the end of the programme a further group was enrolled in the same programme. No control group was used as this was not originally to be considered as an experimental exercise. At the completion of the educational programme this group wrote the Rest Defining Issues Test which by that time had become available to the writer.

Then a further group was enrolled, which is currently ongoing as of February, 1974. This group wrote the Rest Defining Issues Test at the commencement of the programme. At the same time a group of teachers enrolled in a Summer School course in Educational Philosophy at the University of Victoria wrote the Defining Issues Test as did a group of warrant officers at H.M.C.S. Naden. These three groups were used as control groups for the group which had completed the special educational programme mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

The sequence of events is diagrammed in Figure 1.

The Test Instruments

Each test instrument used is reviewed briefly hereunder.

Cattell's 16 P.F.

Cattell claims that this instrument measures sixteen functionally independent and psychologically meaningful dimensions of personality. Ten to thirteen questions are provided for each factor. The usual practice for diagnostic purposes is to administer both forms of the test - forms A and B. However, the practice is only carried out when individual scores are required. When group scores are required the administration of but one form is the common practice.

Cattell reports test re-test reliabilities which are lower than desirable ranging from .71 to .86 for the various factors on both forms. These reliabilities were calculated by Cattell over four days. Greater reliability is desirable, but the figures given are not unusually low for personality tests, especially for group administrations.

The Hidden Figures Test

This is a thirty minute timed test which measures the ability to perceive an embedded figure in a matrix of lines. Research by Witkin, et al (1969), Gardner (1953) and Jackson,

Messick and Myers (1964) has shown that such tests correlate highly with the Rod and Frame Test and other measures of cognitive style, e.g. paired associate tasks (Kagen, et al, 1963) memory tasks (Gardner and Long, 1961), and concept identification (Baggely, 1955).

It is common to consider that any raw scores above 24 on the Hidden Figures Test indicates that the respondent is analytic, and that any raw scores below 14 is indicative that the respondent is global. Scores between the two points given above are considered to be within one standard deviation above and below the mean.

The Eysenck Personality Inventory

This test is reported by the originator to measure personality in terms of two broad dimensions - Extraversion/Introversion and Neuroticism/Stability. Each trait is measured by twenty-four questions selected through factor and item analysis. In addition to the two major dimensions there are additional questions which go together to form a lie scale. Each complete questionnaire consists of fifty-seven items. There are two parallel forms of the test.

Test re-test reliabilities are reported by Eysenck and Eysenck (1968) to be above .85 over periods "in excess of several

months". In this study both forms A and B were given at pre-testing.

The Eysenck P.E.N. Test

This inventory was constructed by Eysenck to answer some of the criticism which has been made of his earlier tests and of the fact that criminals tested with his instrument do not demonstrate by their answers that they are different from others. Most of the items in the test which purport to measure extraversion and neuroticism are very similar to the items in the E.P.I. The additional items other than lie scale items are intended to measure psychoticism. No test-retest reliability figures have so far been given as the test is still in the experimental stage.

The reason for interest in this admittedly trial form of the test in this research is that Eysenck has speculated, and has given some supporting data, that the tests may differentiate between groups of prisoners. Furthermore, the test has been used on an earlier occasion by another experimenter in the same setting as this research took place.

The Semantic Differential

Osgood developed the semantic differential to measure the connotative meaning of concepts in what he termed semantic space,

(Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum, 1957). A semantic differential test typically consists of a number of scales, each of which is a bipolar adjective pair chosen from a large number of pairs for particular research purposes, together with the concepts to be rated with the scales. The scales, or bipolar adjectives, are seven point rating scales, the underlying nature of which has been determined empirically. Each scale measures one of the basic dimensions or factors that Osgood and his co-workers have found to be behind the scales: Evaluative, Potency, Activity. These factors may be thought of as clusters of adjectives.

The first step in constructing a semantic differential is to choose the concepts or other stimuli to be rated with the bipolar adjectives. The choice must isolate a number of concepts that are conceived as being relevant to the research problem.

Osgood et al have stated that attitudes may be measured on the evaluative scale. The concepts must be chosen judiciously to represent a part of the semantic space. It is assumed that the concepts used with the semantic differential scales in this research are intimately related to the subject's social and moral attitudes, and his phenomenological self.

The particular concepts used to measure the self were:
Life, Luck, My Closest Relative Thinks I am, Man, I Am, and Guilt.

The concepts used to assess the subject's evaluation of moral issues were: Theft, Breaking the Law, Drugs, Lying, Envy, Violence, Meanness and Justice.

To assess whether there were any differences between the two groups in terms of their evaluation of their situation in prison the following concepts were used: Learning, Work, School, the Staff, and Policemen.

As much emphasis is placed on the moral man as hero in both the literature and history courses in the programme, the concept Hero was included to measure any differentiation between the two groups.

For each concept to be rated the same set of bipolar adjectives was used:

Happy.....Sad
Ugly.....Beautiful
Clean.....Dirty
Dishonest.....Honest
Good.....Bad
Pleasant.....Unpleasant
Worthless.....Valuable
Fair.....Unfair
Straight.....Crooked

Sick.....Healthy
Successful.....Unsuccessful
Boring.....Interesting

In some cases a high score would indicate a socially pejorative attitude towards the concept and a low score a favourable one. In other cases the reverse would be operative. For example rating Drugs as good would be in the opposite direction to general social attitudes to drugs as meaning heroin, cocaine and hashish.

Attitudes to Law, Courts, and Police

This scale was developed by Mylonas as a 110 item instrument designed to measure attitudes to Law, Courts, and Police. It was originally administered to a sample of 300 Ohio Penitentiary inmates. On the basis of the results obtained in this original trial, 89 items were selected for follow up studies, (Cleaver, Mylonas, and Reckless, 1968). The scale has since been administered widely to criminal and non-criminal groups of various nationalities. The form used in this research is one consisting of 42 items divided into equal numbers of questions for each of the concepts.

The test consists of statements together with a Likert type scale ranging through Strongly Agree, Agree, Undecided,

Disagree and Strongly Disagree. No test retest reliability or validity data is available at this time but inspection of the data given and reported earlier in this study seems to indicate that it does differentiate between criminal and non-criminal groups.

The Crissman Scale

The Crissman Moral Judgment Scale, consisting of 50 items has a response format of 1 to 10. The respondent is asked to circle a number between one and ten according to how wrong he feels the itemized behaviour is. Thus, a high score represents a moral response in the most favourable direction (most wrong); low scores indicate a moral response in the unfavourable direction (least wrong). A respondent's total score on the fifty items thus represents his general moral level.

Although this scale has been used many times over the years no validity or reliability indices are available.

Opinions About Social Issues

This test which is also known as the Defining Issues Test was constructed by Rest, Cooper, Coder, and Coder and first became available in 1973. The purpose of the instrument is to render Kohlberg's measure into an objective framework which has

interscorer reliability and will yield a numerical score. It attends to the kinds of considerations and conceptual framework that a subject uses to define and judge a concrete moral dilemma.

Six issues or moral dilemmas are presented to the subject who is asked to evaluate, in terms of importance, the four most crucial considerations from a list of twelve statements about the dilemma. Each of the considerations given in the twelve choices exemplifies some distinctive characteristic of a stage of moral development except for one or two distractor items in each set.

It is possible to compute two scores, a composite morality score, and a principled morality score. Certain weightings are given to the variety of responses possible to yield these two scores. The composite score gives a summary score of how consistent in development the subject is. For example, in the case of a group of fourteen-year olds most subjects would make first choices indicating stage four level. Second choices would also be at about that level. The composite weighting for the total should then give some idea of the consistency of the answers and should allow for comparison within the group.

The principled morality score is an indicator of how frequently the subject places stage five and six choices in the

first two places. This score allows for comparison of general level of groups in so far as higher moral level is concerned.

Such test-retest correlations of the instrument as have been carried out with a junior high school population have been in the .80's. An attempt at validation has been carried out by comparing the obtained scores across age groups. Differences in scores were tested on junior high school students, senior high school students, college juniors and college seniors, all presumably at different levels of moral development. One way analysis of variance produced an F of 48.8, beyond the .01 level of significance. This means that the older students selected responses indicating a higher level of moral development.

Chapter Five

The Results

Univariate and Multivariate Analyses

The principal variables which were of concern in this study were submitted to both multivariate and univariate analyses to discover whether the experimental and control groups were comparable on the main dimensions of interest. Inventories which were used only at post-test are dealt with later. It may be seen from Table 7 that the two groups were not statistically dissimilar to each other.

Multivariate and univariate analyses were carried out on the data obtained at post-test on the variables set out in Table 7, with the exception that the extraversion and neuroticism scores were obtained from Eysenck's P.E.N., rather than from Eysenck's Personality Inventory.

It will be observed from Table 8 that the multivariate analysis demonstrated that there was no significant differences between the two groups for 16 of the variables.

Table 7

Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Pre-test Data, All Variables. Experimental Group vs. Control Group Prisoners.

Multivariate F	df		p	
0.726	9,	21	0.740	
Variable	Univariate F df = (1, 29)	ms	p	s.d.f.c.
Cattell's 16 P.F.				
Factor C	0.581	1.840	0.452	1.310
Factor E	1.567	5.007	0.221	-0.316
Factor G	0.021	0.059	0.885	-0.560
Factor H	1.169	6.987	0.289	0.579
Factor I	0.307	0.860	0.584	1.544
Factor M	3.522	17.771	0.071	-1.995
Factor O	0.383	2.001	0.541	1.283
Factor Q ₃	0.180	0.948	0.674	-1.243
Factor Q ₄	0.011	0.039	0.916	-0.996
Eysenck Pers. Inv.				
Extraversion A	0.904	13.000	0.350	0.889
Neuroticism A	0.134	4.903	0.717	1.846
Extraversion B	2.687	4.355	0.112	0.240
Neuroticism B	0.006	0.215	0.939	1.919
Attitudes				
To Law	0.574	62.290	0.455	-0.282
To Courts	0.052	4.403	0.821	-0.478
To Police	0.001	0.049	0.979	1.145
Hidden Figures	0.463	21.077	0.502	0.732
Crissman Scale	0.493	2564.420	0.488	-1.288

Table 8

Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Post-test Data, All Variables. Experimental Group vs. Control Group Prisoners.

