

GOAL CONFLICTS IN CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS FOR JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

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IN "maintenance organisations" (Katz and Kahn, 1966, p. 112), such as prisons, mental hospitals and schools we can mainly differentiate between an explicit socialisation (treatment) function and a more latent custodial (security) goal component (Plake, 1977). In most studies this dual goal structure has led to an *a priori* restriction of all the possible goal relationships to the necessity of *goal conflicts*, without having precisely examined what that means or which causes and consequences are connected with different degrees of goal conflict or harmony.

Analysing the literature on prison research under this aspect, it becomes clear that studies dealing explicitly with this problem are the exception although the impact of organisational goal conflict upon any *treatment programme* is quite obvious. That they are an exception becomes more understandable in light of the fact that the ideal type of the total institution accepted as a general pattern in reality has been only recently incorporated into a broader *comparative* view which attempts to explain *gradual* organisational differences within a common theoretical and methodological framework. On this basis efforts have been primarily made to comprehend the policy-guiding operative goals of institutions with different methods (Perrow, 1961, p. 855) while officially stated goals are only of minor importance and have a supplementary character (Zald, 1963).

Objective indicators of operative goals are, for example, various formal types of correctional institutions, the ratio of inmates to staff, the level of community contact, the amount of inmate participation tolerated, the division of labour and communication among personnel and the quality of programme organisation (McEwen, 1978, p. 31). Similar organisational features are used by Akers *et al.* (1974) to locate institutions on a custody/treatment continuum. Regardless of theoretical reasons, this approach has probably been most favoured because: (a) comparative studies on a large scale require objective indicators that are easy to collect with minimal resources; (b) the dominant research interest in the informal *inmate* subculture has prevented an approach that takes *all* groups within one organisation into account.

The indirect "*subjective*" method to measure correctional goals leads to the analysis of interest-bound group decisions, especially of organisational élites, and of the attitudes towards the clients depending on personal characteristics of the group members and their specific social background

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(Perrow, 1961, p. 856). The tendency to personalise an institution and to view it as a closed system is thus eliminated in this approach and leads to new research fields: (a) the analysis of institutional personnel, their role conflicts, subcultural values and especially their attitudes toward inmates; (b) the discussion of intra- and extra-organisational predictors of correctional officers' subculture and the resulting policy options, especially via training programmes and (c) the effects of attitudes and role conflicts on the inmate and on the chances of therapy as well as on the social organisation of the different staff groups within the institution. While the latter problem is of less importance in this context, the former two need some further explanation:

(a) The classical starting-point for the analysis of correctional staff is the assumed role conflict of the custodial personnel, which affects security and treatment functions and the power bargaining of correctional management with treatment and custodial staffs. The correctional officers' subculture is thus conceived as a group reaction to jointly perceived conflicts that are typical for groups with an emphasis on mediating functions as police, foremen and nurses, for example. Duffee says more precisely that "the correctional officer subculture is born of the frustrating belief, that inmates on the whole deserve better treatment than officers are capable of giving. . ." (Duffee, 1974, p. 156). This leads to studies on staff attitudes as the indirect approach of measuring organisational goals in respect to security and treatment. There are research findings on attitudes towards existing treatment programmes (Teske and Williamson, 1979), on different modes of interaction with inmates (Brown *et al.*, 1971; Cawson and Perry, 1977; Jones *et al.*, 1977; Blickhan *et al.*, 1978) and on perceived causes of crime and functions of punishment (Jacobs, 1978). These studies on the whole are not designed to assess organisational goals and are in general not consistent in their findings. Whereas Teske and Williamson (1979) report a negative relation between the individual evaluation of custodial and treatment goals, and the latest German study also gives evidence for consistent professional belief systems (Blickhan *et al.*, 1978, p. 31), a comparative British investigation indicates strong inconsistencies in the staffs' attitudes, namely "regretting a perceived decline in security and discipline, while welcoming more welfare, rehabilitation and informal relationships with prisoners" (Jones *et al.*, 1977, p. 216).

(b) The basic assumption of goal conflicts is partially implied in macro-societal and moreover in historical approaches: ambivalent public concepts of crime and penal theory as well as competing interest groups in the political field (Cressey, 1972, p. 442, 446; Thomas and Poole, 1975, pp. 29, 30) have potential impact upon the correctional system and new training facilities, like the correction academies in the United States (Cohen, 1979, p. 184). But also in this area of research the scope of findings concerning the explanatory power of these variables in respect to the correctional officer subculture ranges from a hesitant conservative staff mentality based on invariant inter-group bargaining results in society (Cressey, 1972, p. 447) to a state of

anomie in times of prison reform (Thomas, 1972, p. 202) as well as to strong intra-organisational group conflicts as a product of antagonistic public goals (Sagebiel, 1979a, pp. 268, 369).

On the level of individual predictors of the accepted organisational goals the discussion deals with the issue concerning the *relative weight* of the individual *work situation* compared to the *social background* of the staff. Almost all studies support the conclusion that specific intra-organisational determinants of attitudes are of crucial importance¹; the prison guards' subculture even over-rides the possible influence of racial and ethnic descent (Jacobs, 1978; Jacobs and Kraft, 1978, p. 316) and solidarity with co-workers is a central value (Cawson and Perry, 1977, p. 148). If the perception of organisational environments (Moos, 1968, 1970) in various correctional institutions is analysed, an *amazingly invariant* monolithic *staff subculture* can be found: there is less variability between staff perceptions of regimes than between inmate perceptions of the same regimes (Jones *et al.*, 1977, p. 113; see also Webb and Morris, 1980, p. 158).

In respect of the problem analysed here, the bulk of the literature shows a lack of precise definitions of the dimensionality and internal structure of organisational goals in the correctional system, an uncritical projection of objective goal and role conflicts on the individual level and, finally, insufficient concern with the correctional officer subculture.

Methodology

Sample and procedure

Data were collected in four correctional institutions for juvenile delinquents and in one public educational centre for pre-delinquent, unruly or neglected minors in the states of North Rhine, Westfalia, Lower Saxony and the Rhineland Palatinate in West Germany (FRG). The institutions are representative of the existing formal types of correctional regimes from closed to open settings in the FRG. An intensive study of typical cases in different states was preferred to a larger sample of similar institutions. The field-work, which was part of a project including inmate interviews, was conducted between 1976 and 1978. Except in one prison the attempt was made to interview *all* staff members. The response rates according to institutions ranged from 60 to 86 per cent. The rate of absolute rejections was at a minimum whereas the other non-response rate was due either to staff members being on vacation or regular turnover and was randomly distributed. The following short descriptions are meant to characterise the formal structure of the various institutions. For reasons of confidentiality code names have been substituted for the original names.

"*A-closed*". A very secure setting typical of closed correctional institutions for delinquent minors² and the only existing institution in this particular

¹ The study of Teske and Williamson is an exception: according to this analysis, the positive attitude towards specific treatment programmes implemented by the Texas Department of Corrections is also caused by such external factors as childhood residence in a larger community, retirement from a longer military service and regular church attendance (Teske and Williamson, 1979, p. 63). It remains unclear, though, how much variance is actually explained by these variables.

