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INTERNAL-EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL AND IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT
AMONG INMATES OF THE MONTANA STATE PRISON

by

William Dee Woolston

B.S., Montana State University, 1970

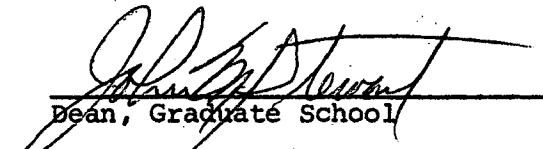
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for the degree of
Master of Arts


UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA

1973

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It has recently been demonstrated by a number of researchers (e.g., Braginsky and Braginsky, 1967) that patients in psychiatric hospitals are capable of serving their own motivational needs by the skillful display of both "sick" and "healthy" behavior to hospital staff members. Furthermore, they have shown that the goals pursued by the patients are often quite reasonable. Although one might not seriously propose that all deviant behavior displayed in hospitals be considered to be manipulative expressions of individuals bent on influencing the staff's treatment of them, it might be well to examine the breadth and character of this determinant of displayed deviancy. It seems reasonable at this point to assume that there exist individual differences in the degree to which institutionalized persons will attempt to actively manage the impression that they make on those evaluating them.

That institutionalized psychiatric patients have demonstrated themselves to be effective impression managers might be somewhat surprising and unexpected. If prison inmates, however, were also shown to be adept at manipulating the judgments of others, few would be amazed at the finding. The convict is notorious for being manipulative, and every new employee in a correctional institution is warned against being "conned"

(manipulated) by a skillful inmate. However, little attention has been directed to the wide variety of goals for which impression management might be instrumental in a prison situation, and consequently, the recognition of "conning" has generally been limited to the devious presentation of a guiltless and normal impression. Doubtless, there is much deviancy within prison walls that also serves, as it does in psychiatric hospitals, to influence the judgment of the correctional employee for the inmate's purposes. In spite of the folk-lore that has come to surround inmates, in general, it is also probable that inmates vary a great deal with regard to their skill in impression management and the degree to which they rely on it to serve their purposes. Certainly the understanding of institutional behavior would be well served for the prison as well as for the hospital if the determinants of this individual variation in impression management could be identified.

One personality measure that has consistently been effective in identifying individuals who are likely to make active attempts to control their environment is the Internal-External Locus of Control (I-E) scale developed by J. B. Rotter (1966). This instrument was developed to explore the notion to be explained more fully below that individuals maintain different expectancies regarding their ability to control the reinforcing properties of their environment. It follows that the individual who believes himself to be capable of influencing his environment will be much more inclined to attempt such influence than one who does not believe himself to have such a capability. The I-E scale is designed to estimate the degree to which an individual believes he is capable of controlling his own reinforcements.

The purpose of this study was to examine the impression management techniques of prison inmates with regard both to "healthy" and to "sick" behavior and to examine the degree to which variation in the use of impression management techniques can be accounted for by the internal-external locus of control variable.

Impression Management

Behavior has traditionally been viewed as the expression of broad predispositions which are characteristic of the person, which are relatively stable over a long period, and which are independent of stimulus conditions (Mischel, 1968). Deviant behavior, in this "medical" model, is caused by pathological conditions within the deviant individual. Alternatively, it is possible to focus on situational variables which may account for a large proportion of human behavior, both in its consistency and variety. Given this "behavioral" model, one searches for the sources of deviant behavior, not in the unseen, qualitative differences among men, but, rather, in the characteristics of their environment. This shift in focus has engendered research which has attempted to understand unusual behavior as it is expressed by more or less ordinary men who find themselves in unusual circumstances. This approach presupposes that abnormal behavior is initiated and maintained by the same principles as is normal behavior and that, in some circumstances, behavior that might be labeled deviant can be shown to serve the "abnormal" person's purposes quite effectively.

Braginsky, Braginsky, and Ring (1969) in their studies on the use of manipulative behavioral displays by institutionalized persons chose

to employ Goffman's (1959) term "impression management".

By this term Goffman means only that we can and generally do manage our expressive behavior so as to control the impressions that others form of us. Through selective disclosure of some information (it may be false information) consistent with the character we mean to sustain for the purpose of an interaction, coupled with suppression of information incompatible with that projection of self, we establish a certain definition of ourselves that we attempt to maintain throughout the interaction episode (Braginsky et al., 1969, p. 51).

They proposed that the psychiatric patient because of his situation is dependent on others for reinforcement and is prevented from openly and directly soliciting these reinforcements. Consequently, their situation demands that they indirectly influence those in power to bestow on them the goods, services, and freedoms that meet their motivational needs. Braginsky et al. (1969) recognized that impression management could not be studied apart from an understanding of the motivations that prompted this application of patient power. Their experience led them to hypothesize that the majority of mental patients were motivated to remain in the hospital and to enjoy life there as much as possible. To test this hypothesis, several studies were designed. Braginsky, Holzberg, Finison, and Ring (1967) administered a 24-item Hospital Information Test and a 100-item Opinions about Mental Illness Scale to 206 randomly selected mental hospital patients. The responses to the Hospital Information Test, which was composed of questions regarding names and office locations of important hospital staff and the locations of different buildings on the Hospital grounds, were factor analyzed and yielded two orthogonal factors termed the Residential factor and the Hospital Staff factor. The authors hypothesized that the patients would

have selectively learned more about some kinds of information, that the type of information that they acquired would be associated with particular attitudes toward mental illness and hospitalization, and that their selective acquisition of information would also be related to the length of time they had been hospitalized. From their examination of percentages of patients correctly answering items from each factor the authors concluded:

Patients, in general, selectively acquire more information about the recreational and hedonic aspects of the hospital than about the formal therapeutic aspects.

They found, for example, that 82% of the patients sample knew the location of the hospital bowling alley, but only 48% knew the name of their own psychiatrist.

With regard to their second hypothesis, the authors discovered that, on the basis of the Opinions about Mental Illness Scale, the individuals who had a Residential orientation tended to endorse items that externalized the cause and responsibility for mental illness. In effect, these items promoted the idea that mental patients were the victims of influences beyond their control. Those items preferred by patients with a Hospital Staff orientation, however, tended to emphasize the rights and independence of patients. Finally, they found evidence that patients who had Residential orientations tended also to be hospitalized for longer periods.

In a similar study in the same series, Braginsky, Holzberg, Ridley and Braginsky (1968) administered an extended version of the Hospital Information Test, a Patient Attitude Test, and conducted a structured

interview designed to discover a patient's mode of adaptation to 100 hospitalized open-ward patients. On the basis of the amount of time that a patient reported spending in different activities, the authors found that most individuals could be meaningfully described as being a "warder", a "worker", or a "mobile socializer". Furthermore, they found that these modes of adaptation were significantly related to attitudes toward mental illness and hospitalization, with type of information acquired, length of hospitalization, and therapeutic involvement. From these findings the authors conclude:

. . . the results show that mental patients are successful in utilizing their environment to their satisfaction: that they can and do initiate and maintain the life styles they value, even when these styles depart from those valued by the institution.

Taking their studies on the modes of adaptation preferred by the average mental patient together, the authors also concluded that the patients typically showed little interest in therapeutic involvement, lived as comfortably as they were able within the hospital, acquired information that promoted that cause, and did not perceive themselves to be different from "normal" people in any important way.

Having reviewed studies which attempted to understand some of the dominant motivations of mental patients, attention will be turned to several experimental documentations of the methods used by patients to pursue their goals. A study conducted by Braginsky et al. (1969) examined the hypothesis that mental patients would attempt to ingratiate themselves with the staff by making implausibly positive statements about the hospital. They found that when randomly selected patients

were given an opportunity to endorse unrealistically positive statements about the hospital under an anonymous condition or under a public condition, significantly more positive responses were made when the patients expected that the staff would be aware of their answers. The authors concluded that their study provided evidence that mental patients are capable of misrepresenting their own opinions for the purpose of indirectly influencing the staff.

A study reported by Braginsky, Grosse, and Ring (1966) attempted to extend the evidence relating to the ability of patients to exert control over their hospital life through impression management. Operating on the evidence already presented that patients who had been hospitalized for a long time would be motivated to remain in the hospital and that patients who had only been hospitalized for a short period would be motivated to be released, the authors attempted to discover the degree to which these patients would manage their impressions to achieve their goal. Thus, 20 "Newcomers" and 20 "Old-timers" were given a bogus personality test composed of 30 MMPI items of about the same social desirability under two different motivational conditions. In the first condition, the test was labeled a mental illness test and the instructions implied that a large number of true responses would indicate that the person was too mentally ill to be leaving the hospital soon. In the second condition, the test was labeled a self-insight test and the instructions implied that a large number of true responses would indicate a healthy degree of self-understanding and suggested that the person would soon be well enough to leave the hospital. Patients were

assigned to treatment groups such that one half of each patient group received one or the other motivation sets. In addition, a control group was administered the test without the leading instructions.

The results of the experiment clearly supported the authors' hypotheses. Newcomers under both conditions presented themselves as being healthy and Old-timers presented themselves as sick under both conditions. Furthermore, the significant interaction between the patient group and the motivational conditions demonstrated that in order, for example, for the Newcomers consistently to present themselves as healthy, it was necessary for one group of them to admit to symptoms that the other group had to deny. The control group taking the test without the motivational instructions scored midway between the two other groups. These results, then, demonstrate that patients are willing and able to dissemble on personality inventories in the service of their institutional goals.