Multivariate F	df		p	
1.403	8,	17	0.322	
Variable	Univariate F df = (1, 24)	ms	p	s.d.f.c
Cattell's 16 P.F				
Factor C	0.717	3.347	0.406	3.239
Factor E	0.148	0.701	0.703	-1.706
Factor G	0.887	2.804	0.356	-1.133
Factor H	1.187	6.309	0.287	2.885
Factor I	0.866	3.015	0.361	-0.093
Factor M	0.635	2.124	0.434	-0.701
Factor O	0.020	0.062	0.890	0.455
Factor Q ₃	0.202	0.601	0.657	1.684
Factor Q ₄	0.033	0.162	0.857	2.689
Eysenck's P.E.N.				
Extraversion	2.287	12.717	0.144	0.037
Neuroticism	0.130	3.939	0.721	2.209
Attitudes				
To Law	0.108	9.424	0.746	0.395
To Courts	0.979	94.804	0.332	1.389
To Police	0.010	1.047	0.919	-0.273
Hidden Figures	7.465	430.347	0.012	-0.579
Crissman Scale	0.019	63.516	0.892	0.366

Hypothesis 1

At post-test the mean scores of the experimental group will not differ from those of the control group on measures of extraversion and neuroticism.

This hypothesis stemmed from the proposition that criminals are more extraverted and neurotic than normals. This proposition was not borne out by the data obtained at pre-testing. The means and standard deviations for the two prisoner groups is given in Table 9 as are also the means and standard deviations of a sample of U.S. college students taken from Eysenck's Handbook for the E.P.I. It may be seen that the prisoner groups do not attain scores which differ significantly from the scores attained by the college students.

The univariate F test data for the two prisoner groups at pre-test (Table 7) indicates that the two groups are not dissimilar. The univariate F tests (Table 8) demonstrates that there is no significant difference between the two groups at post-test. Hypothesis 1 is not rejected. The treatment did not have a measurable effect as far as these test instruments were concerned.

Hypothesis 2

At post-test the mean scores of the experimental group will not differ from the mean scores of the control group on Factors C, E, G, H, I, O, Q₃ and Q₄ of Cattell's 16 P.F. questionnaire.

Table 9

Means and Standard Deviations, Extraversion and Neuroticism.
Experimental Group vs. Control Group Prisoners, Pre-test, Compared to
a Sample of U.S. College Students

Group	N	\bar{X}	sd
Extraversion Form A			
Experimental Group	15	13.00	3.207
Control Group	16	12.00	4.031
U.S. College Group	1,003	13.10	4.100
Neuroticism Form A			
Experimental Group	15	11.47	3.461
Control Group	16	9.66	6.690
U.S. College Group	1,003	10.90	4.700
Extraversion Form B			
Experimental Group	15	12.93	3.461
Control Group	16	15.00	4.330
U.S. College Group	239	15.20	3.500
Neuroticism Form B			
Experimental Group	15	12.93	5.257
Control Group	16	11.44	7.091
U.S. College Group	239	11.40	4.800

Hypothesis 2 was derived from the proposition that criminals attain lower scores than the average of 5.5 stens on Factors C, E, G, H, and Q₃, and higher than the average score of 5.5 stens on Factors I, O, and Q₄ of Cattell's 16 P.F.

Table 10 shows that this proposition was only supported in the case of Factors C, G, and Q₃, on which there was a significant difference between the combined mean of the two prisoner groups and Cattell's 16 P.F. norm of 5.5 stens in the direction predicted.

Table 10

Standard Score Means and One Sample Tests for Representativeness for Eight Factors of Cattell's 16 P.F. Pre-Test. Experimental and Control Group Prisoners

Variable	Standard Score Means			Diff. from μ	p
	Experimental Group N=16	Control Group N=15	Combined Groups N=31		
Factor C	4.778	4.389	4.59	- .91	.05
Factor E	6.278	7.000	6.63	+1.13	.01
Factor G	4.500	4.056	4.29	-1.21	.01
Factor H	4.500	5.278	4.87	- .63	n.s.
Factor I	5.111	5.222	5.16	- .34	n.s.
Factor O	6.167	5.833	6.01	+ .51	n.s.
Factor Q ₃	4.566	4.333	4.45	-1.10	.01
Factor Q ₄	6.167	6.222	6.19	+ .69	n.s.

At pre-test there was no significant difference between the two groups (Table 7). Hypothesis 2 was not rejected in that there was no significant difference between the two groups at post-test (Table 8).

Hypothesis 3

At post-test the experimental group will attain mean scores which will not differ from the mean scores of the control group on the Hidden Figures Test, a test of cognitive style.

Because this part of the study is a replication of a prior finding on a similar group (Parlett & Ayers, 1971). the writer felt justified in interpreting the univariate test. The hypothesis was therefore rejected. The mean score of the experimental group was

significantly higher than the mean score of the control group at post-test (Table 11). This difference may also be observed in the Univariate F test table (Table 8). It may be observed that the two groups were not dissimilar at pre-test.

Table 11

Pre-Test and Post-Test. Means, Standard Deviation, and Univariate Analysis (from Tables 7 & 8) on Hidden Figures Test

Experimental Group			Control Group			p
N	\bar{X}	sd	N	\bar{X}	sd	
17	8.94	6.60	19	7.27	6.41	.73
14	25.56	6.48	10	16.90	9.53	.01

Hypothesis 4

At post-test the mean scores attained by the experimental group will not differ from the mean scores attained by the control group on the Attitudes to Law, Courts, and Police scale.

This hypothesis was derived from proposition four which stated that criminals would attain high scores on the Attitudes to Law, Courts, and Police Scale, and that special correctional education would reduce the scores of the experimental subjects. It may

be seen that both groups attained high scores at both pre and post-tests (Table 12).

Table 12

Means and Standard Deviations, Attitudes to Law, Courts, and Police, Pre-test vs. Post-test, Experimental and Control Group Prisoners.

Variable	Experimental Group				Control Group			
	Pre (N=17)		Post (N=15)		Pre (N=16)		Post (N=9)	
	\bar{X}	sd	\bar{X}	sd	\bar{X}	sd	\bar{X}	sd
Law	50.81	7.38	45.69	9.35	50.73	9.07	46.10	10.99
Courts	30.87	10.45	32.56	7.19	37.87	11.53	33.80	12.14
Police	43.31	7.76	38.87	8.71	44.07	10.48	42.80	11.48

Hypothesis 4 was not rejected. The treatment had no effect on the high scores and the two groups did not differ from each other at pre-test (Table 7), or at post-test (Table 8).

Hypothesis 5

The position of certain concepts in semantic space for the experimental group will not differ from the position of the same concepts in semantic space for the control group.

The semantic differential data were submitted to multivariate and univariate analyses. This procedure was carried out because Osgood has made a strong case that the semantic differential meets all the parametric requirements.

The multivariate analysis (Table 13) does not show the two groups as differing from each other, if the .05 level of significance is used as a criterion. The univariate F tests show that only two groups differ from each other at less than the .05 probability level on two concepts: Drugs and Justice (Table 13) which is expected by chance.

Table 13

Means, Multivariate and Univariate F Tests, Semantic, Differential, Post-test, Experimental Group vs. Control Group Prisoners

Multivariate F		df		p		
2.476		6, 20		0.132		
Variable	\bar{X} (E) N=16	\bar{X} (C) N=11	Univar.F df=(1.25)	ms	p	sdfc
Life	31.94	31.18	0.018	3.722	0.895	-0.742
Justice	39.81	59.27	7.380	2468.5566	0.012	-1.998
Luck	32.87	34.82	0.119	24.613	0.733	0.822
Hero	24.00	34.09	2.151	663.7566	0.155	-0.443
Learning	18.75	21.27	0.445	41.484	0.511	0.418
Theft	70.12	63.64	1.171	274.446	0.289	1.300
Brking Law	63.37	60.45	2.027	312.190	0.167	-2.187
Drugs	65.54	50.18	7.732	1542.053	0.039	1.634
Clst.Rel.	35.69	38.64	0.175	56.683	0.679	1.522
Man	31.50	39.64	1.507	431.529	0.231	-0.844
I am	31.25	33.45	0.158	31.680	0.695	0.210
Work	26.87	32.00	1.257	171.212	0.273	-0.421
Guilt	55.62	64.64	2.438	529.332	0.131	-0.314
Lying	71.50	68.45	0.276	60.459	0.604	0.399
Envy	54.94	59.18	0.252	117.425	0.620	0.360
Violence	67.87	66.82	0.027	7.281	0.870	-1.340
Meanness	71.69	70.09	0.089	16.617	0.768	0.249
School	19.19	24.45	1.166	180.836	0.291	-1.584
Staff	65.81	57.54	1.279	445.503	0.269	3.464
Policeman	49.19	50.64	0.031	13.683	0.862	-1.781

Table 14 reveals that the experimental group members are less variable in the way they evaluate four of the concepts: Theft, Drugs, My Relatives Think I Am, and The Staff. Four others, Hero, Breaking the Law, Man, and School approach significance but interpretation should be made with extreme caution because of the chance factors involved. It should also be noticed that, in terms of mean scores, the concepts which should be unfavourable rated (high scores), and the concepts which should be favourably rated (low scores) tend to be rated that way more consistently by the experimental group than by the control group. Scores which should be high tend to be higher for the experimental group than the control group; scores which should be low tend to be lower for experimentals than controls. This tendency is observable on fifteen of the twenty variables (Table 13).

It was proposed in Chapter Four that the concepts used in the construction of the semantic differential scales would tap certain aspects of the cognitive structure of the subjects. It was supposed that those aspects would be: the phenomenological self, the moral self, and the social self. In order to determine how the variables were actually related to each other a smallest space analysis was conducted.