² This institution is similar to the Public Maximum Training School in the U.S.A. (Eldefonso and Hartinger, 1976, p. 161).

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state. Staff members: $n=91$, response rate, 60 per cent. ($n=55$, 12 refusals, 24 on vacation); size, 320 juvenile inmates; inmate composition comparable with B-closed. Institutional programmes: educational and vocational training as well as recreational activities within the prison.

"*B-closed*". A very secure setting of the closed correctional system for juvenile delinquents³ with two housing units, one each for young adults and minors (block II). Staff members: $n=100$, response rate, 75 per cent. ($n=75$, 11 refusals, 12 on vacation, two not contacted); size (block II), 380 inmates (altogether in the institution 848 juveniles); inmate composition: average (definitive) sentence, 24.5 months; average time of incarceration when interviewed, 7.3 months; inmates with prior record 12 per cent., average age, 19.4 years; average occupational prestige of the parental household; score of 39 on the Treiman Occupational Prestige Scale⁴; institutional programmes: educational and vocational training besides recreational activities within the institution; therapy unit for 20 inmates with special psychological care.

"*C-mixed*". A high-security institution with three housing units representing a system progressing from the closed unit for "freshmen" to a minimal security building and to a small open unit.⁵ Staff members: $n=170$; subjects interviewed (quota sample), 75 staff members; size 324 inmates; inmate composition comparable with B-closed; institutional programmes: good educational and vocational training inside and partially outside the institution, recreational activities.⁶

"*D-open*". An institution with no security measures, typical of the open correctional system for juvenile delinquents who are first offenders with a maximum two-years sentence, excluding sexual offenders, former inmates of educational centres for pre-delinquent juveniles and migrants,⁷ Staff members: $n=46$, response rate, 85 per cent. ($n=34$; two refusals, eight on vacation, two not contacted); size, 144 inmates; inmate composition: average (definitive) sentence, 15.7 months, average time of incarceration when interviewed, 4.6 months; average age, 20.1 years; average occupational prestige of the parental household, score of 36.7 on the Treiman Occupational Prestige Scale. Institutional programmes: almost all juveniles work in groups or on their own in private companies outside the prison; school education, recreational activities.

"*E-Public Education*." This institution is not a prison for juvenile delinquents, but an educational centre for pre-delinquent, unruly or neglected youngsters. The fact that civil rights are restricted in this institution as well

³ This institution is similar to the Public Maximum Training School in the U.S.A. (Eldefonso and Hartinger, 1976, p. 161).

⁴ The International Standard Scale of Occupational Prestige ranges from a score of 18 to 78 (Treiman, 1977).

⁵ For the definition and discussion of formal institutional categories in Germany see Busch, 1980.

⁶ It should be noted here that, during the time the field-work was being conducted in this institution, a change had just taken place at the upper levels of the correctional management. This might possibly explain the strong resistance to the project.

⁷ This correctional institution can be regarded as a rough equivalent to the Halfway Houses in the U.S.A. Because of its integration into the community it is not identical to the ranches or camps in the U.S. which are mainly isolated in deserted areas (Eldefonso and Hartinger, 1979, pp. 159, 160).

as in prisons for juvenile delinquents and the assumption that prison populations are often derived from this group of juveniles justify its inclusion in the research design to maximise the potential variation in goal structures. This centre,⁸ which has taken practically no security measures to prevent escapes, is composed of ten cottages, each accommodating about 13 boys. The group counsellors live together with the juveniles, creating a family-type atmosphere. Staff members (n=96), response rate, 86 per cent. (n=83, 13 refusals) size, 130 boys; inmate composition: average time in the institution when interviewed, 15.6 months; prior record: 10 per cent. taken to juvenile court before, 56 per cent. average age 17.2 years; average occupational prestige of parental household, a score of 42.2 on the Treiman Scale. Institutional programmes: recreational activities focusing upon sports; elaborated participation model, which grants different privileges according to length of residence and conformity to organisational rules.

The measurement of security/treatment orientation

Goal orientation was partially measured with a German translation of the CPQ (Correctional Practices Questionnaire, Form 6), a questionnaire developed for measuring attitudes of trainees in the Staff Training Center of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons in 1973. It distinguishes between treatment and security orientation besides the "ambition" dimension which is of no relevance here. Many items deal with the helping or controlling aspects of staff interaction with the inmates (Kowitz *et al.*, 1973, p. 10). In addition, several items had been formulated in accordance with other studies of staff beliefs which deal with (a) conceptions about the moral, biological or social causes of crime; (b) the priority of deterrence or therapy aspects as possible functions of punishment; and (c) the admitted degree of inmate participation ranging from free choice of recreational activities to an involvement in the decision when to leave the institution.

Finally, on the level of behaviour, staff were asked to indicate the actual percentage of daily work performed for administration, custody and treatment in the broadest sense in contrast to their idea of an ideal time budget.

Presentation of Findings

The level of security orientation and problems of validity

A first look at the attitudinal data on correctional goals and the perceived causes of crime makes evident that a vast majority of personnel strongly agree with educational training as well as with therapy, aiming at legal conformity or personal maturity and autonomy (see Table 1). At first this finding seems to be contradictory to the frequently assumed conservative views of correctional officers and might possibly be caused by an interviewing bias in the sense of social desirability.

⁸ This institution is not quite the same as the American "Group Residence for Incurable Predelinquent Juveniles" (Eldefonso and Hartinger, 1976, p. 190). In contrast to the U.S.A. and Switzerland, this group of status offenders is treated in special institutions in the FRG ("Oeffentliche Fuersorgeerziehung") apart from delinquent juveniles in prisons (Terdenge, 1980, p. 31).

TABLE 1
Causes of Crime and Correctional Goals as Indicators Security-Treatment-Orientation in Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents

Number of item in questionnaire (see Appendix)	Causes/goals: key-words	5 Agree fully	4 Agree partially	3 Undecided	2 Mostly disagree	1 Completely disagree	No answer	% (n)	\bar{x} ^a
		%	%	%	%	%	%		
1.2	Crime genetically caused	11.7	41.8	7.1	19.7	19.7	—	100 (239)	3.1
1.3	Cause of crime: free will	39.3	50.6	1.7	7.1	1.3	—	100 (239)	4.2
4.7	Security	13.4	38.1	2.1	29.7	16.7	—	100 (239)	3.0
4.19	Protection of colleagues	38.5	34.3	3.3	15.5	8.4	—	100 (237)	3.8
2.3	Protection of the public	46.9	35.6	1.3	13.8	2.1	0.4	100 (238)	4.1
2.1	Deterrence	30.1	40.6	1.7	13.8	13.8	—	100 (239)	3.6
2.9	Atonement	49.8	31.4	3.3	10.0	5.0	0.4	100 (238)	4.1
2.7	Reparation through guilt	17.6	23.0	5.0	23.4	29.7	1.3	100 (236)	2.8
2.5	Shock "therapy"	28.9	33.5	2.1	17.6	16.7	1.3	100 (236)	3.4
2.2	Adjustment to work	60.3	29.7	1.7	7.1	1.3	—	100 (239)	4.4
4.16	Security as condition for therapy	9.2	26.4	12.6	31.0	20.5	0.4	100 (238)	2.7
1.1	Cause of crime: social class	39.3	53.1	1.7	5.0	0.8	—	100 (239)	4.3
2.4	Educational and vocational training	74.1	24.3	1.7	—	—	—	100 (239)	4.8
2.6	Preventing recidivism through therapy	63.6	26.8	2.9	4.6	0.8	1.3	100 (236)	4.5
2.8	Personal autonomy through therapy	77.0	18.8	1.7	1.3	0.4	0.8	100 (237)	4.8

^a The higher the arithmetic mean the stronger the agreement with the respective item.