In the final study of this series, Braginsky and Braginsky (1967) attempted to design a situation that provided a more realistic and demanding opportunity for patients to practice impression management. Thirty Old-timers (individuals with more than two years of continuous residence at the hospital) were interviewed under three motivational conditions. In the first condition the S was told that the interviewer was considering patients for discharge on the basis of their interview. In the second condition the patient was told that transfer to an open ward was being considered. In the third condition the patient was told simply that the interviewer was interested in his feelings. It was hypothesized that the patients would manage their impressions such that those in the first group would appear too ill to be discharged, those

in the second group would appear well enough to be transferred to an open ward, and those in the third group would fall somewhere between. Accordingly, each interview was taped and rated by three psychiatrists other than the interviewer as to: (1) the demonstrated psychopathology, (2) the amount of hospital control the patient required, and (3) the quality of the speech. Analysis of the results indicated that the three motivational conditions had had a significant effect on both the estimated psychopathology and the estimated amount of control that would be advisable. Thus, it was demonstrated that these patients were able to manage their impressions so skillfully in the interview situation that psychiatrists were influenced to support the patients in their attempts to pursue their own goals of hospitalization. Although the authors admitted that the two-minute interviews that were used were not long enough to be considered a real analogue of a genuine interview, they concluded, "It is equally conceivable to us at least that a patient who could fool a psychiatrist for two minutes could fool him for thirty." In general, the studies reported in this series concluded that even the most "regressed" schizophrenic is capable of skillful management of the impression he gives to staff who control his reinforcements.

Other researchers have added further data to the impression management hypothesis. Fontana, Klein, Lewis, and Levine (1968) used a shortened, 18-item version of the Edwards Social Desirability Scale (Edwards, 1957) to divide 247 hospitalized psychiatric patients into Healthy-Presenters and Sick-Presenters. Persons who consistently endorsed the socially desirable items were considered Healthy-Presenters (H-P) and

those who consistently endorsed the socially undesirable items were considered Sick-Presenters (S-P). Administered at the same time were Rotter's I-E scale (Rotter, 1966), a need for social approval measure, a semantic differential measurement of concepts such as "home," "my doctor," and "this hospital." Also considered were nine background variables including age, socio-economic status, diagnostic category, and length of current hospitalization. Analysis of these data revealed that those patients who admitted very little pathology (H-P), also tended to be more internal, have a greater need for approval, had more favorable attitudes regardless of content, were more certain that they would make a successful adjustment after their release, and estimated a shorter time until they would be ready for discharge than did Sick-Presenters. Interestingly, the only background variable that successfully differentiated the H-P from the S-P was length of current hospitalization. This finding clearly supports the contention of Braginsky et al. (1969) that patients who have been hospitalized for a long period are motivated to remain in the hospital. It should also be noted that the performance on the personality measures seems, here, to reveal more about the motivations of the patients than about their status on the personality variables. Thus, that externality is associated with the presentation of pathology may mean only that externality is perceived by the patients as the least "healthy" of the alternatives.

Fontana and Gessner also used the I-E variable in an impression management study (1969), but again the I-E scale was used as a measure of impression management, not a predictor of it. Several personality

measures including the 18-item version of the Edwards Social Desirability Scale (SDS) used in the previous study (Fontana et al., 1968) and the I-E scale were administered to both psychotic and non-psychotic hospitalized psychiatric patients under three different motivational conditions. All subjects were being treated in a new and pleasant hospital. One third of the patients were told that they were being considered for discharge, one third of them were told that they were being considered for transfer to one of the older, custodial, hospitals, and the third group was told that they were being tested purely for research. It was hypothesized that the patients would be motivated to avoid transfer and that they would be motivated for discharge. Analysis of the data revealed a significant impression management effect for the psychotics on two of the personality scales, but failed to show uniform impression management among the non-psychotics. All subjects, however, responded least deviantly in the transfer condition. Their responses in the discharge condition were highly variable and probably reflected the uneven motivations toward discharge found in this relatively heterogeneous group. The authors interpreted the failure to find significant impression management effects with the I-E scale to mean that, although the purpose of institutional treatment is to bring the patient's world back under his own control, it is highly possible that the staff presents a double message to the patient regarding the desirability of his independence. Consequently, they conjectured, it was not possible for those patients who wished to manage their impressions to easily decide which pole of the I-E continuum was the most desirable.

Fontana and Klein (1968) investigated the impression management hypothesis as a possible determinant of the repeated finding that schizophrenics were significantly slower in their reaction times (schizophrenic deficit). As an estimate of the motivational orientation of the patients, 60 schizophrenics were given the SD 18 and divided accordingly into Healthy-Presenters and Sick-Presenters. They were then given a standard reaction time test under two different motivational conditions. In the first condition they were told that the researchers were comparing the skills of patients to those of factory workers and that they (the patients) would be informed during their performance on how they were doing. Under the second condition, no evaluation was promised. In general, the authors found that when anticipating evaluation, the H-P's reacted faster and the S-P's reacted slower than when no evaluation was expected. From their findings they concluded:

Amount of schizophrenic deficit is a function of self-presentation, and it can be markedly increased or it can be decreased to the point of elimination by mobilizing patients' motivation to create the desired impressions. Deficit, then, may be better conceptualized as instrumental behavior in the service of goals different from those of normals rather than behavior produced by incapacitated persons.

Incidentally, it should be noted that they found actual evaluation to have no significant effect on post-evaluation scores. That is, the predicted effects obtained even when an evaluation was promised, but not given.

Tryon and Tryon (1972) have reported a failure to replicate the findings discussed by Fontana and Klein (1968). They changed the design of the study by using a 50-item social desirability scale to

separate the H-P's from the S-P's instead of the SD 18, by using three different levels of evaluation, and by choosing changes on the performance on a digit symbol task following evaluation as the dependent variable. They hypothesized from the impression management theory that H-P's would be motivated to improve their performance following a negative evaluation, and that S-P's would be motivated to do more poorly following a positive evaluation, each group attempting to present the desired impression of illness and health. No significant effects or interactions were discovered, however. The authors concluded that their lengthened social desirability scale and their more sophisticated design must have removed much of the previous error variance that had contaminated the Fontana and Klein (1968) study. Alternatively, however, one might consider that the choice of change scores as the dependent variable may have been unfortunate in the light of the previous study's failure to discover significant changes in performance due to evaluation.

Finally, Watson (1972) proposed that a logical extension of the impression management theory might be that "mental patients, as a group, have low ethical standards and that antisocial or dysocial moral values may be a primary trait in chronic schizophrenia." To test this somewhat dubious extension of the theory, he administered an Ethics Inventory to schizophrenics, penitentiary inmates, and to normals. The Ethics Inventory consisted of thirty ethical problem situations each with three possible solutions. The alternatives were judged to be either "moralistic," "antisocial," or "aversive" (meaning avoidant

of censure or punishment) by the author, and scores were assigned according to the preferred form of ethical solution.

Analysis of the data revealed that schizophrenics were no more antisocial, nor less moralistic than the normal subjects. Inmates, however, were found to be more antisocial and avoidant of censure than the other groups. Thus, the manipulative character of some psychiatric patients was not seen to be manifested directly in this measure.

In general, the evidence supporting the impression management hypothesis, however, has been impressive. It may no longer be comfortably assumed that psychiatric patients pursue the same goals as hospital staff, nor may it be assumed that the patient is without power to pursue these goals. Rather, a continued examination of the behavioral ecologies of the mental institution seems essential if the continued wasteful and dehumanizing charade of "sickness" and "health" is to be avoided.

Internal-External Locus of Control

The social learning theory of J. B. Rotter (1954, 1960) suggests that the perception of a causal relationship between a first event and a second leads an individual to develop an expectancy that the second will happen given an occurrence of the first. This expectancy is hypothesized to diminish each time the expected event fails to follow the supposedly causing event. It follows from this construct that if little or no causal relation between the events is perceived, then expectancies regarding the association of the two events will be slow to develop and to diminish. If the first event is a behavior, then the

apparently consequent event serves as a reinforcer of that behavior. A person then, who is learning the reinforcement contingencies of his behavior may also be said to be developing expectancies. As in the general case above, the formation and extinguishment of expectancies will depend on the degree to which the person believes there is a causal relation between his behavior and the following reinforcement.

Rotter pointed out that situations perceived as similar may be grouped under generalized expectancies that associate certain more general reinforcements with a broad group of behaviors. The individual may also extend his belief in the causal or non-causal role of his behavior to this larger group of reinforcements. He may, in fact, believe that, in general, his behavior is the primary cause of the reinforcing events that happen to him. Or, conversely, he may believe that his behavior is unrelated to the reinforcers that befall him. Rotter proposed that individuals vary from one to another on the degree to which each believes his behavior to be causally related to his reinforcements. Furthermore, he has demonstrated that individuals may be classified on this dimension and that their behavior in certain situations may be explained by their position on the continuum. Rotter termed this continuum "a generalized expectancy for internal versus external control of reinforcement," (1966).

