Delinquent Hostility : The Effect of Borstal Training, and it's Relationship to Authoritarian Attitudes

A dissertation presented to the University of Waikato in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Social Sciences
in Psychology

by

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Hamilton, New Zealand

1972

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank Mr Ian McKissak for his supervision and, more particularly, his encouragement in selecting the area for investigation, and also Professor James Ritchie for the helpful suggestions and support he provided.

The assistance given by H.Wayne Hogan, Assistant Professor of Sociology at the College of Charleston, South Carolina, in providing me with the Symbolic F-test for use in this study is also gratefully acknowledged.

Thanks are expressed to the Superintendent and staff of Waikeria Youth Centre for their co-operation and most of all to the trainees who were used as subjects in an investigation from which they personally gained little, and the results of which they are unlikely ever to know. May their futures be better than their pasts.

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C O N T E N T S

N.B. Raw data received from staff has not been included because it is considered that particular staff could easily be identified from it.

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ABSTRACT

This study was based on the assumption that it is not psychologically useful to research all criminals whether detected or not, as one group. It is argued that the group usually referred to as delinquent, is made up of a relatively homogeneous collection of law breakers, and further, that the essential characteristic of this group is a high degree of hostility.

Previous work has indicated that prison staff tend to be highly authoritarian, and the theory concerning authoritarian people suggests that they are highly hostile, although this has not been emperically verified. It was therefore decided to investigate the relationship between these factors in the present study.

Because it is considered that hostility is central to delinquency, it is likely that any significant effect of Borstal Training would show itself in a change of hostility levels. Both the frustration and modelling based theories of hostility, seem to suggest that the Borstal is unlikely to reduce hostility, particularly if, as is argued, most staff are of the authoritarian personality type.

The study used four measures, one verbal and one non-verbal measure of authoritarianism, and one verbal

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and are mainly non-verbal measure of hostility. As expected the non-verbal tests gave better results with the delinquent samples. The results of the analysis of authoritarianism and its relationship with hostility were at best inconclusive and no significant change in authoritarian attitudes occurred as the result of Borstal Training.

The hypothesis that delinquency is related to hostility was supported by an analysis of hostility scores and their relationship to four indices of delinquency. It was found that Borstal Training was associated with a very significant increase in fantasy hostility.

The verbal measure of hostility gave few significant results, but neither did it suggest any conclusions contrary to those suggested by the non-verbal measure. Overall the two tests correlated with one another significantly. The non-verbal measure, the Rosenzweig Picture-Frustration Study scored according to the method devised by Chorost, proved a very sensitive instrument showing good correlations with the indices of delinquency and a highly significant increase after Borstal Training.

The staff sample was found to be highly authoritarian as expected, and there was no evidence that the level of authoritarianism was decreasing.

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It was concluded that hostility is a basic factor in delinquency and that Borstal Training as it now operates increases hostility. It was also concluded that the employment of less authoritarian staff will not be sufficient to bring a change, because such staff are unlikely to remain long in the job as presently defined.

1. INTRODUCTION

"We are effectively destroying ourselves by violence masquerading as love." R.D.Laing - "The Politics of Experience".

A. The Problem

In 1971 the average muster of borstal trainees at the Waikeria Youth Centre was about 370. Of these it can be safely predicted that about 60% will re-offend within a short time of their release.

Much has been said about the therapeutic policy of the New Zealand Justice Department, particularly the policy relating to young offenders and the institutions to which they are sent. But in the face of high recidivism rates, supporters of the Borstal system have been forced to accept results short of complete 'cure', or to despair of achieving anything at all.

Plans are made for the future of the penal service, and varying theories concerning the needs of offenders are aired. At the same time however there seems to be no systematic effort being made to find out what specific effect our present institutions

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are having on the people committed to them. There is an abundance of information available on the nature and genesis of delinquency but a lack of any concerted effort to apply such information to existing institutions.