Usually this response set is controlled with the Edwards-SD-scale (or its German counterpart respectively) or by control items which are part of the MSQ (Bungard and Lueck, 1974, pp. 80, 82) after having minimised the possible effect by assuring anonymity to the subjects, making the purpose of the investigation plausible, and selecting and training interviewers carefully. This strategy was not feasible for the given group because any associations with psychological tests used for hiring purposes had to be avoided. Possible research artifacts therefore had to be judged rather indirectly.

A social desirability effect (SD-effect) is usually expected if interviewer and respondent differ significantly in social status. Having chosen well-trained full-time social workers instead of less experienced university students as interviewing personnel, this situation of inequality was avoided while emphasising the serious nature of the study at the same time.

The assumption of an *acquiescence response set* as a specific independent kind of interviewing bias is not very plausible because the content of the questionnaire dealt with the subjects' own professional issues, thus granting a low stimulus ambiguity and causing little difficulty in understanding what the items meant (Esser, 1974, p. 128).

Considering now the items which have been expressed *positively* in terms of *security orientation*, a 'unanimous rejection of security concepts can by no means be found, as might be expected if there really were an artificial under-statement of custody.¹⁰ Analysing various aspects of professional concepts, the security orientation of staff members is still high taken as an absolute, especially if we consider that, officially, the objectives of treatment and reintegration are much more strongly implemented in the juvenile justice system than in the institutions for adult offenders.

The data show a great majority agreeing that remorse and deterrence are correctional goals; 53 per cent. of the staff members basically hold the opinion that habitual offenders are born criminals and 12 per cent. of this group have no doubts about the validity of this theory (Table 1). A rather

¹⁰ A more extensive control of potential SD-effects through the analysis of various interview settings further supports these assumptions. As staff interviews could only partially be administered during regular working hours, some questionnaires had to be handed out while other staff members completed theirs either individually or in groups in the presence of the research interviewers. In "C-mixed," where much reluctance to participation in the project was shown, the majority of interviews could only be conducted in a group setting after an occasional conference in the (passive) presence of high-ranking correctional officers and, of course, the interviewers. Constructing the variable "interview setting" as increasing group pressure in the interview situation in the following order: "questionnaire filled out without supervision (handed out)", "individual interview", "interview in a group" and "interview in a group in presence of a superior", and relating it to the reported treatment/security orientation, we obtain the result of security orientation *increasing* as group pressure gets stronger while treatment orientation is not subject to the same trend. Before drawing the conclusion that, in contrast to the initial assumption, it is actually security orientation which is more a product of momentary group pressure in the interviewing setting than treatment orientation, the possibility of a spurious correlation has to be tested. As a control variable professional group membership is important here. For various reasons the questionnaires were more frequently handed out to the treatment staff who, we assume, have a lower security orientation. Finally, the perceived role expectation on the part of the correctional management, which strengthens security orientation and also influences the potential interviewing contact, has to be taken into consideration. Calculating partial correlations, the relation between security orientation and interviewing setting is reduced to a non-significant value, i.e. controlling other factors, situational group pressure has no significant influence on the individually reported interviewing data.

TABLE 2
*Ideal Inmate Participation as Indicator for Security-Treatment-Oriented (Prison Sample)*¹¹

Item	Exclusive right to vote %	Right to vote %	Consultation %	No participation %	No answer %	% (n)	x
Ideal Inmate Participation Regarding:							
1. Participation: recreational activities (3·2)	8·8	40·6	47·7	2·5	0·4	100 (238)	2·5
2. Participation: choosing job assignment (3·4)	3·8	29·7	59·4	7·1	—	100 (239)	2·3
3. Participation: leave from the institution (3·1)	1·3	16·7	66·1	15·9	—	100 (239)	2·0
4. Participation: request for release (3·3)	0·8	8·8	64·0	26·4	—	100 (239)	1·8

¹¹ This refers to the following question: "If it was solely up to you to decide how much participation in the following areas should be granted to inmates in correctional institutions, which degree of participation would you tolerate?"

restrictive attitude towards the inmates is also typical for the issue of the ideal degree of inmate participation in different areas. According to the attitudes of personnel even in the selection of recreational activities no real power of decision should be granted to the juveniles (Table 2).

As to the inquiry about what the ideal time-budget would look like as compared to the officers' actual situation, a significant reduction of custodial activities is advocated. In addition, treatment staff in particular would like to see the administrative work-load drastically reduced. But even then, for example, the correctional officers in "D-open" still consider 31 per cent. of their time-budget devoted to custodial activities as *ideal*. Therefore a potential demand for role-diffusion cannot be substantiated here. Institutional comparison proves a remarkable goal "syndrome" of work conformity, the acceptance of personal guilt and atonement which is characteristic of the open institution ("D-open"). A latent ideology of punishment seems to be connected with traditional training methods, especially in the vocational field. But it does not seem valid to conclude that a formal organisation structure with low security measures necessarily means a high potential of rehabilitation. The relatively low security orientation in "E-Public Education" should be emphasised here, which, surprisingly enough, does not exclude a positive evaluation of atonement. The additional finding that within this institutional context there is a certain tendency to consider security as *functional* for treatment goals possibly indicates the neutralisation of goal conflicts within the framework of a "traditional, authoritarian, educational concept" focusing upon group life.

Even considered relatively, the security orientation in the correctional institutions seems to have a high priority. Comparing these findings with similar data from the 1966 Deimling Study of juvenile institutions, but also with the previous results available from institutions for adults, there seems to be little evidence for the general assumption of an *attitudinal* change among the correctional staff in the Federal Republic of Germany (Kaufmann, 1977, p. 64): In a time comparison the unquestioned adaption to work conformity and the protection of the public are still considered to be the accepted correctional goals (Deimling, 1969, pp. 242, 247-249; Hohmeier, 1973, pp. 30, 52, 102).¹⁸

After having tested the possible influences of interviewing bias as far as possible, this rather descriptive part of the analysis supports the assertion that there is only a very limited subjective goal conflict.