Table 14

Ratios of Variances, Semantic Differential, Experimental Groups vs. Control Group Prisoners, Post-test

Variable	Exp. Gp. N=16	Control Gp. N=11	F	p
Life	160.32	278.95	1.74	-
Justice	297.90	375.35	1.26	-
Luck	222.00	183.06	1.21	-
Hero	194.79	479.30	2.46	.10
Learning	76.19	119.03	1.56	-
Theft	123.19	401.04	3.26	.02
Brkng Law	93.32	245.08	2.62	.10
Drugs	155.87	581.96	3.73	.02
My Relatives	153.01	580.23	3.79	.02
Man	181.33	444.07	2.44	.10
I am	159.14	264.58	1.66	-
Work	106.91	180.20	1.68	-
Guilt	214.76	220.64	1.02	-
Lying	195.86	254.27	1.29	-
Envy	442.76	482.85	1.09	-
Violence	185.09	389.35	2.10	-
Meanness	176.36	204.08	1.15	-
School	92.29	249.26	2.70	.10
The Staff	152.42	642.06	6.95	.02

The Phenomenological Self

It was presumed that an aspect of the self sentiment or self concept could be exposed by examining the semantic space occupied by the following concepts: Life, Luck, My closest relative thinks I am, Man, I am, and Guilt.

It may be seen from Figure 2 that for both groups guilt seems detached from the other concepts. If guilt is part of the self concept of the subjects, as indicated by Cattell, it does not

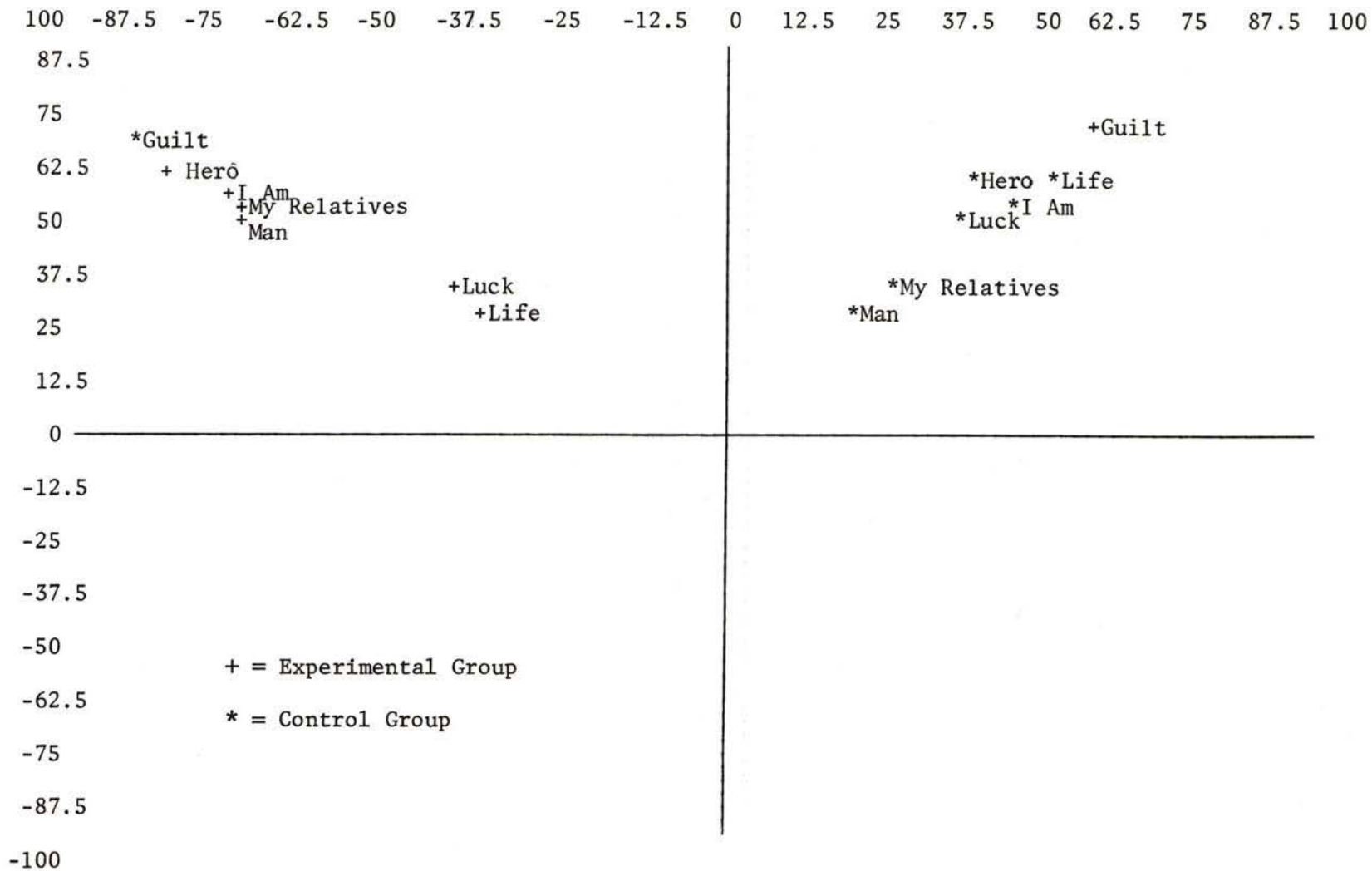


Figure 2

Smallest Space Analysis, Experimental Group vs. Control Group Prisoners, Phenomenological Self, Semantic Differential.

appear to be indicated so in this analysis. It seems as if the concepts which were presumed to measure the self concept, except for Guilt, are a coherent group, whatever it is they measure.

The concept Hero was inserted in this analysis and in all others for it was not certain what effect the courses offered would have on this concept. It seems to bear some relationship to the other concepts in the group, and may in fact be taken as an indication of how the prisoner conceives himself as Promethean.

In the case of the experimental group Luck and Life are rather farther apart from the major cluster than is the case with the control group. One could speculate that the experimental group subjects are less prone to see luck and life as being an intimate part of the self, but that their selves are as they are because of their own machinations rather than through fate or chance.

Some interesting speculations could be put forth on the manner in which Man, and My Relatives Think I Am are separated in the case of the control group. It could be proposed that the separation is indicative of a process of self derogation and that they conceive of themselves as being less man than is the opinion of their relatives.

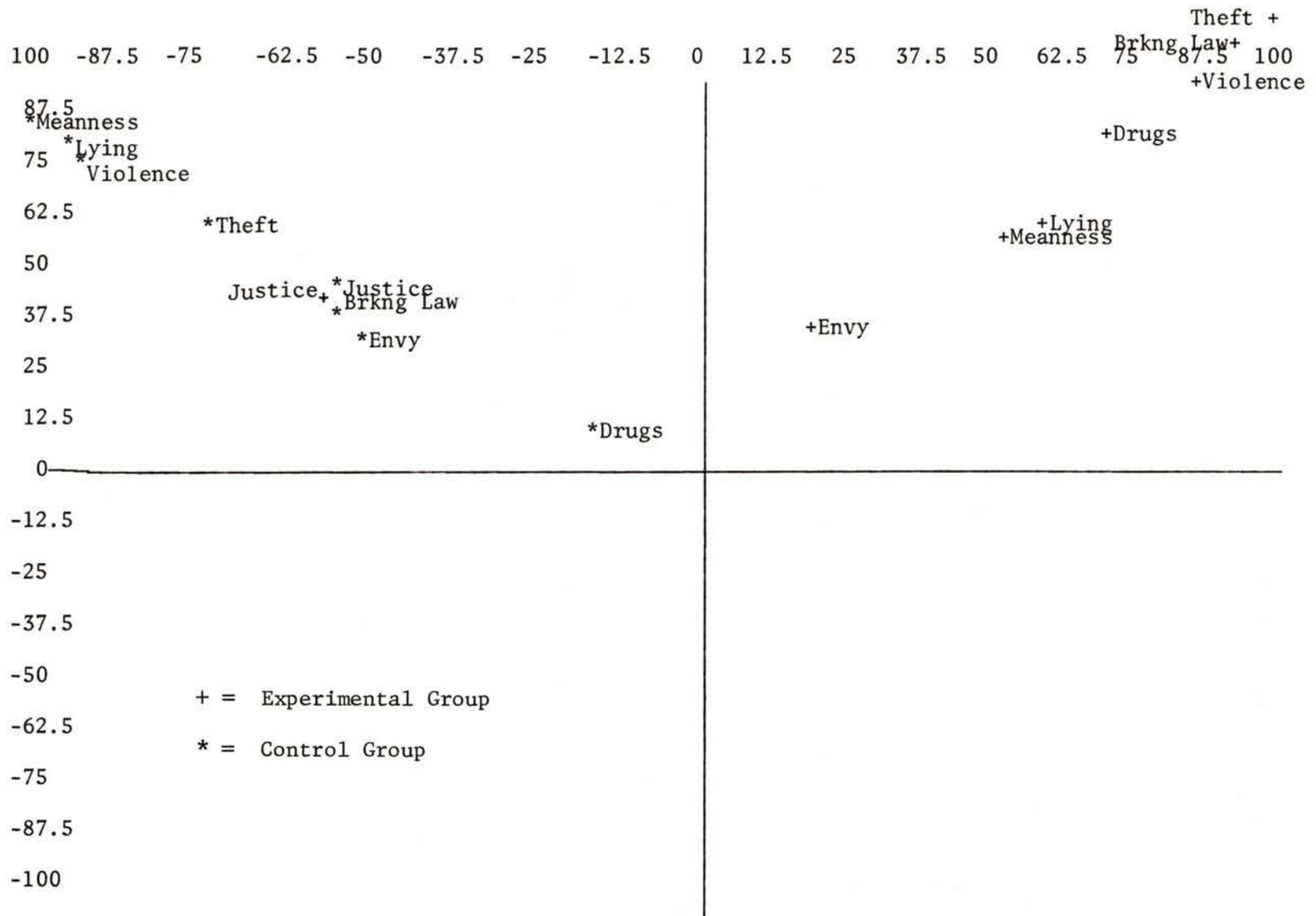


Figure 3

Smallest Space Analysis, Experimental Group vs. Control Group Prisoners, Moral Self, Semantic Differential

The Moral Self

The concepts presumed to measure the moral self are: Theft, Breaking the Law, Drugs, Lying, Envy, Violence, Meanness, and Justice.