Although Rotter has considered the concept of internal-external locus of control only in the simple case, other researchers believe that finer distinctions may be made regarding individuals' beliefs about the causality of behavior. Some have suggested for example, that a person

may believe that favorable events are usually the result of skillful behavior, but that unfavorable events happen by chance. Similarly, a person may distinguish between favorable and unfavorable contingencies, believing that the favorable outcomes are the result of chance and that the unfavorable outcomes are the result of his own acts (DuCette, Wolk, and Soucar, 1972; Crandall, Katkousky, and Crandall, 1965). Another distinction has been drawn between a person's belief regarding the relationship between his own behavior and reinforcements and the person's belief regarding the relationship for most other people (Gurin, Gurin, Lao, and Beattie, 1969; Lao, 1970; Mirels, 1970). Thus, a person might believe that he personally has a great deal of control over his reinforcements but that most people do not. Of course it would be possible for another person to believe the reverse. In general, refinements of the concept of internal-external locus of control suggest that the concept might be multidimensional rather than unidimensional as originally conceived.

Attempts to develop an attitude scale that estimates the degree to which an individual believes his reinforcements are the result of his own behaviors date back to Phares' construction in 1957 of a 26-item Likert-type survey. Since that date, at least twelve other measures designed to tap the internal-external locus of control variable have been constructed (Throop and MacDonald, 1971). These include tests designed for children (Bialer, 1961), projective tests (Dies, 1968), and a scale for high school students (Graves, 1961). The internal-

external (I-E) scale developed by Rotter (1966), however, has been the most frequently used of the measures.

Since the introduction of the Rotter test in 1966, considerable research has been directed toward the establishment of its reliability and validity. Test-retest reliability coefficients for periods of from one to two months were reported by Rotter (1966) as ranging from .49 to .83. Hersch and Scheibe (1967) reported two-month test-retest reliability coefficients between .48 and .84, and Harrow and Ferrante (1969) found the test-retest reliability with psychiatric subjects to be .75 after six weeks. Internal consistency measures reported by Rotter (1966) range between .65 and .79. (Thus, the scale has been demonstrated to be of moderate reliability.)

The ability of this scale to predict behaviors logically related to the locus of control concept has also been impressive. It is central to the concept, for example, that individuals who have a general belief in the causal efficacy of their behavior will engage more frequently in attempts to control their environment than individuals who believe that environmental events are unrelated to their behavior. A large portion of the validation research for I-E scale, therefore, has been directed toward examining the relationship between a person's perceived locus of control and the degree to which he actively attempts to control his environment. Some researchers, for example, have attempted to relate locus of control to political participation and social activism. Strickland (1965) discovered that black students involved in civil-rights activities were significantly more internal than comparable non-active

black students. Similarly, Gore and Rotter (1963) found that highly internal black students were significantly more likely to respond to an appeal to participate in a civil-rights demonstration than were the external students. Orpen (1972) added support to these findings, reporting a positive relationship between internality and militancy among minority groups in South Africa. A study of the locus of control orientation of workers in Community Action Programs (Gottesfeld and Dozier, 1966) suggested that those workers with greater initiative as rated by their supervisors also demonstrated a higher internal locus of control orientation.

Other researchers have found the relationship between locus of control and social activism to be rather more complicated. Gurin, Gurin, Lao, and Beattie (1969) discovered that if responses to the I-E scale are considered in terms of two main factors they call "personal control" and "control ideology" participation in civil-rights activity is related to locus of control in two ways. Generally, they described the personal control factor to be the way a person feels about his own personal ability to control his reinforcements. Control ideology, on the other hand, is a factor which describes a person's belief in the ability of the average person in the society to control his reinforcements. Gurin et al. found that black students who were external on the control ideology factor tended to be more active in civil-rights. They also suggested that an internal personal control orientation was associated with activism. Studies by Leo (1970) and Forward and Williams (1970) using the same factors demonstrated the same general relationships. Lao

distinguished between a belief in external locus of control which refers to "fate" and "chance" from a "reality-based" externality which, in the case of blacks who blame the social order for many of their difficulties, refers to "real" conditions that determine many of their reinforcements. He concluded that a reality-based externality may be appropriate for some minority groups and may represent an important factor in their motivational systems.

Other studies have failed to confirm any relationship between locus of control and social activism. Rotter (1966) reported a failure to find a significant difference between groups scoring high and low on the internal control dimension in their willingness to sign controversial petitions. Hamsher, Geller, and Rotter (1968) reported a similar finding with college students. Thomas (1970) found that liberal activists were significantly more external than were conservative activists. He also discovered that "those who were reformers and highly dedicated to causes were actually lower in their generalized belief in internal control of reinforcement than were the less cause oriented and active." Also in apparent contradiction to other findings, Ransford (1968) found that blacks who were willing to endorse violence as a legitimate weapon against racial discrimination tended to have an external orientation. It may be conjectured, here, that the endorsement of violence might result from a combination of a reality-based externality and a relatively external personal control orientation that says, in effect, "I can control my reinforcements only when I resort to extreme measures." Such negative findings, however, do not argue strongly against the concept of locus of control or against the validity of the I-E scale. All

internal people, for example, need not be expected to express their internality in the same way. Certainly, there are other factors such as education and affluence which determine, in part, the specific behaviors that are used to manipulate the environment.

In general, it may be said that although there is strong evidence suggesting a relationship between social activism and the internal-external control dimension it is apparent that the relationship is rather more complicated than was originally believed.

In studies which approached the question of the relationship between internal-external locus of control and environmental manipulation by considering the differential acquisition of information by the institutionalized, Seeman (1963) and Seeman and Evans (1962) provided further validation support for the I-E scale. In the 1962 study, Seeman and Evans matched patients in a tuberculosis sanitarium for socio-economic backgrounds and for health and hospital histories. Using the I-E scale they discovered that external or "alienated" patients scored lower on an objective test of knowledge about tuberculosis. In a study using male reformatory inmates, Seeman (1963) related the I-E dimension to acquisition of information regarding parole, institutional behavior, and post-release achievement. As predicted, he found that:

. . . the inmates' expectancies for control not only govern his learning of specific information regarding parole. The effect of alienation is reflected both within the reformatory and on the outside, as is shown by the fact that his parole learning is related to the merit earnings he gets within the institution and to his achievement record on the outside.

He also discovered, however, that the I-E dimension could be used to predict acquisition of parole relevant information only with those

inmates for whom "rehabilitation" was a valued goal. When responses of inmates considered to be "square Johns" or rehabilitation oriented were considered separately from those of inmates considered to be "cons", the I-E was useful in predicting only the behavior of the former group. Finally, Davis and Phares (1967) reported that internal individuals are more likely to inform themselves regarding political issues, presumably because they believe they have the ability to influence policy.

It also follows from I-E theory that people who believe themselves to be in control of their reinforcements will be resistive of attempts to be externally manipulated. Several studies have supported the theory on this ground. Biando and MacDonald (1971) found that internal individuals remained unchanged in their attitudes when presented with moderately persuasive arguments, but changed their attitudes away from the position urged by a highly persuasive, hard-sell argument. Externals, on the other hand, tended to conform in their attitude change to both types of influence attempt. Similarly, internals have been found to be less influenced by communications from high-prestige sources than are externals (Ritchie and Phares, 1969). Hamsher, Geller, and Rotter (1969), however, found that externals were more likely to disbelieve the Warren Commission Report and hypothesized that externals in their conviction that they were controlled by external forces were more likely to perceive conspiracies beyond their control.

In a study using the verbal conditioning paradigm, Getter (1966) found that internal subjects tended to give more conditioned responses

during extinction than did external subjects, although there were no significant differences in responding between groups during the acquisition stage. In reviewing the experimental evidence for the relation of locus of control to conformity, Joe (1971) wrote:

In view of the research, the hypothesized relationship between I-E and resistance to manipulation and conformity appears to be only partially confirmed. More attention should be given to exploring the hypothesis that internals will conform only if they perceive conforming to be to their advantage.

It might be predicted from Rotter's theory that individuals who have an internal locus of control orientation will prefer activities that require skill and that externals will prefer chance determined activities. This general hypothesis has been supported by several investigators (Berzins, Ross, and Cohen, 1970; Schneider, 1968, 1972). Julian (1968) found that internals preferred to maximize their control in a dart throwing game by choosing to throw from a short distance and unblindfolded, even when so choosing did not alter their probability of making a good score.

Thus, research on the construct validity of the I-E scale seems to have given strong support for Rotter's concept of internal-external locus of control and its extensions. Internal individuals seem, in general, to be able and willing to act on their environments in their own behalf, are resistant of being manipulated themselves, prefer skill to chance activities, and show greater achievement striving.

Research has also been directed toward establishing the divergent validity of Rotter's I-E scale. It is important, for example, to determine the degree to which a person's intelligence is related to his

responses on the I-E scale. Rotter (1966) reported correlations between I-E and intelligence ranging between .03 and -.11 taken from three different studies. All were statistically insignificant. Similarly, Hersch and Scheibe (1967) found insignificant correlations ranging between -.07 and -.17 using three different measures of intelligence. It should be noted that here the I-E scale is scored in the external direction. Thus, a positive correlation indicates a positive relationship to externality; a negative correlation indicates the opposite.

Attention has also been given to the relationship between I-E and social desirability measures. Rotter (1966) reported the findings of five separate studies relating I-E scores to scores on the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale using college students as subjects in each case. The median correlation reported was -.22. He also presented a study which found a correlation of -.41 using inmates of a federal prison as subjects, but speculated that these inmates may have construed the testing to have been part of their regular placement examination and would, thus, have been strongly motivated to present a good impression. Seeman (1963) also administered the I-E scale and the Marlowe-Crowne scale to an inmate population, but found no significant correlation under the circumstances of his study.