Goal conflict: treatment and security

To test the general assumption of organisational custody/treatment conflict, which has already been questioned in the descriptive part of this analysis, the inter-dependency of differently perceived aspects of treatment and security is expressed by the calculation of zero-order-correlation

¹⁸ For an evaluation of the *relative* level of security orientation a comparison with other agents of social control would be of theoretical interest. Findings concerning the images of crime and the criminal held by judges, police, social workers and the public are available especially within the social-psychological labelling approach.

TABLE 3
Security-Treatment-Orientation by Institution

Number of item in questionnaire	Correctional goals: key-words	A-closed n=55		C-mixed n=75		B-closed n=34		D-open		E-Public education n=83		Total Prison Sample Agree fully %
		Agree fully %	\bar{x}	Agree fully %	\bar{x}	Agree fully %	\bar{x}	Agree fully %	\bar{x}	Agree fully %	\bar{x}	
4.7	Security	11	3.1	12	2.9	15	3.0	18	3.0	6	3.2	13.4
4.19	Protection of colleagues	33	2.0	52	1.9	27	2.6	44	2.3	15	3.1	38.5
2.3	Protection of the public	47	1.9	59	1.6	36	2.1	44	2.0	34	2.2	46.9
2.1	Deterrence	31	2.3	33	2.2	27	2.7	29	2.3	16	2.8	30.1
2.9	Atonement	62	1.4	41	2.0	40	2.1	71	1.3	45	2.1	49.8
2.7	Reparation through guilt	13	3.0	19	3.3	9	3.7	41	2.6	15	2.8	17.6
2.5	Shock "therapy"	46	2.1	23	2.8	17	3.0	41	2.3	12	3.0	28.9
2.2	Adjustment to work	60	1.5	67	1.5	44	1.9	82	1.3	43	1.8	60.3
4.16	Security as condition for therapy	11	3.0	7	3.4	12	3.3	6	3.6	16	2.6	9.2
2.4	Educational and vocational training	75	1.3	72	1.3	76	1.2	73	1.3	83	1.2	74.1
2.6	Preventing recidivism through therapy	49	1.8	64	1.5	79	1.2	53	1.7	75	1.3	63.6
2.8	Personal autonomy through therapy	66	1.5	78	1.2	89	1.1	65	1.5	88	1.1	77.0

TABLE 4
Zero-Order Correlation Matrix for Indicators of Security-Treatment-Orientatation: Correctional Goals—Causes of Crime—Ideal Inmate Participation (Prison Sample)

Number of item in questionnaire (see Appendix)	1-2	1-3	4-7	4-19	2-3	2-1	2-9	2-7	2-5	2-2	4-16	1-1	2-4	2-6	2-8	3-1	3-2	3-3	3-4	
1-2	1.00																			
1-3	0.24	1.00																		
4-7	0.24	ns	1.00																	
4-19	0.33	0.24	0.47	1.00																
2-3	0.27	0.23	0.45	0.48	1.00															
2-1	0.32	ns	0.43	0.53	0.50	1.00														
2-9	0.29	0.20	0.32	0.38	0.45	0.42	1.00													
2-7	0.34	0.19	0.35	0.45	0.39	0.40	0.49	1.00												
2-5	0.35	ns	0.38	0.44	0.48	0.55	0.51	0.48	1.00											
2-2	0.26	ns	0.21	0.32	0.43	0.45	0.35	0.31	0.34	1.00										
4-16	0.29	ns	0.40	0.38	0.37	0.36	0.25	0.34	0.43	0.27	1.00									
1-1	ns	0.36	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	1.00								
2-4	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	-0.17	ns	0.25	ns	ns	1.00							
2-6	ns	ns	ns	-0.17	ns	-0.21	ns	-0.17	-0.22	ns	ns	ns	0.24	1.00						
2-8	ns	ns	ns	-0.19	ns	ns	-0.19	-0.19	-0.20	ns	ns	ns	0.33	0.63	1.00					
3-1	ns	ns	-0.18	ns	ns	-0.17	-0.18	-0.17	-0.18	ns	-0.21	ns	ns	ns	ns	1.00				
3-2	0.21	ns	-0.31	-0.32	-0.29	-0.34	-0.43	-0.30	-0.37	ns	-0.27	ns	ns	ns	ns	0.40	1.00			
3-3	0.21	ns	-0.29	-0.22	-0.26	-0.26	-0.23	-0.25	-0.23	ns	-0.26	ns	ns	ns	ns	0.42	0.33	1.00		
3-4	ns	ns	-0.21	-0.19	ns	-0.18	-0.22	ns	-0.20	ns	-0.25	ns	ns	ns	ns	0.29	0.34	0.28	1.00	

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coefficients (Table 4). The hypothesis that atonement, guilt, custody and deterrence are simultaneously accepted is supported, but the findings also indicate, interestingly enough, that these aspects are also connected with the appreciation of work conformity as a means of rehabilitation at the same time. To a certain degree vocational training seems to be perceived as a punishment rather than a special field of potential personal development. If goal conflict were operating, these goal components would have to correlate negatively with the treatment items. Considering the number of significant goal conflicts alone, those officers promoting inmate participation most often have a negative attitude towards security. Conversely, positive attitudes towards treatment are perceived as being incompatible with acceptance of incarceration as a good "shock therapy" and punishment through imprisonment as a means of abstract satisfaction of guilt. These two aspects are the only ones which are negatively correlated with treatment items. The size of the coefficients expressing goal conflict is rather moderate and is at its highest in the relation between atonement and participation in the field of recreational activities. The assumption that custody and security measures are necessary premises for successful rehabilitation correlates positively with a supportive attitude towards vocational training and education, on the one hand; on the other hand, this viewpoint is clearly connected with purely custodial attitudes. What at first glance appears to be a plausible concept of goal harmony turns out upon closer examination to be a strong security-dominated orientation.

These findings can be better clarified and a more concrete visual picture can be attained with a factor analysis which presents the relations discussed as a clustering of points and the conflicts as spatial distances. As Figure 1 illustrates, the horizontal axis can be characterised by a moderate goal conflict between inmate participation (left axis) and the priority of custody (right axis). Quite *independent* of both aspects is the vertical axis which represents the attitude towards treatment and education as well as a picture of the human being in general.