In the case of the control group all of the concepts except for Drugs appear closely associated with each other (Figure 3). Drugs seems to stand away from the others as a concept apart. It is not closely associated with what may be called the vices, nor is it associated with the only virtue Justice. Justice it may be observed stands with the vices. For this group justice is associated with crime rather than standing by itself as a pinnacle of civilization.

In the case of the experimental group the extra-legal offences stand apart from the vices. Lying and Meanness are separated as is Envy. Justice is separated from the vices and crimes. There appears to be a clear definition of Justice on the part of this group. If a spectrum of life were taken from good concepts to bad concepts the distribution made by the experimental group would form milestones. There appears to be a gradation from justice at one extreme to theft at the other.

The Social Self

Learning, Work, School, The Staff, and Policeman were the concepts used to evaluate the way in which the subjects evaluated their social self.

As may be seen (Figure 4) the control group associated

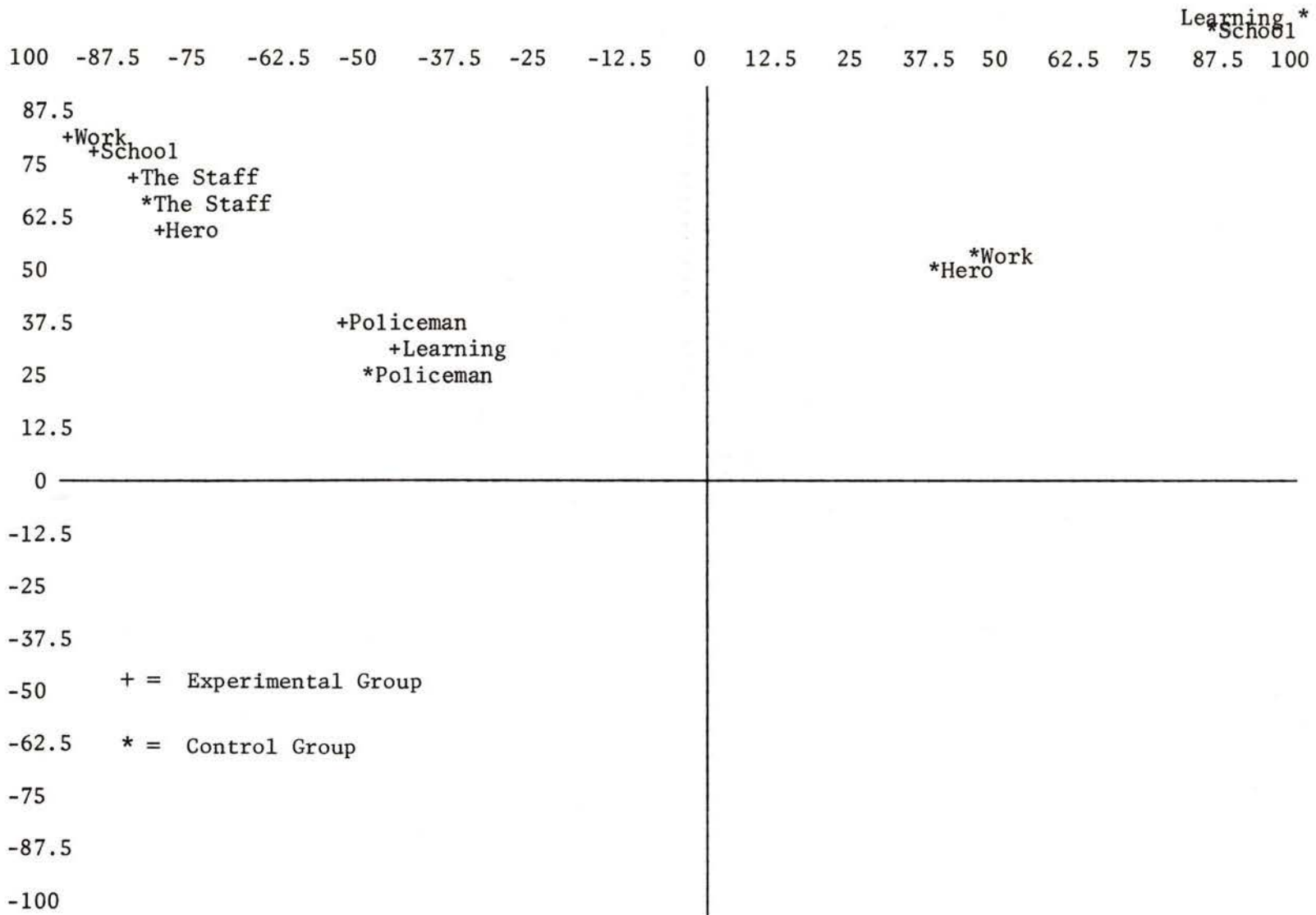


Figure 4

Smallest Space Analysis, Experimental Group vs. Control Group Prisoners, Social Self, Semantic Differential.

School with learning, whereas the experimental group associate it with Work. This is surely a more realistic appraisal of the academic situation, as any graduate student will testify. Of interest is the fact that Staff is also associated with School. The position of Staff for the control group was far different. This difference may indicate that the programme gave the experimental subjects a more realistic and kinder view of the prison staff.

The juxtaposition of Policeman and Learning, in the case of the experimental group is quiet inexplicable.

Hypothesis 6a

The scores attained by the experimental group will not differ from the scores attained by the control group on the Crissman Scale.

This hypothesis was not rejected. There was no statistical difference between the two groups at either pre-test or post-test (Table 7 and 8).

Pre-test and post-test means and standard deviations are given in Table 15 and show that both groups are similar to the groups given in Table 3.

Table 15

Means and Standard Deviations, Pre-test and Post-test, Morality on the Crissman Scale, Experimental Groups & Control Group Prisoners.

Group	Pre-test			Post-test		
	N	\bar{X}	sd	N	\bar{X}	sd
Experimental	16	295.00	71.32	16	297.31	55.69
Control	10	276.80	72.92	10	294.10	62.41

Hypothesis 6b

The scores attained by a group which has received the special educational programme will not differ from the scores attained by groups used as controls who have not received the programme, on the Rest Defining Issues Test.

As discussed in Chapter Four this hypothesis stemmed from a suspected inability of the Crissman Scale to differentiate between criminal groups. The four groups used to test the hypothesis are identified as:

Educated Prisoners.....Maxsec.....N=29
Uneducated Prisoners.....Con.....N=82
Armed Forces Man.....DND.....N=40
Teachers.....ID.....N=32

Means and standard deviations for the four groups are give in Table 16.

Table 16

Means and Standard Deviations, Morality on Rest's Defining Issues Test, Educated Prisoners, Uneducated Prisoners, Armed Forces Men and Teachers

	Groups			
	Maxsex	Con	DND	ID
N	29	82	40	32
\bar{X}	142.68	105.67	89.80	135.46
sd	46.00	46.67	34.89	51.57

The significance of this difference is revealed by the analysis of variance data given in Table 17.

Table 17

Analysis of Variance, Morality on Rest's Defining Issues Test, Educated Prisoners, Uneducated Prisoners, Armed Forces Men and Teachers

Source	ss	df	ms	F	p
Total	428.664	182	-	-	-
Between	63.052	3	21,107.30	10.28	.001
Within	365.632	179	2,042.63	-	-

A comparison of all means using Scheffe's method (Table 18) reveals that the teachers and the prisoners who had received the special correctional education programme did not differ from each other, but differed from the other two groups. Hypothesis 6b was therefore rejected.

Table 18

Scheffe Comparison of Means, Educated Prisoners, Uneducated Prisoners, Armed Forces Men, and Teachers, Morality on Rest's Defining Issues Test

Comparison	F	p
Maxsec vs. Con	14.35	.01
Maxsec vs. DND	23.01	.01
Maxsec vs. ID	.38	-
Con vs. DND	3.31	-
Con vs. ID	19.99	.05
DND vs. ID	18.14	.01

Chapter Six

Discussion and Implications

The Extraversion-Neuroticism Hypothesis

Eysenck's theory that criminals are more neurotically extraverted than others was not supported in this research. Such result as were obtained here are not uncommon in the literature. However, it is indisputable that criminals appear to be "extraverted" and that there are signs of "neuroticism". The two words are used in the lay sense here, rather than in Eysenck's precise sense. Perhaps many people, the writer included, have been sensitized by the theory and unwittingly search for the signs which, according to the theory, should be present. Possibly a certain percentage of the inmates are neurotically extraverted, and more noticeable than the "normal" prisoners. The extraverted inmates are highly visible and may overshadow others, generating a feeling that prisoners are extraverted. A tendency to stereotype on the basis of a few "informed" observations thus arises.

An earlier research by Burgess (1970) in British Columbia Penitentiary failed to show that a group of prisoners was more extraverted than a group of normals. Burgess was only able to substantiate Eysenck's theory by a questionable manipulation of his data.

Cattell's 16 P.F.

The hypothesized changes in 16 P.F. scores on this inventory were not found. However, there may be some interesting reasons for this failure. The original research which provided the basis for such a prediction was carried out in a minimum security institution. In this different setting the subjects had two salient features which were lacking in the present study: (a) They were not likely to escape. (b) If they had escaped they would not have been considered dangerous to the public. On these two dimensions, at least, they formed a homogeneous group. Furthermore, the length of treatment time and amount of interaction with the teacher was greater than in the present study.