Other investigators, however, have found what they consider to be strong evidence of a significant relationship between responding in an internal manner to the I-E scale and wishing to present a socially desirable impression. Lichtman and Julian (1964) found a significant correlation ($r = -.39$) between the I-E scale and the Marlowe-Crowne. Using

the Edwards Social Desirability Scale, Berzins, Ross, and Cohen (1970) found a significant correlation of $-.23$ with the I-E scale. Hjelle (1971) taking a somewhat different approach asked college women to rate each of the 46 items from Rotter's I-E scale as to social desirability and discovered 11 of the 23 internal items to have been rated significantly more socially desirable than the corresponding external item. Joe (1972a) using both male and female students presented the items as they are paired in the scale to be rated as to their relative social desirability. He found that 13 of the 23 pairs were rated to be significantly different on the social desirability dimension and that on 11 of those 13 the internal item was judged to be the more desirable. He concluded as result of these findings that social desirability played a greater part in determining a person's responses to the I-E scale than had been previously recognized.

Several studies have demonstrated significant correlations with other theoretically non-related dimensions. Minton (1967), for example, reported a small but significant correlation for female subjects between externality and conservatism. This finding is in apparent contradiction of the above noted positive relationship that Thomas (1970) found between externality and liberalism. Mirels and Garret (1971) lent indirect support to Thomas' position when they reported that internality was positively related endorsement of the protestant work ethic.

Three different researchers using factor analytic techniques have attempted to identify the main factors in what they consider to be a multidimensional scale. As noted above, Gurin et al. (1969) doing a factor analysis of the responses of 1695 black students derived four

main factors from the I-E scale. The first factor termed control ideology referred to the subject's estimation of other people's ability to control their reinforcements. His belief in his own ability to control was found to be the second factor and was called the personal control factor. The third and fourth factors were termed the system modifiability and the self-system blame factors and represented the degree to which the subject believed that social systems could be modified by political action, and whether he believed that individual blacks rather than an oppressive society were responsible for racial discrimination. Similarly, Mirels (1970) identified two main factors that he termed the personal control and control of political events factors and which corresponded closely to the first two factors identified by Gurin et al. Joe (1972b) performed a factor analysis of 100 items, including the I-E scale and items taken from various similar scales, and identified twelve different factors with loadings of .30 or better for men. He found factors corresponding to the personal control and the control ideology factors previously identified. He also found, among others, factors which seemed to tap the optimism-pessimism and the conservatism-liberalism dimensions. From his findings he was able to abstract the following personality descriptions:

Individuals exhibiting high personal control would seem to have a need for social approval, a high self-confidence, a belief that hard work and ability are the major determinants for success, and optimistic outlook on life, and a belief in the Protestant ethic.

In addition, a personality pattern of high belief in control ideology may be presented. Persons holding a belief that hard work, effort, and ability are the primary determinants for success would seem to have a belief in the Protestant

ethic, a conservative outlook on life, a tendency to disagree with the views and tactics on the new left, and a belief that Negroes are to be blamed for their condition rather than the social system.

Thus, evidence has been presented that suggests that Rotter's I-E scale is multidimensional. This is undoubtedly so. The factors which have emerged from these studies, however, have not been so markedly different that their separate use would counterbalance, for the present study, the advantages to be gained from using a scale that has an extensive history.

Some of the research most pertinent to the present study considers the relationship between internal-external locus of control and psychological adjustment. Goss and Morosko (1970) discovered with a population of institutionalized alcoholics that externality was positively correlated with the F, Hs, D, Pt, Sc, Ma, E and Si scales of the MMPI and that it was negatively correlated with the K scale. The authors concluded as a result of their study that alcoholics who were external in their locus of control orientation were likely to be more anxious and passive, exhibit greater pathology, and be more deficient in adaptive defensiveness than internal alcoholics. Burnes, Brown and Keating (1971) attempted to replicate the findings of Goss and Morosko using a sample of rescue workers rather than alcoholics. They also found that externality was positively related to the F scale and negatively related to the K scale but found no significant correlations with the clinical scales.

The I-E scale has also been shown to be significantly related to other self-report measures of maladjustment. Externality has been shown

to be associated with authoritarianism (Rotter, Seeman, and Liverant, 1962) and with expressed hostility (Williams and Vantress, 1969). Watson (1967) compared the I-E scores of 648 college students with their scores on two different measures of anxiety. He found a significant correlation ($r = .36$) between the Locus of Control Scale, an early predecessor to the I-E scale, (Rotter et al., 1962) and the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale. A similar relationship ($r = .25$) was found between the IC scale and debilitating anxiety as measured by the Achievement Anxiety Test. Watson concluded that "Appraised lack of control leads to anxiety." Abramovitz (1969) reported that a significant correlation exists between self-reported depression among college students and externality with social desirability effects partialled out. The author commented that his findings did not support the hypothesis by Rotter (1966) that I-E was probably related to adjustment in a U-shaped function with scorers at either extreme of the I-E dimension showing maladjustment. Rather, a straight linear function seemed best to describe the relationship of externality to depression. Similarly, Williams and Nickels (1969) concluded:

The results of the present study, taken as a whole, suggest that externality, accident proneness, and suicide proneness are personality traits which vary together in the college population.

Two attempts to relate scores on the I-E scale to scores on the Personal Orientation Inventory (POI) (Shostrom, 1966), a measure of positive psychological adjustment failed to demonstrate strong associations. Wall (1970) found moderate significant relationships between internality and three of the twelve POI sub-scales, and Warehime and Foulde (1971) found

similar weak associations, but for females only. The latter authors speculated that the absence of an association between internality and the POI for men might be accounted for by a failure of men to endorse as important the values of self-actualization.

Perhaps the most impressive evidence relating the locus of control concept to psychopathology has come from research with institutionalized clinical populations. In particular, there has been clear relationship shown between externality and severity of emotional disturbance. Smith, Pryer, and Distefano (1971), for example, found that a severely emotionally impaired group of hospitalized psychiatric patients were significantly more external than a comparable group of mildly disturbed patients. Similarly, a study (Cromwell, Rosenthal, Shakow, and Zahn, 1961) using four different experimental locus of control scales found that schizophrenics were uniformly more external than normal subjects. Harrow and Ferrante (1969) administered the I-E scale to 128 acutely disturbed psychiatric in-patients during the first week of their hospitalization and then again during the seventh week, following clinical improvement. Although they found the overall sample's scores to be within the average range for non-patient samples, they discovered that schizophrenics were significantly more external than nonschizophrenics. They also found manics to be the most internal of the diagnostic categories studied, and older patients were significantly more internal than younger patients. At week 7, after clinical improvement, the overall sample's I-E scores had not changed appreciably, although depressives were noted to become more internal.

Ovcelte, Wolk, and Sovcar (1972) related locus of control to disruptive, maladjustive behavior in young children. The subjects were children 8-10 years old who were out-patients being treated for behavior problems and a control group that had been matched for school, age, and race. Variables considered were race, intelligence, and locus of control as measured by the Individual Achievement Responsibility Scale, IAR (Crandall, et al., 1965). As noted above, the IAR distinguishes between a child's belief in his ability to control positive and negative reinforcers. They found that white and highly intelligent problem children tended to believe that they were responsible for their failures, but not for their successes. Conversely, black problem children and those with low intelligence tended to believe that they were responsible for their successes, but not for their failures. In both cases, the authors concluded the children were systematically reducing important feedback from their environment. "The general point would seem to be that neither internality nor externality is bad (or good) in itself; what is bad is a pattern of subjective perceptions for control that is out of balance. When this happens, the person will eventually be unable to utilize feedback from his environment, and will be left without the ability to adjust."

Other researchers have focused on the I-E scores of institutionalized alcoholics and drug addicts. Distefano, Pryer, and Garrison (1972) compared the control orientation of a group of alcoholics with I-E scores of an emotionally disturbed group and with the scores presented by Rotter (1966) for normal adults. They found that the

alcoholics were significantly more internal than both the emotionally disturbed and the normative samples. Consonant with previous research, the emotionally disturbed group was found to be significantly more external than the normative sample. These findings were interpreted to give clear support to the hypothesized U-shaped relationship between externality and adjustment. Gross and Nerviano (1972) also found alcoholics (N = 266) to be relatively internal. In a major study by Carroll (1969) conducted in a federal prison for narcotics addicts, internally controlled addicts were found to be significantly:

- (1) Less alienated.
- (2) Higher in impulse control.
- (3) More educated.
- (4) Younger.
- (5) Less intro-punitive.
- (6) More acceptable for psychotherapy.
- (7) More identified with the inmate group.
- (8) Less likely to give acquiescent responses.
- (9) More willing to present a favorable image of himself (high MMPI K scale).

No significant relationships were discovered between I-E and

- (1) Adverse behavior violations.
- (2) Age when first arrested.
- (3) Number of times arrested.
- (4) Age when first used drugs.
- (5) Number of disciplinary proceedings incurred while in prison.
- (6) Race.
- (7) Socio-economic index rating.