The unexpected lack of attitudinal consistency between therapeutic and custodial elements in the staff's belief systems can be considered the *major finding* of the uni- and multi-dimensional analyses. In addition, inmate participation seems to be incompatible with security priorities to a certain degree. As a supplementary analysis we can examine the way in which prison guards perceive their own work, using these rather general, normative concepts of professional goals as a background. Regarding the question of goal conflicts, the proportion of time to be ideally devoted to security measures, traditional custodial care, like vocational training and recreational activities, as well as therapeutic measures in the widest sense such as personality evaluation and counselling, is of major importance. If this ideal time-budget is included in the factor analysis of professional goal concepts already discussed, it becomes evident that a desired increase in the time devoted to security measures can only be attained at the expense of potential therapy time, but does not at all result in a reduction of traditional rehabilitation measures (Table 5). Therefore on the level of ideal time-budgeting, a

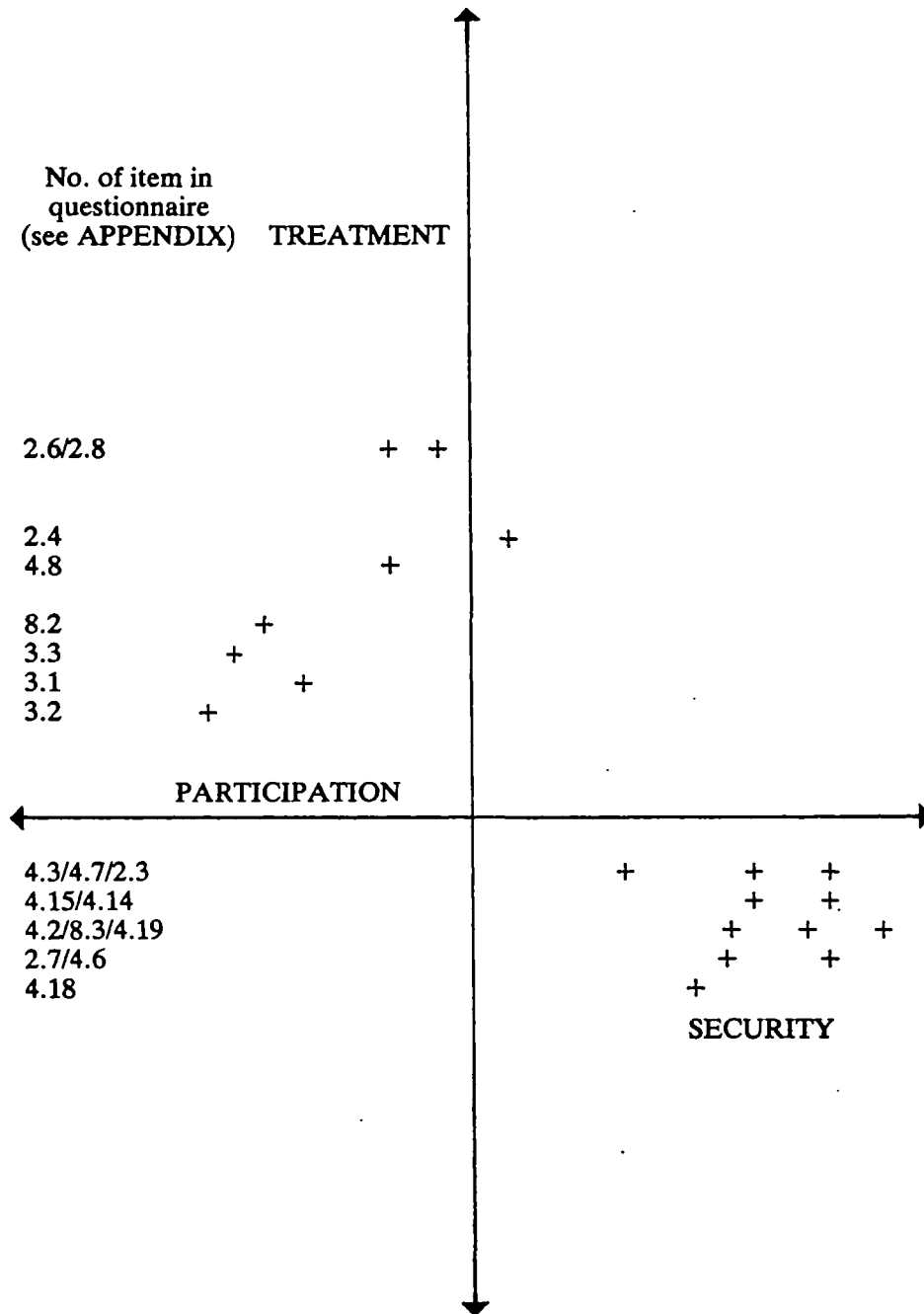


FIGURE 1

*Factor Analysis of Security-Treatment-Orientation in Prisons for Juvenile Delinquents*¹⁸ (Rotated Structure)

¹⁸ An orthogonal principal component factor analysis (n=255) was conducted.

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certain conflict of goals can be registered. But it should be noted here that work priorities and "a general security/treatment orientation" cannot be considered as equivalents in spite of certain connections, the preference for particular activities, on the one hand, may be influenced by the individual belief systems; on the other hand, it certainly also depends upon extrinsic incentives like income and social status.

TABLE 5
*Factor Analysis of Security-Treatment-Orientation in Prisons
for Juvenile Delinquents*¹⁴

Number of item in questionnaire (see APPENDIX)	Security/treatment-items: key-words	(Varimax—)	
		Factor I (Factor loadings)	Factor II
2·1	Deterrence	0·70	-0·11
4·19	Protection of colleagues and institutional security	0·69	-0·16
8·3	Treatment if security guaranteed	0·68	-0·21
4·14	Punishment-oriented	0·67	-0·13
4·6	Control	0·67	-0·19
2·3	Protection of the public	0·65	-0·09
2·5	Shock "therapy"	0·64	-0·24
2·9	Atonement	0·64	-0·14
4·15	Law and order	0·62	-0·15
4·13	Security of staff	0·59	-0·11
4·2	Dangerous inmates	0·56	-0·17
4·7	Security	0·56	-0·21
12·5	+ Control and custody: ideal time scheduling		
4·18	Crime genetically caused	0·54	-0·11
2·7	Reparation through guilt	0·53	-0·33
4·3	Violent inmates	0·52	-0·27
2·4	Educational and vocational training	0·45	-0·15
12·2	+ Social work, recreational attendance,	0·18	0·62
12·8	educational and vocational training;		
12·7	ideal time scheduling	-0·00	0·31
4·8	Positive attitude towards human beings	-0·08	0·41
3·1	Participation: leave from the institution	-0·14	0·36
2·8	Personal autonomy through therapy	-0·19	0·33
2·6	Preventing recidivism through therapy	-0·27	0·34
3·3	Participation: request for release	-0·29	0·45
8·2	Priority of treatment; except dangerous offenders		
3·2	Participation: recreational activities	-0·36	0·34
12·4	+ Therapeutic measures and counselling:	-0·43	0·46
12·6	ideal time scheduling	-0·47	-0·08

Explained variance (cumulative) (%) 32·2 39·5

Goal conflict: security and "corruption of authority"

It is assumed in a series of studies that there is a functional necessity for the limitation of individual security orientation and attitudinal structuredness when considering another level of goal conflict: this refers to the possible goal of keeping the institution operating smoothly while demanding strict obedience to custodial rules at the same time. This hypothetical conflict of goals can only be solved by finding an optimal balance between sub-cultural opposition and the enforcement of custodial rules (Morris and Morris, 1980, p. 248).

¹⁴ An orthogonal principal component factor analysis (n=167) was conducted.