In the current study the subjects were different to the subjects used in the original research. They were a more heterogeneous group which included sex offenders, psychopaths, drug addicts, and habitual criminals, as well as the run of the mill thieves and cheque passers. Cattell has given the mean scores for a number of criminal types and these show wide variations on some factors (Table 19). It is possible that the variety of criminal types used in this experiment resulted in a composite group the scores of which appeared normal, and were not subject to consistent observable change.

Table 19

Mean Scores on 16 P.F. Factors for Criminal Types (Cattell's Data)

Types	Factor Means					
	C	G	I	O	Q ₃	Q ₄
Sex Criminals	3.1	4.9	6.5	7.1	5.4	6.6
Psychopaths	5.9	2.5	5.3	5.4	5.2	7.3
Delinquents	5.5	5.3	5.0	5.3	4.8	5.2

The Criminal Personality

Zakolski (1949) in discussing the personality characteristics of delinquent and non-delinquent boys reported that there were no differences between the two groups on the following traits: Self sufficiency, Introversion-extraversion, Dominance-submission, Self confidence, and Sociability.

He further reports that delinquents were found to be more neurotic and less intelligent than non-delinquents. Lower intelligence has not been found to be a characteristic of the penitentiary inmates with whom we have worked. He also typifies the delinquent as a less adequate personality. Although there are inadequate personalities in penitentiaries, it has not been found to be a noticeable trait in penitentiaries. Possibly inadequacy, neuroticism and low intelligence differentiate the delinquent from the criminal as well as from the non-delinquent.

The assumption that was made in the present study, and the assumption that was tested by Zakolski (1953) was that the so-called "objective" inventories capture and systematize reality. As Stott (1963), in discussing the measurement of maladjustment, has pointed out, this is a naive position to hold. The writer has fallen into the same error as many other researchers of assuming that inventories, because of interscorer reliability and such other virtues as are proclaimed for them, constitute a truly "scientific" approach to the measurement of man's behaviours. This was a more unfortunate error on the part of the writer because his initial position was critical of those who had not used objective measures. The fact that inventories are but crude instruments that may not capture reality as well as clinical procedures do was overlooked. Ease of scoring and presumed reliability and validity had overshadowed a realistic appraisal. The writer had forgotten that science gives primacy to observation rather than to artifact. If the researcher has gained anything from this exercise it is that inventories may reveal little about the criminal except that he dissembles. There are also indications that the postulations of Eysenck and Cattell are open to question because of the use of inventories as the primary basis for the classification of behaviour.

The Hidden Figures Test

The findings on this test were significant when viewed in the context of a similar finding in an earlier study at William Head Institution reported above. There was no significant difference between those subjects in the control group who dropped out and those who remained that could account for the results obtained. An examination of the pre-test scores reveals that the mean for the nine who dropped out was 4.9 with a variance of 30.5. The mean for the ten subjects retained was 9.2, variance 35.9. Thus, if anything, the lower scoring subjects dropped out rather than the high scoring subjects. This, no doubt, accounts for a proportion of the increased post-test mean. A 't' test indicated that there was no significant difference between the groups, drop-outs vs retained.

A proportion of the gains may be assigned to learning of the task since the same form was used on both testing occasions, and the control group improved as well. However, the greater gains of the experimental group may be due to the fact that the experimental group subjects were prepared to put more effort into the test, having become accustomed to writing tests during treatment. There are, of course, alternative explanations which could be given for the increased scores, but it is probable that the experimental subjects did become more analytic. Through studying

and analyzing the literary and historical works with which they had to deal, they developed a keener facility for delaying impulse, and an ability to search more diligently for the hidden figures.

The Hidden Figures Test, although presumed to be an index of a facet of personality, may be viewed differently to other personality inventories used in this study. With most personality inventories a subject may fake a low score by deliberately giving an answer which he knows to be incorrect, but he cannot fake a knowledge that he does not have, except by chance. The Hidden Figures Test is more of an achievement test than any of the other tests used in this study except, perhaps, the Defining Issues Test. It may do no more than measure the amount of attention that a subject will give to a matter placed before him, or it may measure a true change in cognitive processes. On two occasions it has discriminated between those who received a special education programme and those who had not. In the original William Head study it also discriminated between those who had received a special correctional education programme and those who had received an upgrading programme.

The significant results obtained on the two occasions when this instrument has been used indicate that the cognitive style of the criminal is a matter worthy of more investigation.

Attitudes to Law, Courts, and Police

Probably the criminal's unfavourable attitudes to law, courts, and police are relatively stable by the time he reaches adulthood. The attitude of the non criminal to the three agencies may be more positive because of limited contact with them. The high scores attained by the subjects who took part in this study may be due to the fact that the criminal reports matters which he knows to be true. Possibly the judiciary and the police are not so incorruptible as law abiding citizens think. The average citizen perceives these agencies favourably because they are part of his protective world, and it would be an uneasy situation if he knew that they were very faulty.

To look for positive changes on this scale then may be to ask the criminal to engage in a cognitive dissonance. Perhaps the scale may be of most value in indicating the extent of involvement with the three social agencies. It may not be a useful device with which to measure change.

The Semantic Differential

This instrument was used in an attempt to measure certain variables which had not been tapped by the pre-tests. Smallest space analyses of the data seem to indicate that the two groups differed from each other at post-treatment. Although the results

obtained are a little ambiguous consideration should be given to using semantic differential scales in further research. The scales and concepts used in this study might provide clues for others who are interested in the effect of correctional education.

Possibly other researchers may be interested in subjecting the data which they obtain to 'd' matrix treatment and then to smallest space analysis, and to smallest space analysis of raw data. Both of these treatments appear promising.

In this research there was no opportunity to devise and test carefully researched response scales and concepts. The scales used may not have adequately covered the semantic space and some of the concepts used may not differentiate between groups. However, the results obtained appear to be very promising.

The Crissman Morality Scale

As reported earlier there are no validity or reliability data available for this instrument, although it has been used in a number of studies. The scale was designed to measure moral judgment and as such serves as an index of norm erosion. Norm erosion is the way in which individuals become involved in non-conforming, deviant, and criminal behaviour. The process of norm erosion, apart from any pathological mental states, is not readily amenable to systematic research in that it may be situational. Quite obviously, in the testing situation in this research, the Crissman

Scale did not give an indication of norm erosion. On the other hand, the scale may have given an indication of how well the criminal is able to see what the norm is.

The Crissman Scale is listed as a suitable diagnostic tool for criminality and delinquency in a new text on criminology by Reckless (1973). This is rather surprising in view of the fact that there are no validity and reliability data available. The present study indicates that it is of questionable value.

Opinions About Social Issues

This questionnaire only became available after the completion of the project proper. However, it appeared to be so promising that it was used on a group considered to be comparable to the experimental group, and to three groups which appeared to be suitable for comparison. The indications are that this may be a very useful tool for the measurement of moral judgment.

The Value of the Experiment

The question could be asked "Why did you proceed after obtaining results which disproved the theory at pre-test?" The answer to this question is that the experiment had a great deal of heuristic value. This type of programme involving external teachers and high level courses had not been tried in the Maximum

Security Setting.

The fact that the Eysenck Inventory, the Crissman Scale, and the Attitudes Scale did not differentiate between criminals and non-criminals was not taken as an occasion for ceasing the experiment. It was felt that it was quite important to find out whether the treatment would have any effect.

There were further benefits from the experiment, not the least of which was the spreading of an efficient method of education from a quite small beginning in one institution to every major penitentiary in Western Canada. It is noted furthermore that this educational system was a good method of control and employment of inmates. The experimental subjects were remarkably free of institutional offences for the duration of the programme. Some of the experimental subjects became leaders of the general inmate body and were able to represent them in constructive ways. By the end of the experiment all but one of the inmate committee members were in the experimental group.

The Problem of Evaluation

Guralnick (1973) has pointed out that conflicts arise when service programmes are submitted to the exigencies of research methods. The conflict stems from the experimental requirement of carefully controlled situations in order to permit

evaluation of cause and effect. Such controlled situations interfere with the efficient performance of service.

Spicker (1971) has asserted that a research component as part of a service programme may lead to practical gains accruing from the involvement of the research staff and detailed planning of the curriculum. The significant benefit in such involvement, according to Light and Smith (1970), is that information as to the most successful features of a programme can be obtained.

Light and Smith have criticized experimental programmes in that success or failure is usually assessed in terms of average gains (or average losses) in comparison to a control group. They point out that a sizable percentage of the subjects can fare more poorly than the controls although the average suggests an effective programme, and offer an alternative approach which they call an exploratory-experimental model. In this model "potentially affective and externally controllable components are identified and then systematically introduced into succeeding generations of programmes". This point is of interest in that it has been suggested that a successful form of education for change has been discovered, but objective instruments to measure the changes are needed.

The previous study indicated that Cattell's 16 P.F. and the Hidden Figures Test were two such instruments. That early

research was the first generation. This research which is under discussion is the second generation. The two instruments used in the first generation were used in the second generation together with other scales and tests. It is now possible to say that the 16 P.F. is a questionable instrument to use for this purpose. The Hidden Figures Test, the semantic differential, and the Opinions About Social Problems (Defining Issues) Test seem to be good instruments. In the next generation these tests may be used again. Eventually a battery of suitable instruments may emerge.

In Guralnick's paper there is a strong suggestion that individual analysis might be the most appropriate method of assessment of educational programmes. One of the associate researchers in this project (J. D. Ayers) made the same suggestion during the incipient planning stage of the research. Ayers' suggestion was that certain responses made by the subjects in open ended interviews might be more meaningful than any of the inventories and scales which were contemplated at the time.

Subjective Responses

The programme was designed to change the life style of the subjects and to change their style of perceiving problems. The tests used did not adequately measure all the changes that were felt to have occurred. Associate researchers in this project had,

however, carried out interviews designed to tap the dimensions which were of interest.

In responses relating to perception of problems, typical statements such as: "We are encouraged to look at both sides now and hash it out"; "there are always two sides to a problem"; "it's helping to understand through Antigone and Henry IV the outlook of people and how they think" were recorded. Fifty-nine percent of the subjects interviewed made responses of this nature.