These results appear to indicate that the internal narcotics addict seems to be "healthier" than the external addict. Consideration of the research cited earlier, however, will bring to mind important questions regarding the motivational conditions under which institutionalized subjects respond to personality tests. That this study shows I-E correlating highly with paper-and-pencil personality measures, but shows

no relationship to demographic and behavioral variables, leads one to suspect that some significant portion of the association between variables may be accounted for by impression management. Since the I-E scale in this study was apparently presented under the same conditions as the other measures, the situation seems analogous to the one in which Fontana et al. (1968) found reported internality to be associated with a desire to make a "healthier" impression. In a study that gives support to the hypothesis that the I-E scale is sensitive to environmental circumstances, Berger and Koocher (1972) administered the I-E scale to a group of narcotics addicts shortly after their admission to a treatment center. Shortly thereafter the treatment center lost its funding and the patients were informed of the facility's imminent closing. Retest scores on the I-E taken under these conditions showed a significant movement toward internality. The authors concluded that their study "indicated that locus of control can be subject to short-term, environmentally-induced fluctuation." Of particular interest to the present study are investigations of the I-E variable with prison inmates. As noted earlier, the archetypal "Bogart-like" convict is often seen as self-confident and manipulative. Such an impression would be congruent with the discovery that inmates are highly internal. They are also frequently viewed, however, as alienated from the general society, and the explanations that the correctional worker often hears inmates give for their current imprisonment would strongly suggest that inmates believe themselves to be externally controlled. To date, there have been no studies which give conclusive evidence to one or the other impression.

Lefcourt and Ladwig (1966) administered Dean's (1961) Powerlessness Scale to a large number of inmates in a southern reformatory and found them to feel more powerless than the normative samples for that measure. They also reported that black inmates felt significantly more powerless than whites and that the white inmates did not differ significantly from normals. Thus, race rather than imprisonment, seems to account for the greater part of the difference between this sample and the normative sample on the powerlessness dimension. It should be noted also that this reformatory was used primarily for the imprisonment of young inmates convicted of less serious crimes, and the findings of this study may not, as a consequence, be casually generalized to all prison populations.

Wood, Wilson, Jessor, and Bogan (1966) reported an investigation of the relationship between I-E and trouble-making behavior in a correctional institution. They found that inmates on whom there was substantial agreement that they were behavior problems, "High consensus trouble-makers," were significantly more external than other inmates as measured by an early version of the I-E scale (Rotter, *et al.*, 1962). From this finding the authors inferred that the high consensus trouble-maker "saw a greater arbitrary unpredictability in the institutional situations than did the controls." They concluded that the I-E variable might be useful for the early identification of the institutional behavior problems. In a previously cited study by Seeman (1963) I-E was found to be related to the learning of parole-relevant material for inmates who identified with the general society, but not for inmates who identified

with the criminal culture. It was speculated that the latter type of inmate did not value parole and rehabilitation highly enough to produce a differentiation between internals and externals. The same study failed to discover relationships between I-E and criminal history variables including months already served in sentence, months left to be served, and number of previous arrests.

The Present Study

The purposes of the present study were two-fold. First, this study attempted to examine one kind of impression management technique used by prison inmates. The inmates were administered a bogus personality test under three motivational conditions. It was implied to the first group that a large number of "true" responses might be helpful to them in winning a custody reduction. It was implied to the second group that a large number of "false" responses might be helpful. The third group was told that their responses will be strictly for research and that they will remain anonymous. It was hypothesized that the first group would produce the largest number of "true" responses, the second group would produce the fewest "true" responses, and the third group would produce a number of "true" responses between that of the other two groups. Thus, impression managing inmates were hypothesized to either admit or deny pathology depending on the motivational condition under which the test is taken.

The second purpose of the study was to relate the internal-external locus of control variable to degree of impression management. To that

end, subjects were administered Rotter's (1966) I-E Scale and divided into Internal and External groups prior to the administration of the personality test. The I-E scale was administered under conditions that were as motivationally neutral as possible. These precautions were necessary to avoid the contamination of the I-E Scale by impression management effects. It was hypothesized that there would be no significant difference between Internals and Externals in their responses to the personality test. The content of the Braginsky scale is unrelated to that of the I-E scale and no association was expected. It was also hypothesized that there would be a significant interaction between the locus of control (I-E) effect and the impression management (I-M) effect. Specifically, the I-M effect was hypothesized to be greater for the Internals than for the Externals. It is central to the concept of locus of control that people who believe they have control over their reinforcements will be more likely to attempt to exert influence on their environment than will people who believe they have no such control. In this case the proposition that internal inmates are more likely to use impression management techniques than are external inmates was tested.

In terms of the 2 x 3 factorial design that was used to analyze the data, the following hypotheses may be stated:

- (1) There will be a significant I-M effect.
- (2) There will be no significant I-E effect.
- (3) There will be a significant interaction effect.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects (Ss) for the present study were drawn from the population of inmates at the Montana State Prison. Only those inmates who agreed to participate were used in the study. No tangible incentive was offered for participation and inmates were under no institutional pressure to volunteer. Volunteers were solicited by means of a brief letter delivered to each inmate in the institution explaining that subjects were needed for a study of "inmate attitudes and beliefs" (see Appendix A). Ninety-three inmates completed the I-E scale and 66 of these Ss also completed the Braginsky scale. The scores of 6 of these Ss were randomly excluded to permit an equal N analysis of the test results. Thus, the scores of 60 Ss entered into the analysis. That only 20% of the total inmate population agreed to participate reflects, in part, the mistrust felt by many inmates for any kind of testing. The total N was also reduced by illnesses, paroles, and escapes occurring during the testing period.

Procedure

Inmates who responded to the call for subjects were administered the I-E scale. The scale was completed either individually or in small groups under the supervision of the author according to the instructions

detailed in Appendix B. A median was computed; those inmates scoring below that point were designated Internals and those scoring above constituted the Externals. Ss from each group were then randomly assigned to one of three motivational conditions: Insight, Neutral, and Mental Health. The resulting six groups (A-F) are detailed in Figure 1.

	INSIGHT	NEUTRAL	MENTAL HEALTH
EXTERNAL	n = 10 (A)	n = 10 (B)	n = 10 (C)
INTERNAL	n = 10 (D)	n = 10 (E)	n = 10 (F)

Figure 1. Basic Experimental Design

The following week, Ss were administered the Braginsky scale (see Appendix C) according to the directions appropriate to their group (see Appendix D). Briefly, it was suggested to inmates in the Insight Group that those who admitted a large number of unusual things about themselves would be considered emotionally healthy and suitable for reduced custody restrictions. Those in the Mental Health group were told that the test measured "mental illness" and that low scorers would be more likely to receive reduced custody ratings. Members of the Neutral group were informed that the results of the test would be strictly confidential and they were given no prior information about the test. The scales were completed individually and in small groups. The Neutral group was tested first to make sure that none of the Ss in that group were informed by members of other groups that test results might be shared with prison officials. All testing was completed within three days

to further reduce the possibility that the deception would be discovered. The present author administered the Braginsky scale to most of the Ss. Two graduate students, however, were employed to administer the scale to the remaining Ss to keep the time needed for testing within acceptable limits. All three experimenters were familiar with the appropriate instructions and were known to the inmates as previous employees of the prison.

Approximately one week after the final data collection, a personal letter was sent to each subject thanking him for his participation and explaining briefly the nature of the study (see Appendix E).

Materials

The Internal-External Locus of Control (I-E) Scale. The I-E Scale is a 39-item forced-choice attitude scale that is designed to measure the locus of control construct described by Rotter (1966). Only 30 items contribute to the I-E score with 9 items having been added as buffers. The scale is scored in the external direction such that 30 is an extremely external score and 0 is an extremely internal score. (See Appendix B for instructions and scoring of test.)

The Braginsky Scale. This test consists of 30 MMPI items that were chosen by Braginsky et al. (1966) for their relatively neutral social desirability ratings (Dahlstrom and Welsh, 1960). The scale was scored simply by totaling the number of true responses (see Appendix C).

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS

The mean I-E scores of the Ss who completed the Locus of Control Scale (N = 93) are presented in Table I.

TABLE I

Mean I-E Scores of Total Ss and Two I-E Groups

	TOTAL	INT.	EX.
M.	11.85	7.89	15.81
SD	5.13	3.01	3.46

The I-E scores were divided at the median (11) to form the Internal and External groups.

The dependent variable considered here was the number of "true" responses made by each S to the Braginsky scale. An analysis of variance appropriate to the 2 x 3 factorial design was performed on the test data. The results of that analysis are summarized in Table II. The I-E effect and the interaction proved statistically significant ($p < .05$), but no significant Impression Management effect was demonstrated.

TABLE II

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SCORES ON BRAGINSKY SCALE

Source	df	MS	F
Locus of control	1	66.14	4.32*
Impression management	2	21.52	1.41
Interaction	2	79.04	5.16*
Error	54	15.31	

*p < .05

The mean Braginsky scale score for each group is shown in Figure 2.