If treatment is defined as the absence of punishment, the idea of "corruption of authority" (Sykes, 1956) leads to the additional hypothesis of a partial neutralisation of the security/treatment conflict. These thoughts could be formulated more precisely as follows: Perceiving strong expectations on the part of the correctional management to keep the institution running smoothly, the correctional officer cannot fulfil this role by adopting either an extremely high or extremely low attitude towards security, but only by adopting a moderate security orientation. On the other hand, a wider range of security orientation must be possible if the correctional management does not put too much emphasis on these expectations from the officers. This assumption cannot be supported here, however. There seems to be a weak *linear* positive relation between the absolute individual security orientation and the perceived expectation of the custodial management for smooth functioning of the institution ($r_p = 0.22$). Those correctional officers perceiving the most intensive expectations on the part of the management in this sense show a high security orientation of 45 per cent. (see Figure 2).

The assumption that goal conflicts are limited to both extremes of custodial attitudes has to be rejected on the basis of these findings. A possible control variable concerning the assumption of "the corruption of authority" might be the power-base of inmate subculture. Less organised, informal groups with relatively little influence and ability to cause trouble do not elicit this bargaining with the staff, which means that formal custodial rules can be implemented rigidly without any compromise. Unlike in institutions with adult offenders, the inmate subcultures in this study seem to have quite a weak power basis, probably due to the relatively short terms of stay. Although this consideration has not been *empirically* tested it is a plausible explanation for this finding.

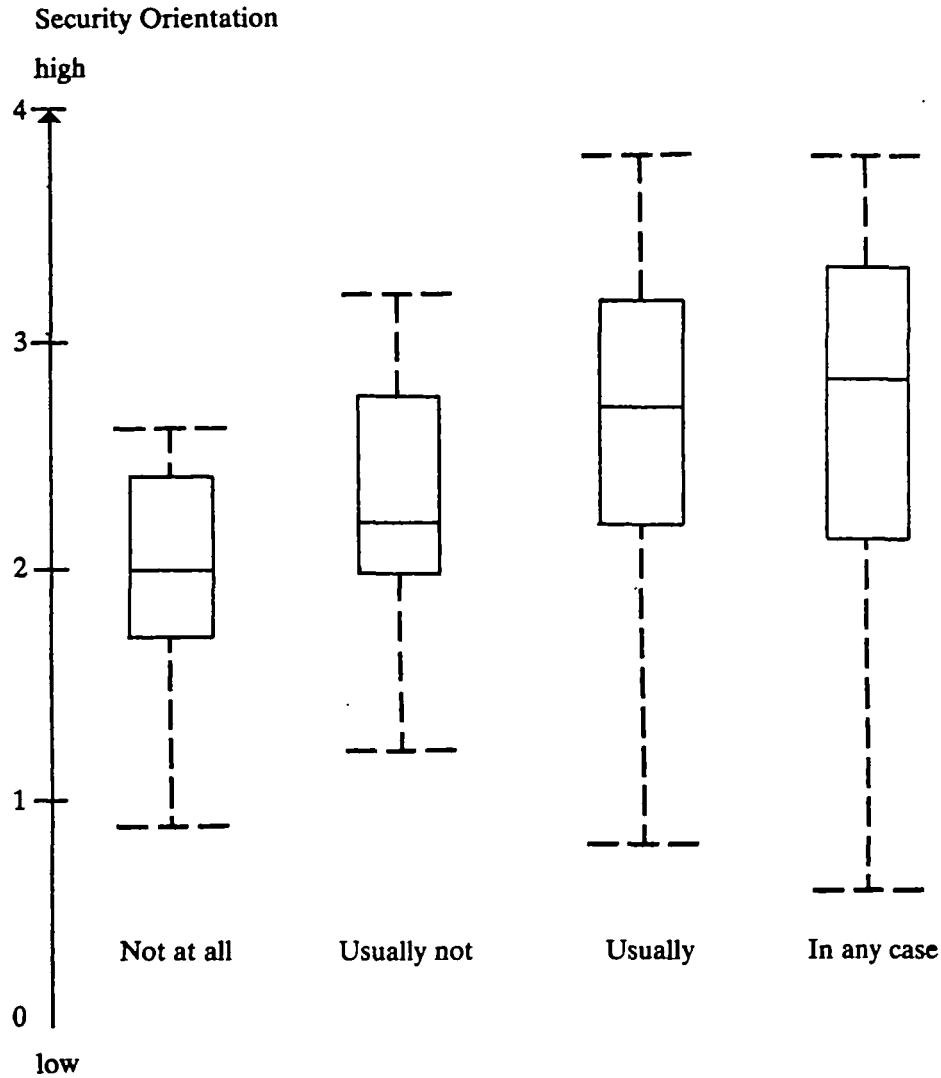
Factors influencing security orientation

In order to bring about a planned organisational change towards a more treatment-oriented system, the factors influencing security orientation must be analysed. A scale of security orientation has been developed to serve as the dependent variable.

According to March and Simon (1971, p. 438) organisational conflicts serve as an impetus for gathering new information and searching for alternative solutions and lead to discussions about the compatibility of sub-goals and collective bargaining among various groups in the organisation. These processes imply a style of interaction which is hardly compatible with purely custodial attitudes towards the inmates. The acceptance of an hierarchical control structure and the formal structure of closed institutions could also hypothetically serve as additional influences upon the behaviour and attitudes of the officers towards the inmates.

Therefore the proposition is forwarded that, controlling such individual predictors as age and education, high security orientation is mainly the outcome of a low level of group conflicts, a hierarchical power distribution and a rather closed, formal institutional structure.

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"The correctional management expects so much supervision that nothing so extraordinary happens which would have to be reported through official channels."

FIGURE 2
*Schematic Plot: Security Orientation and Role Expectation*¹⁵

¹⁵ The traditional type of scattergram used to test visually the assumption of linearity is not very clear if a small number of categories leads to the clustering of points. Therefore in this case the schematic plot, which is a sophisticated "Box and Whisker Plot" from exploratory data analysis, was chosen (Tukey, 1977, p. 100). The boxes are intersected by the median and are limited by the first and third quartile, *i.e.* the box is comprised of 50 per cent. of the observed values. The upper and lower broken horizontal lines represent those values lying within the inner fence, which is 1.5 times the "H-spread". Values beyond this limit, but still within the triple "H-spread" (out), are represented by a small circle, extreme values exceeding this limit (far out) are marked by a dotted circle (Tukey, 1977, pp. 39, 44, 47).