B. The Definition and Genesis of Delinquency

1. The Psychological Definition:

The term 'delinquency' has come to be defined mainly in socio-legal terms; conviction, type of offences committed, and age of offender, are common factors which are taken into account. The most important point to be remembered about defining delinquency according to conviction, is that not all offenders are caught or convicted, and it is on the basis of information about those who <u>are</u>, that we usually list the characteristics of delinquency. The alternative to a definition based on the offences committed, is a definition made in terms of the person committing the offence. The option likely to be most useful depends on one's focus of interest; the act or the person. The psychologist is surely more interested in the person, and if a definition is to be psychologically

useful, it should apply to some recognisable and psychologically homogeneous category of people.

The courts show that they are aware of the 'person' aspect of delinquency, when they consider an act delinquent in one case, while they see it only as a sign of foolishness in another. The use of the law against being 'idle and disorderly' provides many examples of the way in which courts may see a person as being delinquent even though he has not been known to commit any other offence.

It would seem that it is already quite acceptable to talk about delinquency without reference to any particular offence which a person may or may not have committed. Although unclear, common usage does give some indication of what a delinquent might be. Even though there are substantial variations among all individuals, the group of offenders who regularly offend, and often enter penal institutions, do seem to have a number of etiological and prognostic characteristics in common, which would suggest that they are, in fact, a psychologically homogeneous group.

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One report (Mack 1964) describes eight, known, full time criminals in one British region, who have been active for at least seventeen years. The eight are divided into two categories of four.

The first four are psychologically unremarkable. They show no signs of emotional unbalance. They appear to be above average intelligence. Their childhood home backgrounds are either unknown - two coming from Ireland - or fairly respectable. Two of the four have a slight juvenile record - one with two periods of probation, the other one absolute discharge. Two have regular work records. The other two live mainly on public funds as well as on undisclosed sources of income. All four have a fairly stable family life, two being regularly and two irregularly married. All have children living regularly under the same roof with them.

The second group are thought to be not too bright. Two of them are markedly unbalanced characters; a third has a record of violence including assaults on the police. All four have poor work records. All four are regarded by the police as surly, unsociable, unpleasant characters. Three had poor home backgrounds as children. Three have juvenile records, one including a term in an Approved School, one a Borstal sentence, and one both Approved School and Borstal.

The following table is drawn from Mack's report.

TABLE 1.

Subjects		Years at Risk (from age 17)	Years in Prison (or Borstal)
Group A -	A	35	$1\frac{3}{4}$
	B	25	$2\frac{2}{3}$
	C	17	$3\frac{1}{3}$
	D	21	$2\frac{3}{4}$
		98	$11\frac{1}{2}$

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Group B -	W	21	$11\frac{1}{4}$
	X	18	$16\frac{3}{4}$
	Y	19	$7\frac{1}{3}$
	Z	17	15
		75	$50\frac{1}{3}$

The proportion of adult life spent in prison for Group A is 12% while the same proportion for Group B is 64%

Mack concludes from his investigation that among other things;-

1. A number of crimes are committed by people who spend their time in prison.
2. At least as many crimes are committed by people who never go to prison.
3. The "habitual prisoner" tends to exhibit characteristics associated with psychological maladjustment.
4. The successful criminals give the impression of psychological normality.

It is recognised that a simple description of the people the police consider to be the eight most active criminals in a particular city area raises questions concerning methodology. However this does not deny the fact that there are obviously two very distinct types of person being dealt with. The same type of observation has been made elsewhere. Edwin Sutherland's professional thief (Sutherland, 1937) wrote:-

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The professional thief lives by his wits. His criminal activity is a well planned effort (usually a group effort in which interpersonal skills and general stealth are at a premium. He often comes to his present work from a legitimate occupation, and his family and other social life is not noticeably different from that of "respectables".