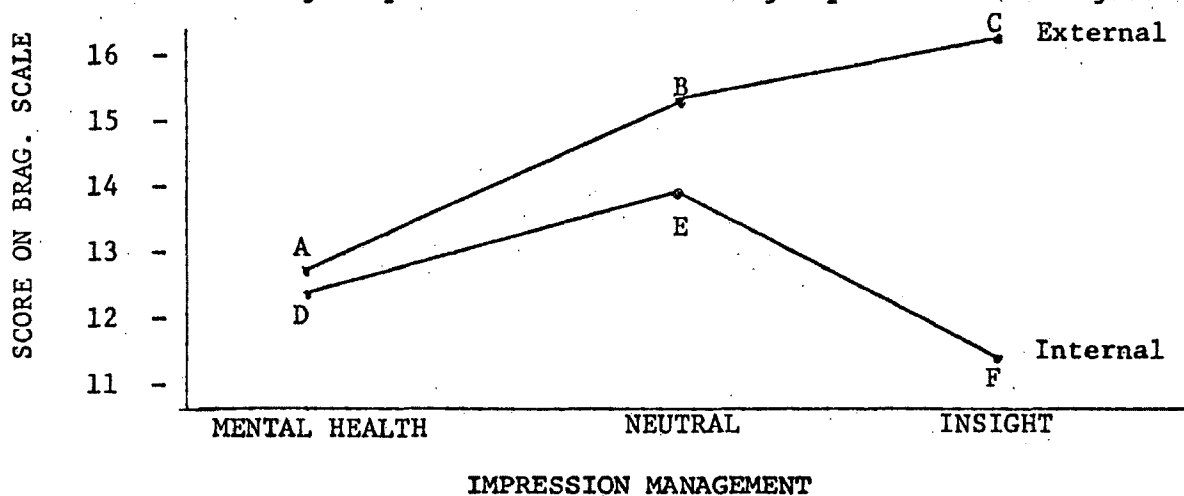


Figure 2. Interaction between locus of control and motivational conditions on responses to the Braginsky scale.

It will be noted in Figure 2 that the External groups (A, B, C) endorsed more items on the Braginsky scale than did the Internal groups (D, E, F) in each of the three motivational conditions. The impression management pattern shown by the Externals demonstrates an apparent responsiveness to

the motivational conditions. Those in the Mental Health condition (Group A) endorsed relatively few items, those in the Insight condition (Group C) endorsed relatively many, and those in the Neutral condition (Group B) scored between the other two. Internal inmates responding under motivated conditions (Groups D and F) endorsed fewer items on the average than did Internals in the Neutral conditions (Group E).

A posteriori comparisons of group means were performed using the Duncan procedure (Winer, 1971). This exploratory a posteriori procedure was necessitated by the counter-hypothetical results. A summary of those comparisons is presented in Table III.

TABLE III
SUMMARY OF DUNCAN MULTIPLE RANGE TEST COMPARISON
OF GROUP MEANS ON THE BRAGINSKY SCALE

	F	D	A	E	B	C	r	Crit. Values
M	11.6	12.4	12.8	14.0	15.3	16.2		p < .05
F		.8	1.2	2.4	3.7	4.6*	6	3.96
D			.4	1.6	2.9	3.8	5	3.90
A				1.2	2.5	3.4	4	3.81
E					1.3	2.2	3	3.70
B						.9	2	3.52

* equals significant difference between group means, p < .05.

Thus, of the fifteen possible comparisons between group means, only the difference between Internal-Insight group and the External-Insight group

was large enough to be statistically significant using the Duncan Multiple Range procedure.

In terms of the hypotheses that were offered in the present study the results may be summarized as follows:

- (1) The first hypothesis stated that the I-M effect would be significant. This hypothesis was not supported.
- (2) The second hypothesis stated that the I-E effect would not be statistically significant. There was, in fact, a significant I-E effect.
- (3) The third hypothesis stated that the interaction of the two main effects would be significant. Specifically, it was hypothesized that the Internals would be much more responsive to impression management opportunities than would Externals. In fact, the interaction was significant but did not follow the pattern proposed.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

It was hypothesized that inmates' responses to a personality inventory would be influenced by the motivational context in which the measure was administered. It was expected that inmates would admit to unusual things about themselves if they believed such admission might be helpful in winning a custody reduction. Conversely, inmates were expected to deny pathology if the denial served the same purpose. The data reported above indicated that responses were, in fact, influenced by the motivational context. It is also evident, however, that the influence was more complicated than anticipated. When the responses of all inmates were considered together, no single impression management trend emerged. That is, it appears that all Ss attempted to manage their impressions when it seemed to their advantage to do so, but that Internals employed a different strategy than did Externals. The trends that developed when groups were considered separately will be discussed below.

To facilitate the discussion of the present results, Figure 3 presents the hypothesized interaction between I-E and impression management juxtaposed with the actual obtained interaction.

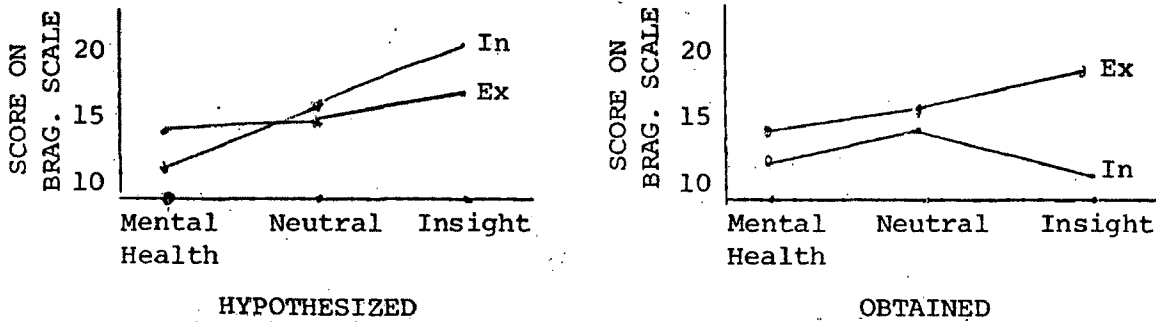


Figure 3. Hypothesized and obtained interactions between I-E and I-M.

First, it will be noted that Externals endorsed significantly more items on the Braginsky scale than did Internals regardless of the motivational condition. It had been hypothesized, however, that there would be no significant I-E effect. This finding admits to several explanations. Most simply, perhaps, it may be suggested that the I-E scale was not sufficiently divorced from the motivational context and that the Ss were responding more to its social desirability factor than to its primary content. Such an explanation would suppose that the "Internals" in this study were, in fact, simply healthy presenters and the "Externals" were sick presenters trying to make an unfavorable impression (Fontana et al., 1968). It follows from this assumption that the "Internals" would attempt to manage a healthy impression on the Braginsky scale and that the "Externals" would respond uniformly in the sick direction. This explanation is weakened by the fact that the External inmates did respond in the healthy direction in the Mental Health condition. Thus, although the group differences are not large, it would appear that inmates cannot be meaningfully categorized into "healthy presenters" and "sick presenters" who use the same "presenting" strategy regardless of the motivational condition.

Alternatively, the present results might suggest that externals are, in fact, more poorly adjusted than internals and that their more frequent endorsement of items on the Braginsky scale simply demonstrates their poorer adjustment. This interpretation would lend support for the hypothesis that externality is linearly related to psychopathology. It should be noted, however, that the Braginsky scale is not intended as a clinical instrument and that many of its items have been taken from the MMPI Lie scale. Ss scoring high on the scale cannot be assumed to be more poorly adjusted. Furthermore, in the neutral condition, there was little difference between the two groups' performance. The motivational manipulation that fostered the significant I-E effect cannot be reasonably proposed as the cause of the External group's "poorer adjustment" as well.

More plausibly, it may be suggested that the I-E effect resulted from a differential reaction to the motivational manipulation. Specifically, the internal inmates did not respond in the expected direction to the Insight manipulation. When advised that it would be to their advantage to admit unusual things about themselves, they strongly resisted such admission. Externals, however, responded to the situation as it was presented to them and admitted pathology when advised to do so.

The implications of this finding are important and require development. It will be suggested that the single factor I-E theory could not have predicted the results obtained in the present study and that a two-factor theory seems to explain the results more adequately. It is important to note at this point that locus of control theory makes

reference not only to a person's tendency to actively manipulate his environment, but also to his tendency to be manipulated in turn. Specifically, studies have shown that internals tend to be resistive of manipulatory attempts (Biando and MacDonald, 1971; Ritchie and Phares, 1969) and are generally suspicious of "hard sell" arguments. Thus, it would appear that internals are defined by two factors, the willingness to manipulate and a resistance to manipulation.

If, as has been suggested (Rotter, 1966), there is a U-shaped relationship between I-E and psychopathology, it follows that persons who are midway between extreme internality and extreme externality are the most psychologically healthy. Using the two factors suggested above, it may be said that the healthy person is able to interact with the environment in a flexible manner. He is able both to manipulate and to refrain from manipulation. Similarly, he is able both to resist manipulation and to respond to it. He chooses the more adaptive course in each instance. It is proposed, then, that the healthy individual is responsive to the demands of his environment and acts upon it in order to maximize his rewards.

The relatively internal person in this framework is willing to act on the environment, but is resistant of its demands, refusing to be externally influenced. His vigorous manipulations, then, may be inappropriate to the situation and relatively maladaptive. The relatively external person, on the other hand, is assumed to be unwilling to act vigorously on his environment, but is fairly responsive to its demands. His behavior, then, may be maladaptive in that he is unable to act appropriately in response to the environmental demands.