TABLE 6
*Zero-Order Correlation Matrix for Items Included in the Security-Orientation-Scale*¹⁶ (N=307)

Number of item in questionnaire (see APPENDIX)																	Inter-scale- correlations		
1-2	1.00																0.46		
2-1	0.33	1.00															0.62		
2-3	0.24	0.47	1.00														0.60		
2-5	0.32	0.51	0.48	1.00												0.61			
2-7	0.30	0.35	0.35	0.42	1.00										0.51				
2-9	0.31	0.43	0.45	0.48	0.49	1.00								0.61					
3-2	0.22	0.35	0.29	0.38	0.21	0.39	1.00							0.48					
4-2	0.36	0.33	0.32	0.36	0.27	0.31	0.32	1.00						0.55					
4-3	0.34	0.36	0.28	0.30	0.20	0.32	0.29	0.39	1.00					0.51					
4-5	0.17	0.30	0.24	0.24	0.23	0.35	0.31	0.23	0.26	1.00				0.43					
4-6	0.34	0.43	0.42	0.43	0.32	0.47	0.36	0.42	0.47	0.39	1.00			0.65					
4-7	0.23	0.40	0.42	0.35	0.31	0.35	0.29	0.38	0.27	0.27	0.42	1.00		0.53					
4-13	0.32	0.35	0.44	0.34	0.25	0.33	0.32	0.35	0.29	0.30	0.47	0.34	1.00		0.57				
4-14	0.29	0.46	0.42	0.36	0.35	0.37	0.26	0.38	0.36	0.24	0.41	0.31	0.39	1.00		0.60			
4-15	0.35	0.38	0.39	0.34	0.38	0.33	0.27	0.33	0.35	0.36	0.40	0.35	0.43	0.40	1.00		0.60		
4-18	0.29	0.30	0.35	0.33	0.37	0.32	0.21	0.37	0.39	0.21	0.32	0.20	0.39	0.44	0.41	1.00		0.53	
4-19	0.27	0.42	0.41	0.38	0.30	0.35	0.34	0.40	0.34	0.36	0.44	0.40	0.43	0.52	0.48	0.41	1.00		0.62

¹⁶ A Likert Scale was constructed by adding the items. In the column "item scale correlation" the individual item has been removed from the total scale. All correlation coefficients are significant on the 1 per cent. level (n=307).

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The influence of various groups within the organisation is measured, according to Tannenbaum (1956), as the perceived actual and ideal influence of these groups or individuals upon the respondent's own area of work; the level of institutional conflict was operationalised as reported inter-group conflict.¹⁷ The data support the hypothesis to a wide extent and explain 40 per cent. of the variance in the dependent variable.

TABLE 7
Regression Analysis of the Effect of Structural and Individual Factors on Security Orientation¹⁷

Dependent variable	Security orientation				
Independent variable	b	c	beta	F	n
Constant	4.968				
1. Satisfaction with influence of social workers	-0.119	0.050	-0.171	5.513	258
2. Satisfaction with management influence	0.152	0.046	0.238	10.491	301
3. Level of institutional conflict	-0.446	0.114	-0.303	15.206	295
4. Type of institution	-0.101	0.037	-0.195	7.224	322
5. Staff group	-0.192	0.160	-0.091	1.446	314
6. Age	0.009	0.006	0.107	2.002	314
7. Education	-0.042	0.023	-0.140	3.249	187

R²=0.396

The level of institutional conflict, which is related negatively to security orientation, can be regarded as the most important predictor. This result is in line with Zald's (1962, p. 22) findings that institutions characterised by treatment orientation show a higher level of conflict than custodial settings. On the whole, the variance in responses is limited to "good co-operation" and "relatively satisfactory co-operation", illustrating that moderate or intense conflicts are hardly admitted. Nevertheless, even within this range institutional conflicts seem to have considerable impact. A closer examination reveals that especially the co-operation between the administrative staff and both psychologists and social workers is only described as "satisfactory" with some reservations. More intense conflicts can be sooner expected in organisations with a comprehensive treatment programme which requires "joint decision making" on the part of various staff groups (March and

¹⁷ The independent variables are defined as follows: "Satisfaction with the power structure". This means the difference between the ideal and actual influence of the respective individual (or group); the question reads: "How much influence do the following groups or individuals actually have on what is happening in your area of work (e.g. in the cottage or block)?" (a list of organisational groups follows). The identical question follows, referring to the ideal influence structure presented.

"Level of organisational conflict" was operationalised with the following item: "How would you evaluate the co-operation between the following groups or individuals?" (a presentation of possible group constellations follows with the response categories "good co-operation—on the whole satisfactory co-operation—medium tensions—strong tensions—don't know"). The variable reported indicated the average response for all pairs.

"Type of institution" i.e. the ordering of institutions according to the pattern: A—closed; B—closed; C—mixed; D—open; E—educational.

"Professional groups" was perceived as a dummy variable, i.e. 0=not a member of treatment staff; 1=member of treatment staff.

"Education," i.e. number of years of education or vocational training.

Simon, 1971, p. 435). None of the institutions investigated here, though, demonstrated these conditions.

Certain aspects of the *organisational power structure* are of great importance concerning custodial attitudes; the higher the satisfaction with the actual influence of the correctional management on the respondent's own area of work, i.e. the less the correctional officer approves of a reduction in managerial power, the higher is his security orientation. There were indications of this relationship already while examining the thesis about "the corruption of authority"; just as a perceived expectation of keeping the institution running smoothly on the part of the correctional management increases the security orientation of the correctional officer, the general acceptance of the hierarchical structures strengthens the custodial belief system. Differentiating among the various groups, the treatment staff in particular want to lower the level of management influence as well as administrative power, preferring a more equal distribution of power at higher levels. The custodial staff, however, see the ideal work situation guaranteed by retaining the status quo in power distribution, whereby a balance is maintained between the respondent's autonomy and his dependence on the correctional management. Finally, the status of the social workers affects security orientation; the more influence the respondent desires from the social workers on his own area of work, the lower his own security orientation. With the exception of the administrative services, all groups—and the vocational training personnel and treatment staff in particular—demand a better position for the social workers within the institutional power structure. The social worker obviously plays an important role as mediator in the correctional institution; his non-academic status and his role as a receiver rather than a giver of orders allow him more contact with the lower ranks of the correctional officers, on the one hand; on the other hand, his counselling role and his higher education qualify him as a partner for the remaining treatment staff. The recognition of this integrative function evidently strengthens the treatment concept.

The individual predictors which normally play a relevant role seem to be only of secondary importance here when controlling for the structural effects mentioned above; custodial orientation tends to increase with lower education, growing age and group membership in the custodial staff. Group membership as a single factor does not seem to have as strong an influence on job orientation as would have been expected from the assumption about the solidarity of a correctional officer subculture.

Summary and Conclusions

With increasing functional differentiation, organisational socialisation has gained in importance. Besides the explicit development of skills, the general social status of clients is *consciously* influenced by various rehabilitative programmes or influenced rather *latently* by the inmates' isolation from society and the daily mode of interaction with the staff. These effects of rehabilitative agencies possibly cause goal conflicts between treatment and security sectors in a broader sense. Prior research was mostly characterised

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by the assumption of the *uni-dimensionality* of these two aspects which technically led to the *a priori* proposition of goal conflicts. One reason for this was the traditional preference for objective goal indicators. Contrary to this approach the research presented here on the juvenile correction system in the Federal Republic of Germany is based on a subjective approach which focuses on situational definitions influenced by the members of the institution themselves. The analysis of operative goals within this framework does not support the hypothesis of the functional necessity of goal conflicts. The results of a factor analysis disclose two separate belief systems of security and treatment in which inmate participation contradicts the custodial ideology. The further proposition of goal conflicts between high security orientation and the smooth functioning of the institution according to extra-organisational standards cannot be verified in this simple form, but probably depends on the bargaining power of inmate subculture. A multivariate analysis of the causes of security orientation explains 40 per cent. of the variance and points to the particular significance of the organisational level of conflict and power structure. Individual factors such as education, age and professional specialisation are of secondary importance.