Some of the subjects made comments which appeared to indicate that they were less egocentric than previously. Such responses as: "I look forward to every day now"; "I have a better understanding of myself through studying the characters"; "I am less concerned with material things than I was" were noted by the interviewers. Thirty-five percent of the experimental subjects interviewed made similar types of statements.

Fifty-five percent of the subjects interviewed stated that they felt more at ease in interviews, and better able to speak to educated people as well as others. Such statements probably indicate not only more confidence but a better self-image.

Other inmates not in the programme were also interviewed in order to get independent opinions. The responses received, among others were: "many men feel they want in, especially the

older ones"; "others think the programme is really doing something". There was some hostility from some of the control group subjects who wanted to be in the programme but were prevented because of the requirements of the experimental design. This is a continuing ethical problem for the researcher operating a beneficial programme, the deprivation of help to those in need.

Administrative staff members who were interviewed also made positive comments about the programme: "one of the few programmes I have ever seen that has any real effect on inmates"; "the counsellors are enthusiastic about it".

As yet it is too early to assess the programme's effect on recidivism, but early results look promising. Four of the six inmates released locally are known to be enjoying successful re-entry into society. Three of these have visited the writer this month (March 1974). Ex-inmates, it might be said, do not as a general rule visit prison administrators after release if they can avoid doing so. In the last two years the writer has had only four visits to his office by ex-inmates. All of them were experimental subjects in this project.

Charles C., a Cree metis who had not been out of an institution longer than two months in the ten years preceding his entry into the programme, is now in his sixteenth month of freedom. He is employed, married, and reports that he is successful and happy.

He was a bitter and hostile young man on entry to the programme. Most of his sentences were for crimes of violence committed whilst drinking.

Mike W., a former drug addict with a ten capsules per day habit before the last sentence, and who used heroin even whilst in prison, before the programme, is now in his thirteenth month of freedom. This is the longest period of time that he has ever been out of prison, and the first time in eight years that he has been off heroin. He is employed as an employment counsellor for ex-inmates and is free of any drug use. He has problems but reports that he is able to adjust to them. He has appeared on television twice to discuss the benefits which he derived from the programme.

Ron H. has been on the street for eight months and reports that "he has got it all together". He is working in the Yukon and says that he can do it because he now likes to read and think rather than "hustling a score".

It appears so far that although the various tests and inventories that were used gave inconclusive or negative results that the programme had many positive effects, according to the interview data and other spontaneous positive comments. This apparent conflict of the two kinds of evidence may have several explanations. An object servility to the rationale of instruments of precise metrication might lead one to reject the verbal

comments of both inmates and staff and the other unplanned results. as merely the figments of the subjective imagination of wishful thinkers. On the other hand, the conflict of the two kinds of evidence, may be due to the lack of sensitivity or even the invalidity of the "objective" inventory measures. Certainly the latter explanation should be considered by future researchers in this field.

In the interests of obtaining better objective type measures in the future, it is suggested that the Hidden Figures Test, the semantic differential scales, and the Rest Defining Issues Test should form a core for further evaluation. It is also suggested that some method of assessing the development of socialization and sociability should be developed. The assessment of socialization and sociability does not necessarily call for inventories or scales. It is possible that such measurements would be as fruitless as the attempt to measure personality in this research. It is suggested that the appropriate method of assessment may be through unobtrusive measures or by methods used by the supporters of behaviour modification.

Recently an attempt was made by the writer to arrive at such behavioural methods through a modification of the Bristol Social Adjustment Scale in a reception centre. The initial results appeared promising, but the attempt had to be shelved for

lack of staff and space.

Usually educational studies deal directly with method and research is concerned with achievement. In such cases measurement can be objective. When the measurement required is related to personality, attitude and adjustment variables the matter becomes more difficult. Especially is this so when it is desired to experiment with curriculum. In such cases it is possible that the methods used by the proponents of behaviour modification may be of value.

It is possible that the assessment of such a programme as has been proposed in this study must rely on post sentence behaviors coupled with such observations as may be made in the restricted setting of the prison wherein natural behaviours are contaminated. In spite of the difficulties, however, intermediate measures should be sought in order that day to day modifications can be made to programmes.

Quite clearly a university level course is not suitable for a good many prisoners. Therefore academic education at appropriate levels for average ability should be investigated. The indications are that academic education in the form of bibliotherapy should be attempted even if simplified texts must be used.

In this study quite definite models were presented for the

teachers to use in their approach to the inmate. The necessity for a theoretical basis for correctional education is held to be most important. However, no matter what theory is put forward, and no matter what curriculum is devised, without an excellent teacher all is reduced to ineffectiveness.

Limitations of the Study

Certain limitations have been mentioned as they arose in this paper as explanations of variations in the original plan, but the major limitations are spelled out here below as a recapitulation of the difficulties encountered.

It is reiterated that this piece of research may most properly be considered as a pilot study of some size. It was originally thought, before the study was started, that a fairly generalizable plan of education might emerge. It rapidly became apparent that such generalization would not be forthcoming for a number of reasons.

The Setting

The setting in which the study took place was much more forbidding than was at first thought. The British Columbia Penitentiary is one of the old fortress type prisons, built in the late 1800's at which time little emphasis was placed on rehabilit-

ation or training. Thus the design of the facility was rather for security and living space than for treatment areas. All such areas were added as afterthoughts from time to time since 1900 in response to various recommendations from commissions and boards of inquiry. The training areas may thus be thought of as emergency measures erected or contrived as called for. The schoolrooms would serve as models for Cruikshank's engravings for Dotheboys Hall, and facilities for private study are at the best primitive.

Coupled with these poor facilities was the oppressive atmosphere of the prison, and the daily conflict between the interests of the security staff, the needs of the inmates and the desires of the treatment staff. There was in addition the difficulty that the project called for the subjects to be static and unavailable for transfer to lesser security or out of the province to other security settings. The prison was badly overcrowded and throughout the course of the experiment the prison was seething with an unrest that culminated a year later in a minor riot.

The Subjects

Before the project commenced, negotiations had taken place with the National Parole Board and the National Parole Service to have the subjects of both the experimental and control groups paroled at the end of the experiment. This was to enable a follow

up of the subjects to be made so that the effect of the educational project could be observed in a normal setting. It was understood that such paroles would be granted and such information was conveyed to the prisoners. The volunteers, then, were volunteering for two reasons (a) to gain an education, and (b) to gain a parole. One might say then that motivation for education was not the principal reason for enrolling in the programme.

Because of the parole contingency, a limited segment of the population was available for the study; those prisoners eligible for parole within a short period after the date of completion of the course of studies. Thus the available number of inmates was less than fifty, a proportion of which had to be rejected as not having sufficient intelligence, or unavailable because of the necessity of protection from other inmates, or lacking fluency in the English language.

An additional difficulty arose after the commencement of the course in that the National Parole Board withdrew the agreement which they had verbally made about parole. Thus there was little incentive for the control group subjects to write the post-tests. Furthermore the experimenter lost credibility with the experimental group and was accused by the subjects of "laying a trip on them" in their parlance. It is remarkable that there were only two drop-outs from the original eighteen experimental subjects even though the

main perceived benefit, a parole, had been withdrawn. It is unusual in any penitentiary training course to finish up with more than fifty percent of the original trainees in a course of longer than a few weeks duration.

Number of Subjects

Many of the difficulties in measurement and loss of subjects would have been minimized had the experiment started with a greater number of subjects. More subjects and more teachers would have allowed for specialization in subject field and for greater interaction. The amount of funding and the initial requirement of parole eligibility militated against larger numbers in both groups. At the present time, April 1974, there are a larger number of students in the ongoing programme, but tight experimental control has not been gained for other reasons.

Duration of Programme

The compression of four full university courses into five months placed a heavy load on both students and teachers. There is no doubt an optimum period of time and an optimum number of courses which should be aimed for. In this study it was not possible to find the balance between length of time and high demand characteristics. This is an area which warrants investigation.

General Limitations

There were a great many anxieties for the researcher and, more important, for the subjects of the study from the beginning. Not the least of these anxieties was that which arose from the fact that it was not possible at the beginning of the study to find an educational institution willing to recognize and certify the course offerings.

As a general rule college and university courses are not offered as vehicles for affecting personality as well as academic achievement. In the case of this experiment the requirements were somewhat different. A deliberate attempt was being made to include materials which would be of use in bringing about moral development and attitude change. Whether the material would provide a basis for further studies or, for example, would provide a basis for the teaching of poetics and construction of literary works was of secondary interest.

Generally the institutions approached did not seem ready to accept that there were other aspects of education for credit than the academic. Finally an agreement was reached with Douglas College, New Westminster, for accreditation of the English and History courses. The University of Victoria undertook to arrange a form of credit for the psychology and sociology courses.

A general limitation for projects of this type is that they are only workable provided a satisfactory arrangement can be made for accreditation. It is felt that the courses must carry credit if they are to satisfy some aspects of the rationale and theory proposed earlier.

A further general limitation is that this project was carried out in a maximum security penitentiary in which there is very little extraneous and competing stimulation. It is possible that the subjects had little to occupy their minds or distract them from the course material. In another situation neither the academic results nor the attitudinal differences may occur.

Conclusion

Four questions were asked on page eight of this study. It might be of some value to review those questions at this time.

- (a) Does the educational programme have an effect on the scores attained on a test of dimensions of attitude?

To this question the answer can only be equivocal. Statistically the programme had no effect, yet smallest space analysis indicated that it may have some effect. The subjective reports of the subjects and others also indicate that there was an effect on attitudes.

- (b) Does education have an effect on the scores obtained on a test of moral development?

Again the response is equivocal. It had no effect on the scores on the Crissman Scale. It seemed to show a highly significant effect on the Defining Issues Test. The group which had been educated appeared to be as morally advanced as the teachers.

- (c) Does education have an effect on the scores obtained on a personality factor test?

Here the answer is unequivocal. It does not.