The final implications of this two-factor theory of locus of control have to do with the individuals at the extremes of the continuum. It is proposed that the extremely internal person believes so strongly that he is the "master of his fate" that he is unresponsive to the social environment. Not only is he extremely difficult to manipulate, but he sees no need to act upon the environment to meet his needs. He sees himself as so self-sufficient that the environment is irrelevant. This is clearly a maladaptive posture and is probably only represented by psychotics. The extremely external person, on the other hand, believes so strongly that he is at the mercy of external forces that he too finds his response to the environment irrelevant. Like the extremely internal person he is unresponsive to environmental demands and fails to manipulate the environment in his own behalf. Persons on both ends of the continuum, then, are proposed to be uninterested in environmental interaction, but for entirely different reasons.

The present two-factor I-E theory has proposed five distinct positions on the locus of control continuum. The five personality types are presented for further discussion in Figure 4. The term "subject of manipulation" refers to the person who actively manipulates his environment. "Object of manipulation" refers to the person who responds to environmental manipulation.

	Subject of Manipulation	Object of Manipulation
Extremely external	NO	NO
Moderately external	NO	YES
Healthy	YES	YES
Moderately internal	YES	NO
Extremely internal	NO	NO

Figure 4. Five points on the locus of control continuum and their hypothesized relationship to objective and subjective manipulation.

This two-factor I-E theory has relevancy to the present study in the following manner. Responding adaptively to the Braginsky scale required that the inmates evaluate the demands of the situation and respond accordingly. In this study, both Internals and Externals tended to manipulate their response to the Braginsky scale. However, they differed substantially in the manner in which they responded to the experimenter's manipulation. The Externals tended to yield to the manipulation; the Internals tended to resist it. Clearly, the adaptivity of these different response tendencies depends on the credibility of the deception used in the study. If the deception involved here was credible to both groups, then the response of the Externals was more adaptive. If, however, the deception proved to be a transparent manipulation, then the Internals' tendency to resist it was more adaptive.

It is impossible from the present data to conclude which case obtains. It is interesting to note, however, that in terms of national norms it is the Externals who are the more extreme scorers. Rotter (1966) reported mean I-E scores obtained in 21 different studies involving a wide variety of populations including felons, college students, and Peace Corps volunteers.

The mean I-E score of these 5,000 subjects was 8.46. The mean I-E score of the present subjects was 11.85. The internal inmates with a mean score of 7.89 were clearly closer to the national norm than were the external inmates who had a group mean of 15.85. It may be, then, that the extreme scoring externals in the present study may have been behaving less adaptively in accepting the manipulation of the experimenter at face value.

This failure to achieve the hypothesized results may be explained within this framework. First, the expectation that Externals would fail to manage their impressions when given the opportunity would be justified only in the extreme case. Certainly, it is unlikely that such an extremely external person would have volunteered for the study. It is more likely that the External subjects in the present study would be considered moderately external according to the framework presented here. That is, they seemed quite responsive to the experimenter's manipulation, but the extent of their own willingness to manipulate is ambiguous. If they believed the deception, it could be argued that they were clearly impression managing in their own behalf. If, on the other hand, the Externals saw through the deception, then it is less meaningful to describe their response as manipulative. Second, the expectation that Internals would manage their impressions in the manner planned ignored the fact that the Internals would resist obvious manipulations. If the Internals in the present study occupy the moderately internal position in the continuum, then it might be expected that an effective deception would prompt them to impression manage as well. It was impossible to predict the present results using

a single factor model that ignored differential response to environmental manipulation.

The present study was not designed to test the two-factor theory presented here. Further research will be necessary to test the theory adequately. First, it will be necessary to study individuals representing the full range of the continuum. The present Ss probably occupied only the middle three positions. Second, it will be necessary to differentiate more adequately between the S's attempt to manipulate his environment and his responsiveness to the environment's manipulation. Perhaps, such a differentiation could be accomplished if the experimenter's manipulation could be systematically varied between obviousness and subtlety. Third, it will be necessary to reduce the ambiguity resulting from the social desirability factors of the measures used here. Certainly, response to the I-E scale is subject to the influence of social desirability factors, and the Braginsky scale seems similarly loaded. The relationship between I-E and impression management cannot be adequately tested as long as the ambiguity exists.

The findings presented here are suggestive, but group differences were too small to be compelling. Other limitations of the present study must be considered here. First, the inmate population of Montana State Prison may not be representative of inmates in general. There is, for example, a larger proportion of Native Americans incarcerated in Montana State Prison than in many other correctional facilities. One might also expect that such characteristics of the prison as its relatively small size and its high staff to inmate ratio might produce unrepresentative

characteristics in its inmates. Since Montana State Prison is the state's only correctional facility for adult males, its inmates provide an accurate sample of the state's felons. Montana, however, is a sparsely populated, relatively unindustrialized state, and the range of criminal activities there might not be comparable to other states thus producing an unrepresentative population of inmates. Although there is no clear indication that inmates at the Montana State Prison differ markedly on the dimensions considered in the present study from other inmate populations, replication of the study's findings with other samples will be necessary to provide compelling evidence.

Second, sampling problems within the population used may also limit the validity of the present study's findings. Specifically, there may be a relationship between willingness to volunteer for a research project and the variables considered. Only those individuals, for example, who are skilled at impression management may have agreed to participate. Such selective sampling would obviously bias the study's results. To remedy this weakness in the experimental design would require the use of institutional power to ensure the cooperation of the entire population. Since only 20% of the population participated, the study's findings must be interpreted with caution.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

This study attempted to examine the interaction between a relatively stable personality trait, internal-external locus of control, and the influence of situation-specific motivational conditions on impression management behavior. Rotter's social learning theory (1954, 1966) proposes that individuals develop generalized expectancies about the locus of reinforcement control. Internal people according to this theory have come to believe that reinforcements generally result from their own behavior, that they have personal control over the things that happen to them. External people believe that reinforcements generally happen to them as the result of environmental events over which they have no control. Research with the Internal-External Locus of Control Scale (Rotter, 1966) which was developed to measure that trait has shown that the locus of control (I-E) trait exercises some influence on a wide variety of behaviors. Most pertinent to the present investigation are studies which suggest that I-E influences a person's willingness to engage in direct environmental manipulation (Strickland, 1965; Gore and Rotter, 1963; Seeman, 1963). These studies found that the internal person, believing that he had personal control over the reinforcing properties of the environment, was more likely to engage in direct manipulation of the environment than was the

external person. Also relevant are studies demonstrating that internals are more likely to resist external manipulations than are externals (Biando and MacDonald, 1971; Ritchie and Phares, 1969).

Impression management (Goffman, 1959) refers to the interpersonal strategies individuals use to manipulate what other people think of them. These strategies serve the motivational goals of the person and have powerful influence over behavior. Institutionalized persons being in a necessarily dependent position must make particular use of impression management strategies to maximize their reinforcements. A series of studies by Braginsky and Braginsky (1969) demonstrates that the presenting behavior of institutionalized psychiatric patients is often influenced by situational variables. Patients, for example, who wished to remain in the hospital scored high on a personality test when told it was a measure of "sickness" and low when told it was a measure of "health."

The present study was designed to examine the influence of the I-E trait on impression management behavior. It was generally hypothesized that internal inmates would engage more vigorously in impression management than would external inmates. It was reasoned that externals would believe they could have little influence on their fate and, therefore, would not try to influence the impression they make. Internals, on the other hand, were expected to have relatively more confidence in their ability to influence staff decisions and would, consequently, be more likely to use impression management.

To test this general hypothesis, 93 inmate volunteers were administered the Internal-External Locus of Control Scale. Their scores were divided

at the median (11) and they were designated as Internals or Externals accordingly. They were then randomly assigned to one of three experimental groups. Sixty subjects were then administered the Braginsky scale using one of three sets of instructions. The Braginsky scale is composed of 30 MMPI items of relatively equal social desirability and has been used in other impression management studies. The instructions in the Mental Health condition suggested that the test measured mental illness and that a person who scored low on it would be more likely to win a custody reduction. In the second condition, or Insight condition, inmates were told that the test they were taking measured personal insight and that persons who scored high would be more likely to win a custody reduction. In the third condition, Neutral, the inmates were told that the test was strictly for experimental purposes and that their scores would have no influence on their treatment. Shortly after completion of the data collection, a debriefing letter was sent to each subject thanking them and giving them a general idea about the purpose of the study.

The resulting data were analyzed according to a 2 x 3 factorial analysis of variance. This analysis showed first that Externals scored significantly higher, endorsed more items, on the Braginsky scale than did the Internals regardless of the motivational condition. Second, it showed that Internals used a different impression management strategy than did Externals. Internals tended to endorse fewer items under the two motivated conditions than they did in the Neutral condition. Externals tended to respond in the direction suggested to them. In the Mental

Health condition they endorsed few items, in the Neutral condition they endorsed more, and in the Insight condition they scored highest. Because of these apparently different strategies, no significant Impression Management effect was revealed. Although these trends are interesting, they must be interpreted with caution as comparisons of the group means using the Duncan Multiple Range test showed significant differences only between the two most extreme groups (External-Insight and Internal-Insight).

These results suggested that both Internals and Externals tended to use impression management techniques, but that they responded differently to the same situation. It was suggested that the findings could best be explained by reference to the fact that externals are more compliant to external manipulation than are internals. A two-factor theory of locus of control was presented to explain the Externals compliance to the manipulation and the Internals resistance to it. Limitations of the present study were discussed and future research suggested.