The evidence for clearly separate and differently consistent belief systems of security and treatment held by all staff members can be regarded (*per* Cressey 1959, 1972) as the expression of the ambiguous societal definition of goals. This lack of a precise, informative "operationalisation" is quite functional in the political sphere because it appears to limit the possibilities for conflict. But its impact on the inmates through the prison staff is rather negative; the lack of sensitivity for inconsistencies in goal structure and the inability correctly to evaluate consequences of individual behaviour respectively make clear that a diffusion of roles, and especially the implementation of therapeutic measures, necessitate the creation of *structural conditions* if these methods are not to be used for the furthering of *custodial interests* only (Carroll, 1980). This critique is aimed at the behaviourally based treatment programme which are often offered because they require little training (Geller *et al.*, 1977, p. 30). The prison guard must become increasingly aware of the existence of and the internal structure of these goal conflicts. In addition to the communication of cognitive knowledge which makes up most of the traditional personnel training, this could be attained by participating in training groups comprised of representatives from all areas of prison staff, including representatives from public life and the criminal justice system. A more *extensive diversification* of correctional institutions according to theoretical principles could lead to a more clear conceptualisation of treatment programmes and thus reduce the ambivalence of organisational goals. Finally, our findings point to the importance of the following aspects for a policy of reform: institutionalising functional intergroup conflicts, the strengthening of the mediator role of the non-academic treatment staff, and reducing the direct influence of correctional management on the various areas of work.

This study demonstrates the usefulness of a comparative organisational approach based on a subjective concept of goals. As the comparison of

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prisons and educational centres for pre-delinquents clearly shows, future research should maximise the variation in organisational goals by choosing a larger sample of various "people-changing-organisations." The relative importance of the individual social background for professional belief systems in the sense of a cultural drift theory as well as the *effects* of the level of security orientation on the formation and structure of inmate subcultures could not be adequately measured. These aspects need further investigation.

APPENDIX

Staff Questionnaire (excerpts)

1. There are a number of opinions about the causes of crime. The following statements contain some of these various opinions. We would like to know what you think about these opinions based upon your own experience. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree by marking *one* of the answer spaces provided. Please indicate for *each* of the following statements if you *fully*, or *partially* agree or if you *mostly* or *completely* disagree. Use the answer *undecided* only if you have absolutely no opinion on the statement.

1.1 Juveniles who grow up in the lower class learn certain values which lead to crime when practised within the peer group.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

1.2 The tendency repeatedly to commit crimes is genetically caused.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

1.3 Even if a disadvantaged background, a broken home, alcoholism etc. can promote the development of criminal behaviour, most criminals have really acted of their own free will.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

2. Different reasons are given for the incarceration of juvenile delinquents. Following are a number of various opinions. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement by again marking *one* of the spaces provided.

2.1 The punishment of an offender should deter the population from committing crimes.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

2.2 The duty of an institution is to help offenders adjust to regular work so that they will not commit future crimes.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

2.3 Offenders must be imprisoned to protect the public

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

2.4 The duty of an institution is to prevent future crimes by providing adequate educational and vocational programmes.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

2.5 Being committed to an institution and experiencing all its restrictions should act as a sort of "shock" therapy to prevent the offender from committing future crimes.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

2.6 The duty of a correctional institution is to prevent future crimes by providing therapy.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

2.7 In order to make up for his offence, the offender should receive a punishment in an institution which corresponds to the weight of the crime he has committed.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

2.8 In an institution the offender should be given therapy which will later enable him to lead his own life.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

2.9 By atoning for his offence in an institution, the offender should have a chance to recognise that his behaviour was wrong.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

3. If you alone were to decide about the amount of participation inmates should have in juvenile correctional institutions, how much leeway would you generally allow in the following matters? Please mark only *one* answer space for each of the following.

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3.1 Participation concerning leaves

Exclusive right to vote/Right to consultation vote/No participation/No answer

3.2 Participation concerning recreational activities

Exclusive right to vote/Right to consultation vote/No participation/No answer

3.3 Participation concerning request for release

Exclusive right to vote/Right to consultation vote/No participation/No answer

3.4 Participation in choosing a job assignment

Exclusive right to vote/Right to consultation vote/No participation/No answer

4. In the next section we would like to know your position on a number of opinions which mainly deal with daily routine in the institution. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree by marking *one* of the answer spaces only. Please indicate for each of the following statements if you agree *fully* or *partially* or if you disagree *mostly* or *completely*. Use the answer *undecided* only if you have absolutely no opinion on the statement.

.....

4.2 An inmate usually wants to do you in.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

4.3 If violence occurs among the inmates it is usually for one of three reasons:

gambling debts, homosexuality or the brutal nature of the inmates themselves.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

.....

4.5 Clearly defined limits are important for the work in a correctional institution.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

4.6 An inmate has to be put under control, if necessary by force.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

4.7 One of the most important functions of an institution is to guard the inmates.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

4.8 People can change, and mostly for the better.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

.....

4.13 A staff member must always be on guard and be able to react quickly.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

4.14 Whoever breaks the law must be punished.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

4.15 A teacher has to keep a class quiet so that the pupils can learn.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

4.16 If there is high security in an institution, the resocialisation can take place more effectively.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

.....

4.18 Certain people just always repeat crimes.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

4.19 One of the most important duties of a prison guard is to ensure the security of the institution and protect his fellow guards.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

.....

8. Which of the following opinions of your colleagues would you most readily support? Please indicate the degree to which you *agree* or *disagree* by marking only *one* of the possible answer spaces provided. Please indicate for each of the following sentences if you *fully* or *partially* agree with the statement or if you *mostly* or *completely* disagree. Use the answer *undecided* only if you have absolutely no opinion on the statement.

.....

8.2 When introducing therapeutic or educational programmes, security measures should not be taken into consideration except when dealing with dangerous delinquents.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

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8.3 Therapeutic or educational programmes should be carried out in an institution only when they do not affect the institutional security.

Agree fully—Agree partially—Undecided—Mostly disagree—Completely disagree

.....
 12. If you were free to design your own work schedule, what would you consider to be the ideal time schedule? Please record the percentages under the heading "ideal".

 %
	Ideal
12.2 Administrative work %
12.2 Social work (e.g. family visits, outings, preparatory work for release) %
12.3 Measures to prohibit escapes (e.g. locking, cell checks, rounds, supervision during recreation etc.) %
12.4 Participation in drawing up profiles %
12.5 Keeping order on the floors and in the shops %
12.6 Therapeutic measures and counselling %
12.7 Education and vocational training of inmates %
12.8 Being in charge of recreation (e.g. organising athletics, arts and crafts, visiting cells etc.) %
12.9 Other activities (please list here) %
..... %
	100%

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