- (d) Does education have an effect on the scores obtained on a test of cognitive style?

The answer is quite clearly that it does.

It is important to remember that this study was not a laboratory experiment but a research and development attempt to resolve an important issue. The writer as a correctional educator has a bias towards thinking that correctional education is much more important as a method of attaining rehabilitation than for giving the subject skills with which to obtain employment.

For these other reasons this work is presented to others in the hope that they will assist in clarifying what it is that education does to the prisoner.

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Appendix A

SYLLABUS - ENGLISH COURSE

Drama:

The Antigone.	Sophocles trans. G. Murray
Henry IV (pt 1).	Shakespeare
School for Scandal.	Sheridan
St. Joan.	Shaw

Poetry

Hardy:

The Darkling Thrush
For Life I Never Had Cared Greatly
An Ancient To Ancients
In Tenebris II

Hopkins:

God's Grandeur
Pied Beauty
Spring
Spring and Fall: To a Young Child
Thou Art Indeed Just Lord, If I Contend

Dickinson:

I Had Been Hungry
Much Madness
Tell All The Truth

Housman:

The Night Is Freezing Fast
Tell Me Not Here, It Needs Not Saying
Is My Team Ploughing
To An Athlete Dying Young
Terence, This Is Stupid Stuff

Yeats:

The Second Coming
When You Are Old
A Prayer For My Daughter
Under Ben Bulbin

Jeffers:

Promise Of Peace
Black-Out

Eliot:

The Hollow Men
Preludes
Chorus From The Rock

Owen:

Anthem For Doomed Youth
Strange Meeting
Dulce et Decorum Est

Day Lewis:

The Conflict

Auden:

Musee des Beaux Arts

In Memory of W. B. Yeats

As I Walked Out One Evening

Rodgers:

White Christmas

Barker:

Sonnet To My Mother

And Now There Is Nothing Left

Thomas:

And Death Shall Have No Dominion

Fern Hill

The Hand That Signed The Paper Felled The City

Sitwell:

Still Falls The Rain

Fearing:

Dirge

White:

I Paint What I See

Betjeman:

In Westminster Abbey

Short Stories

Youth

Conrad

The Apple Tree

Galsworthy

<u>Arabesque</u>	Coppard
<u>The Celestial Omnibus</u>	Forster
<u>A Little Cloud</u>	Joyce
<u>The New Dress</u>	Woolf
<u>The Rocking Horse Winner</u>	Lawrence
<u>The Daughters of The Late Colonel</u>	Mansfield
<u>The Desert Islander</u>	Benson
<u>The Claxtons</u>	Huxley
<u>Mr. Arcularis</u>	Aiken
<u>Maria Concepcion</u>	Porter
<u>The Bear</u>	Faulkner
<u>Flight</u>	Steinbeck

SYLLABUS - HISTORY COURSE

Nationalism, Imperialism and Mercantilism
1890 - 1900

The Moroccan Crises

The Balkan Wars and Sarajevo

The First World War

The League of Nations

The Rise of Communist Russia

Nazi Germany

U.S. Politics in the Inter-War Years

The Breaking of the League

The Second World War

The Aftermath

Text Chambers This Age of Conflict

APPENDIX B

OPINIONS ABOUT SOCIAL PROBLEMS

This questionnaire is aimed at understanding how people think about social problems. Different people often have different opinions about questions of right and wrong. There are no "right" answers in the way that there are right answers to match problems. We would like you to tell us what you think about several problem stories. The papers will be fed to a computer to find the average for the whole group, and no one will see your individual answers.

Please give us the following information:

Name _____ female

Age _____ Class and period _____ male

School _____

* * * * *

In this questionnaire you will be asked to give your opinions about several stories. Here is a story as an example. Read it, then turn to the next page.

Frank Jones has been thinking about buying a car. He is married, has two small children and earns an average income. The car he buys will be his family's only car. It will be used mostly to get to work and drive around town, but sometimes for vacation trips also. In trying to decide what car to buy, Frank Jones realized that there were a lot of questions to consider. On the next page there is a list of some of these questions.

If you were Frank Jones, how important would each of these questions be in deciding what car to buy?

PART A. (SAMPLE)

On the left hand side of the page check one of the spaces by each question that could be considered.

GREAT Importance	MUCH Importance	SOME Importance	LITTLE Importance	NO Importance	
—	—	—	—	—	1. Whether the car dealer was in the same block as where Frank lives.
—	—	—	—	—	2. Would a <u>used</u> car be more economical in the long run than a <u>new</u> car.
—	—	—	—	—	3. Whether the colour was green, Frank's favourite colour.
—	—	—	—	—	4. Whether the cubic inch displacement was at least 200.
—	—	—	—	—	5. Would a large, roomy car be better than a compact car.
—	—	—	—	—	6. Whether the front connibilities were differential.

PART B. (SAMPLE)

From the list of questions above, select the most important one of the whole group. Put the number of the most important question on the top line below. Do likewise for your 2nd, 3rd, and 4th most important choices.

Most important	<u>5</u>
Second most important	<u>2</u>
Third most important	<u>3</u>
Fourth most important	<u>1</u>

HEINZ AND THE DRUG

In Europe a woman was near death from a special kind of cancer. There was one drug that the doctors thought might save her. It was a form of radium that a druggist in the same town had recently discovered. The drug was expensive to make, but the druggist was charging ten times what the drug cost to make. He paid \$200 for the radium and charged \$2000 for a small dose of the drug. The sick woman's husband, Heinz, went to everyone he knew to borrow the money, but he could only get together about \$1000, which is half of what it cost. He told the druggist that his wife was dying, and asked him to sell it cheaper or let him pay later. But the druggist said, "No, I discovered the drug and I'm going to make money from it." So Heinz got desperate and began to think about breaking into the man's store to steal the drug for his wife.

Should Heinz steal the drug? (Check one)

Should steal it

Can't decide

Should not steal it

HEINZ STORY

GREAT Importance
MUCH Importance
SOME Importance
LITTLE Importance
NO Importance

On the left hand side of the page
check one of the spaces by each
question to indicate its
importance.

- | | |
|-------|--|
| _____ | 1. Whether a community's laws are going to be upheld. |
| _____ | 2. Isn't it only natural for a loving husband to care so much for his wife that he'd steal? |
| _____ | 3. Is Heinz willing to risk getting shot as a burglar or going to jail for the chance that stealing the drug might help? |
| _____ | 4. Whether Heinz is a professional wrestler, or has considerable influence with professional wrestlers. |
| _____ | 5. Whether Heinz is stealing for himself or doing this solely to help someone else. |
| _____ | 6. Whether the druggist's rights to his invention have to be respected. |
| _____ | 7. Whether the essence of living is more encompassing than the termination of dying, socially and individually. |
| _____ | 8. What values are going to be the basis for governing how people act towards each other. |
| _____ | 9. Whether the druggist is going to be allowed to hide behind a worthless law which only protects the rich anyhow. |
| _____ | 10. Whether the law in this case is getting in the way of the most basic claim of any member of society. |
| _____ | 11. Whether the druggist deserves to be robbed for being so greedy and cruel. |
| _____ | 12. Would stealing in such a case bring about more total good for the whole society or not. |

From the list of questions above, select the four most important:

Most important _____
Second most important _____
Third most important _____
Fourth most important _____

STUDENT TAKE-OVER

At Harvard University a group of students, called the Student's for a Democratic Society (SDS), believe that the University should not have an army ROTC programme. SDS students are against the war in Viet Nam, and the army training programme helps send men to fight in Viet Nam. The SDS students demanded that Harvard end the army ROTC training programme as a university course. This would mean that Harvard students could not get army training as part of their regular course work and not get credit for it towards their degrees.

Agreeing with the SDS students, the Harvard professors voted to end the ROTC programme as a university course. But the President of the University stated that he wanted to keep the army programme on campus as a course. The SDS students felt that the President was not going to pay attention to the faculty vote or to their demands.

So, one day last April, two hundred SDS students walked into the university's administration building, and told everyone else to get out. They said they were doing this to force Harvard to get rid of the army training programme as a course.

Should the students have taken over the administration building?
(Check one)

Yes, they should take it over

Can't decide

No, they should not take it over

STUDENT TAKE-OVER

GREAT Importance
MUCH Importance
SOME Importance
LITTLE Importance
NO Importance

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--|
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 1. Are the students doing this to really help other people or are they doing it just for kicks? |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 2. Do the students have any right to take over property that doesn't belong to them? |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 3. Do the students realize that they might be arrested and fined, and even expelled from school? |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 4. Would taking over the building in the long run benefit more people to a greater extent? |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 5. Whether the President stayed within the limits of his authority in ignoring the faculty vote. |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 6. Will the take-over anger the public and give all students a bad name? |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 7. Is taking over a building consistent with principles of justice? |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 8. Would allowing one student take-over encourage many other student take-overs? |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 9. Did the President bring this misunderstanding on himself by being so unreasonable and uncooperative? |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 10. Whether running the university ought to be in the hands of a few administrators or in the hands of all the people. |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 11. Are the students following principles which they believe are above the law? |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 12. Whether or not university decisions ought to be respected by students. |

From the list of questions above, select the four most important:

Most Important Third most important
Second Most Important Fourth most important

ESCAPED PRISONER

A man had been sentenced to prison for 10 years. After one year, however, he escaped from prison, moved to a new area of the country, and took on the name of Thompson. For 8 years he worked hard, and gradually he saved enough money to buy his own business. He was fair to his customers, gave his employees top wages, and gave most of his own profits to charity. Then one day Mrs. Jones, an old neighbour, recognized him as the man who had escaped from prison 8 years before, and whom the police had been looking for.