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APPENDIX A
CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS

While I was working here last year, I got to know quite a number of you. I also discovered that men don't stop having their own ideas the minute they walk through tower 7. Maybe doing time even encourages you to do more thinking than the average man on the streets. Anyway, I will be studying inmate attitudes and opinions in the near future and I need your help. I need an hour of your time. I don't have any thing to offer you except a change of pace and a chance to have your opinion heard. I'd appreciate it if you would think about it and fill out the form on the bottom of this page even if you decide not to participate.

Dee Woolston

Name: _____

Highest grade in school completed 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

I will be in Montana State Prison for the next three months _____ yes _____ no

I am interested in being in the attitude study. (not everyone will be chosen.) _____ yes _____ no

Comments:

APPENDIX B

INTERNAL-EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL SCALE

INTERNAL-EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL SCALE

(Rotter, 1966)

(Note that scored responses are underlined.)

(Items not marked are buffer items.)

This is a test of attitudes. All responses will be held strictly confidential. However, please place your name at the top of the page for the purpose of further research.

FOR EACH NUMBER CIRCLE THE STATEMENT THAT BEST EXPRESSES HOW YOU FEEL:

1. a. Children get into trouble because their parents punish them too much.
b. The trouble with most children nowadays is that their parents are too easy with them.
2. a. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.
b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.
3. a. One of the major reasons why we have wars is that people don't take enough interest in politics.
b. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.
4. a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.
b. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.
5. a. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
b. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.
6. a. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.
7. a. No matter how hard you try some people just won't like you.
b. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.

8.
 - a. Heredity plays the major role in determining one's personality.
 - b. It is one's experiences in life which determines what one is like.
9.
 - a. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
 - b. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.
10.
 - a. In the case of a well prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.
 - b. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless.
11.
 - a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
 - b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being at the right place at the right time.
12.
 - a. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
 - b. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.
13.
 - a. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
 - b. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.
14.
 - a. There are certain people who are just no good.
 - b. There is some good in everybody.
15.
 - a. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
 - b. Many times we might as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.
16.
 - a. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
 - b. Getting people to the right things depends upon ability, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
17.
 - a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand or control.
 - b. By taking an active part in politics and social affairs the people can control world events.

18. a. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
- b. There is really no such thing as "luck".
19. a. One should always be willing to admit his mistakes.
- b. It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.
20. a. It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.
- b. How many friends you have depends on how nice a person you are.
21. a. In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.
- b. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.
22. a. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
- b. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.
23. a. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.
- b. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.
24. a. A good leader expects people to decide for themselves what they should do.
- b. A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are.
25. a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.
- b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.
26. a. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.
- b. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.
27. a. There is too much emphasis on athletics in high school.
- b. Team sports are an excellent way to build character.

28. a. What happens to me is my own doing.
- b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.
29. a. Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.
- b. In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as a local level.
30. a. Without the right breaks, one cannot be an effective leader.
- b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability: luck has little or nothing to do with it.
31. a. Voting must be a pragmatic rather than moral decision.
- b. Real participatory democracy should be the basis for a new society.
32. a. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
- b. Who gets to be the boss depends on who has the skill and ability, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
33. a. Although I hope for a life of happiness, I know I'm bound to get my share of hardships someday.
- b. Although everyone has some bad luck, most misfortunes can be avoided by leading a well-planned and careful life.
34. a. I have always felt pretty sure my life would work out the way I wanted it to.
- b. There's not much use planning too far ahead because something usually comes up that makes me change my plans.
35. a. Because I usually see my problems from so many points of view, I find it hard to make up my mind one way or the other.
- b. I can usually make up my mind and stick to it.
36. a. Leadership positions tend to go to capable people who deserve being chosen.
- b. It's hard to know why some people get leadership positions and others don't: ability doesn't seem to be the important factor.

37. a. Knowing the right people is important in deciding whether a person will get ahead.
- b. People will get ahead in life if they have the goods and do a good job; knowing the right people has nothing to do with it.
38. a. Even though I may feel a law is unjust, I do my best to obey it because I believe those who make and enforce the laws must know what they are doing.
- b. I refuse to obey a law I believe to be immoral because I believe my conscience is the best judge.
39. a. More and more I feel helpless in the face of what's happening in the world today.
- b. I sometimes feel personally to blame for the ineffective affairs in our government.

APPENDIX C
BRAGINSKY SCALE

BRAGINSKY SCALE

(Braginsky et al., 1966)

(Note that the score on this scale is equal to the number of "T" Responses)

Instructions: Place a T on the line in front of each statement that applies to you. Use an F if it is not true of you. Do not skip any items.

- _____ 1. I am easily awakened by noise.
- _____ 2. Once in a while I put off until tomorrow what I ought to do today.
- _____ 3. I have met problems so full of possibilities that I have been unable to make up my mind about them.
- _____ 4. Sometimes when I am not feeling well I am cross.
- _____ 5. I enjoy a race or a game better when I bet on it.
- _____ 6. Often I can't understand why I have been so cross or grouchy.
- _____ 7. I am against giving money to beggars.
- _____ 8. It is hard for me to ask help from my friends when I cannot return the favor.
- _____ 9. I gossip a little at times.
- _____ 10. I have not been very independent or free from family rule.
- _____ 11. I like to be with a crowd who plays jokes on one another.
- _____ 12. Once a week or more often I become very excited.
- _____ 13. I drink an unusually large amount of water every day.
- _____ 14. I wish I were not bothered by thoughts about sex.
- _____ 15. There was a time in my life when I liked to play with dolls.
- _____ 16. I have sometimes stayed away from another person.
- _____ 17. At periods my mind seems to work more slowly than usual.
- _____ 18. I have often met people who were supposed to be experts who were no better than I.
- _____ 19. At times I have worn myself out by undertaking too much.

- _____ 20. I am often so annoyed when someone tries to get ahead of me in a line of people that I speak to him about it.
- _____ 21. I have had some unusual religious experiences.
- _____ 22. I have at times had to be rough with people who were rude or annoying.
- _____ 23. I am embarrassed by dirty stories.
- _____ 24. People generally demand more respect for their own rights than they are willing to allow for others.
- _____ 25. I often memorize numbers that are not important (such as automobile licenses, etc.).
- _____ 26. I must admit that I have at times been worried beyond reason over something that did not matter.
- _____ 27. I do not try to cover up my poor opinion or pity of a person so that he won't know how I feel.
- _____ 28. Some of my family have quick tempers.
- _____ 29. It makes me angry to have people hurry me.
- _____ 30. My skin seems to be unusually sensitive to touch.

APPENDIX D
EXPERIMENTAL INSTRUCTIONS

Insight Condition

In a minute I will be passing out a short questionnaire that I would like you to fill out. The test is strictly for research and all scores will be confidential. However, we have found out that since we're employees of the state we might be required to report individual scores to the proper authorities. In that case, we feel it's only fair that you know a little about the test you're going to take.

This is a test of personal insight that has been developed for use in prisons. The test measures how honest and open you can be about the unusual things about yourself. Psychologists have found that inmates who can be honest about their personality show a high degree of personal insight and generally tend to require less supervision and make better custody risks. At any rate, the main point is to answer the test as well as you can as it applies to you. Please don't skip any items.

Mental Health Condition

In a minute I will be passing out a short questionnaire that I would like you to fill out. The test is strictly for research and all scores will be confidential. However, we have found out that since we're employees of the state we might be required to report individual scores to the proper authorities. In that case, we feel it's only fair that you know a little about the test you're going to take.

This is a test of mental health that has been developed for use in prisons. In general, the test measures a person's emotional stability. Psychologists have found that inmates who have a large number of unusual personal characteristics tend to be less stable and generally require more supervision and make poorer custody risks. At any rate, the main point is to answer the test as well as you can as it applies to you. Please don't skip any items.

Neutral Condition

In a minute I will be passing out a short questionnaire that I would like you to fill out. I would like to emphasize that the test is strictly for research and individual scores will not be made available to prison authorities. Please answer the test as well as you can as it applies to you. Please don't skip any items.

APPENDIX E
DEBRIEFING LETTER

Dear Mr. _____

Now that I have finished going over the results of the testing that was done several weeks ago, I can take this chance to explain a little bit about the project you participated in. First, though, I would like to thank you for your help in making this study possible. Knowledge and understanding are probably the keys to prison reform, but, if it weren't for inmates like yourself who are willing to get involved, that knowledge might tend to be pretty one-sided.

In general, the test scores were very interesting. The first test measured how much you believe you can control the things that happen to you. Some people have believed that prison inmates would feel like they don't have any power over their environment. My study, however, showed that Montana inmates tend to have more confidence in their ability to control what happens to them than the average person does.

In the second part of the study I was examining the usefulness of personality tests in a prison situation. I believed that a person's answers to a test are effected by how he believes the test results are going to be used. In order to test that belief it was necessary to put you under some social pressure to answer the questions in a certain way. I'm happy to inform you, however, that your personal test scores will not be revealed under any circumstances. In general, I did find that test scores are effected by what you believe is going to be done with the scores.

Again, I would like to thank you for your unselfish help. I hope that inmates like yourself will continue to help provide the knowledge and understanding that will be necessary to improve prisons.