Should Mrs. Jones report Mr. Thompson to the police and have him sent back to prison? (Check one)

_____ Should report him

_____ Can't decide

_____ Should not report him

ESCAPED PRISONER

GREAT Importance	MUCH Importance	SOME Importance	LITTLE Importance	NO Importance	
___	___	___	___	___	1. Hasn't Mr. Thompson been good enough for such a long time to prove he isn't a bad person?
___	___	___	___	___	2. Everytime someone escapes punishment for a crime, doesn't that just encourage more crime?
___	___	___	___	___	3. Wouldn't we be better off without prisons and the oppression of our legal system?
___	___	___	___	___	4. Has Mr. Thompson really paid his debt to society?
___	___	___	___	___	5. Would society be failing what Mr. Thompson should fairly expect?
___	___	___	___	___	6. What benefits would prisons be apart from society, especially for a charitable man?
___	___	___	___	___	7. How could anyone be so cruel and heartless as to send Mr. Thompson to prison?
___	___	___	___	___	8. Would it be fair to all the prisoners who had to serve out their full sentence if Mr. Thompson was let off?
___	___	___	___	___	9. Was Mrs. Jones a good friend of Mr. Thompson?
___	___	___	___	___	10. Wouldn't it be a citizen's duty to report an escaped criminal, regardless of the circumstances?
___	___	___	___	___	11. How would the will of the people and the public good best be served?
___	___	___	___	___	12. Would going to prison do any good for Mr. Thompson or protect anybody?

From the list of questions above, select the four most important:

- Most important _____
- Second most important _____
- Third most important _____
- Fourth most important _____

THE DOCTOR'S DILEMMA

A lady was dying of cancer which could not be cured and she had only about six months to live. She was in terrible pain, but she was so weak that a good dose of pain-killer like morphine would make her die sooner. She was delirious and almost crazy with pain, and in her calm periods, she would ask the doctor to give her enough morphine to kill her. She said she couldn't stand the pain and that she was going to die in a few months anyway.

What should the doctor do? (Check one)

- Should give the lady an overdose that will make her die
- Can't decide
- Should not give the overdose

GREAT Importance
MUCH Importance
SOME Importance
LITTLE Importance
NO Importance

DOCTOR

- | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| — | — | — | — | — | 1. Whether the woman's family is in favour of giving her the overdose or not. |
| — | — | — | — | — | 2. Is the doctor obligated by the same laws as everybody else if giving an overdose would be the same as killing her? |
| — | — | — | — | — | 3. Whether people would be much better off without society regimenting their lives and even their deaths. |
| — | — | — | — | — | 4. Whether the doctor could make it appear like an accident. |
| — | — | — | — | — | 5. Does the state have the right to force continued existence on those who don't want to live? |
| — | — | — | — | — | 6. What is the value of death prior to society's perspective on personal values? |
| — | — | — | — | — | 7. Whether the doctor has sympathy for the woman's suffering or cares more about what society might think. |
| — | — | — | — | — | 8. Is helping to end another's life ever a responsible act of cooperation? |
| — | — | — | — | — | 9. Whether only God should decide when a person's life should end. |
| — | — | — | — | — | 10. What values the doctor has set for himself in his own personal code of behaviour. |
| — | — | — | — | — | 11. Can society afford to let everybody end their lives when they want to. |
| — | — | — | — | — | 12. Can society allow suicides or mercy killing and still protect the lives of individuals who want to live. |

From the list of questions above, select the four most important:

- Most important _____
Second most important _____
Third most important _____
Fourth most important _____

WEBSTER

Mr. Webster was the owner and manager of a gas station. He wanted to hire another mechanic to help him, but good mechanics were hard to find. The only person he found who seemed to be a good mechanic was Mr. Lee, but he was Chinese. While Mr. Webster himself didn't have anything against orientals, he was afraid to hire Mr. Lee because many of his customers didn't like orientals. His customers might take their business elsewhere if Mr. Lee was working in the gas station.

When Mr. Lee asked Mr. Webster if he could have the job, Mr. Webster said that he had already hired somebody else. But Mr. Webster really had not hired anybody because he could not find anybody who was a good mechanic besides Mr. Lee.

What should Mr. Webster have done? (Check one)

- Should have hired Mr. Lee
- Can't decide
- Should not have hired him

GREAT Importance
MUCH Importance
SOME Importance
LITTLE Importance
NO Importance

WEBSTER

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--|
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 1. Does the owner of a business have the right to make his own business decisions or not? |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 2. Whether there is a law that forbids racial discrimination in hiring for jobs. |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 3. Whether Mr. Webster is prejudiced against orientals himself or whether he means nothing personal in refusing the job. |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 4. Whether hiring a good mechanic or paying attention to his customers' wishes would be best for his business. |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 5. What individual differences ought to be relevant in deciding how society's roles are filled. |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 6. Whether the greedy and competitive capitalistic system ought to be completely abandoned. |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 7. Do a majority of people in Mr. Webster's society feel like his customers or are a majority against prejudice? |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 8. Whether hiring capable men like Mr. Lee would use talents that would otherwise be lost to society. |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 9. Would refusing the job to Mr. Lee be consistent with Mr. Webster's own moral beliefs? |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 10. Could Mr. Webster be so hard-hearted as to refuse the job, knowing how much it means to Mr. Lee? |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 11. Whether the Christian commandment to love your fellow man applies to this case. |
| ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | 12. If someone's in need, shouldn't he be helped regardless of what you get back from him? |

From the list of questions above, select the four most important:

Most important _____
Second most important _____
Third most important _____
Fourth most important _____

NEWSPAPER

Fred, a senior in high school, wanted to publish a mimeographed newspaper for students so that he could express many of his opinions. He wanted to speak out against the war in Viet Nam and to speak out against some of the school's rules, like the rule forbidding boys to wear long hair.

When Fred was starting his newspaper, he asked his Principal for permission. The Principal said it would be all right if before every publication Fred would turn in all his articles for the Principal's approval. Fred agreed and turned in several articles for approval. The Principal approved all of them and Fred published two issues of the paper in the next two weeks.

But the Principal had not expected that Fred's newspaper would receive so much attention. Students were so excited by the paper that they began to organize protests against the hair regulation and other school rules. Angry parents objected to Fred's opinions. They phoned the Principal telling him that the newspaper was unpatriotic and should not be published. As a result of the rising excitement, the Principal ordered Fred to stop publishing. He gave as a reason that Fred's activities were disruptive to the operation of the school.

Should the Principal stop the newspaper? (Check one)

- Should stop it
- Can't decide
- Should not stop it

GREAT Importance
MUCH Importance
SOME Importance
LITTLE Importance
NO Importance

NEWSPAPER

- | | | |
|-------|-----|---|
| _____ | 1. | Is the Principal more responsible to students or to parents? |
| _____ | 2. | Did the Principal give his word that the newspaper could be published for a long time, or did he just promise to approve the newspaper one issue at a time? |
| _____ | 3. | Would the students start protesting even more if the Principal stopped the newspaper? |
| _____ | 4. | When the welfare of the school is threatened, does the Principal have the right to give order to students? |
| _____ | 5. | Does the Principal have the freedom of speech to say "no" in this case? |
| _____ | 6. | If the Principal stopped the newspaper would he be preventing full discussion of important problems? |
| _____ | 7. | Whether the Principal's order would make Fred lose faith in the Principal. |
| _____ | 8. | Whether Fred was really loyal to his school and patriotic to his country. |
| _____ | 9. | What effect would stopping the paper have on the students' education in critical thinking and judgment? |
| _____ | 10. | Whether Fred was in any way violating the rights of others in publishing his own opinions. |
| _____ | 11. | Whether the Principal should be influenced by some angry parents when it is the Principal that knows best what is going on in the school? |
| _____ | 12. | Whether Fred was using the newspaper to stir up hatred and discontent. |

From the list of questions above, select the four most important:

Most important _____
Second most important _____
Third most important _____
Fourth most important _____

NAME _____

SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL TEST - OSGOOD TYPE

Instructions

The purpose of this study is to measure the meanings of certain things to various people by having them judge them against a series of descriptive scales. In taking this test please make your judgments on the basis of what these things mean to you. On each page of this booklet you will find a different concept to be judged and beneath it a set of scales. You are to rate the concept in each of the scales in order.

Here is how to use the scales:

If you feel the concept at the top of the page is very closely related to one end of the scale, you should place your tick as follows:

Strong: / : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : Weak

or

Strong: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : / : Weak

If you feel that the concept is quite closely related to one or the other end of the scale (but not extremely) you should place your tick as follows:

Active: _ : / : _ : _ : _ : _ : Passive

or

Active: _ : _ : _ : _ : / : _ : Passive

If the concept seems only slightly related to one side as opposed to the other (but is not really neutral) you should place your tick as follows:

Good: ___:___: / :___:___:___:___: Bad

or

Good: ___:___:___:___: / :___:___: Bad

The direction towards which you tick, of course, depends upon which of the two ends of the scale seems most characteristic of the thing you are judging.

If you consider the concept to be neutral on the scale, both sides of the scale to be equally associated with the concept or if the scale is completely irrelevant or unrelated to the concept, then place your tick in the middle space:

Fair: ___:___:___: / :___:___:___: Unfair

Important

- (1) Place your tick in the middle of the space: e.g. : / :
- (2) Be sure you tick every scale for every concept - Do not omit any.
- (3) Never put more than one tick on a single scale.

LIFE

Happy	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	Sad
Ugly	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	Beautiful
Clean	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	Dirty
Dishonest	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	Honest
Good	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	Bad
Pleasant	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	Unpleasant
Worthless	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	Valuable
Fair	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	Unfair
Straight	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	Crooked
Sick	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	Healthy
Active	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	Passive
Dull	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	Sharp
Hot	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	Cold
Light	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	Heavy
Deep	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	Shallow
Successful	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	Unsuccessful
Soft	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	Hard
Strong	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	Weak
Boring	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	Interesting

VITA

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Place of Birth: KING'S LYNN, ENGLAND Date of Birth: 26 MARCH 1924

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PARLETT, T.A.A. and AYERS, J. D. **THE MODIFICATION OF CRIMINAL
PERSONALITY THROUGH MASSED LEARNING BY PROGRAMMED INSTRUCTION.**
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Author:



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July 26, 1974
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