Eric Berne (1964) has, in a different way, also pointed to the differences between successful and unsuccessful criminals:

> There seem to be two distinctive types of habitual criminals: those who are in crime primarily for profit, and those who are in it primarily for the game ..... The 'compulsive winner', the big money maker whose child does not want to get caught, rarely is, according to reports; he is an untouchable for whom the fix is always in. The 'compulsive loser' on the other hand, who is playing 'Cops and Robbers', seldom does very well financially.

Berne argues, correctly, that it has been a failure of past researchers to understand that they are dealing with people with different characters when they put together all offenders in one group. Berne does not tell us much about what these differences are, and even less about how they arise.

Most basicly, it appears that the differences that all of these writers highlight, are the differences between a person who has not learned the social competences required for the attainment

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of an acceptable life style, and a person who is socially competent and has knowingly chosen criminal behaviour as a way of maintaining an otherwise more or less normal way of life. The young institutionalised offender very seldom falls into the 'socialised professional' category. The young person who regularly offends, in spite of regular convictions, is not the normal, well socialised teenager. It may well be that many of the undetected offences are committed by 'normal' teenagers, and it may be that a number of these will become the more successful criminals of the future. It is more likely that they will be noticed by some official or unofficial person and directed away from their activities, or that they will simply give them up because of their own fear of being caught and the shame that it would bring. It has been shown that the normal (perhaps middle class might be more appropriate) boy is less likely to be charged, convicted, or sentenced to an institution (Paliavin & Scott, 1964).

It is to the poorly socialised individuals who make up the vast majority of institutionalised young offenders, that we can most sensibly apply the term delinquent. Psychologically there is no use

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differentiating between ages, although it is without doubt that most of the delinquents who do become known, do so while they are young. It is also true that most of these cease to appear before the courts when they reach their early twenties. David Matza (1964) has indicated:

> Anywhere from sixty to eighty five per cent of delinquents do not apparently become adult violators. Moreover, this reform seems to occur irrespective of intervention of correctional agencies and irrespective of the quality of correctional service.

Whether this means that they have overcome their psychological delinquency, or that they have simply learned to express themselves in ways which draw less reaction from the society at large is uncertain. The simple lack of convictions should not lead us to assume that they have made good psychological adjustments. The psychologist is not simply interested in cutting back the number of offences; he has an obligation to the delinquent far beyond that.

Whatever does happen to those who stop offending, we do know that there is a significant proportion of delinquents who remain delinquent and spend large periods of their adult life in institutions.

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In searching for a more basic difference between these two groups, the delinquent and the socialised criminal, it is necessary to briefly survey the literature which attempts to explain the central reason or reasons for the development of the numerous delinquents.

2. The Genesis of Delinquency:

The earliest attempts to "Scientifically" explain crime were those of the positivists led by Cesare Lombroso. These researchers moved away from the emphasis on free will that characterised the studies of crime up to that time. They became interested in the reasons why some people offended while others did not. Lombroso contributed the idea that crime is natural phenomenon with a natural cause or causes. Being a physician it is not surprising that Lombroso claimed crime to be physiologically based, and moreover, hereditarily determined. On the basis of studies of Italian prisoners and soldiers, he claimed that crime was a result of some sort of genetic throw back to atavistic man. An exhaustive study by Charles Goring found no support for Lombroso's claims.

Ernest Hooten revived the idea in America where he concluded that prisoners are a physiologically

inferior group of "low grade organisms" and that the only way to solve the criminal problem is by the "exterpation of the physically, mentally, and morally unfit; or their complete segregation in a socially asceptic environment". Hooten's work had numerous methodological failings and did not achieve much success.

The now famous work of Seldon on body types was another study which was to have its conclusions shown unjustifiable. A more scientifically acceptable study by the Gluecks (1950) reported that the large samples of delinquents that they had studied, tended to be predominantly meso-morphic. But this does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that crime has a physiological cause.

At one time early in the history of intelligence testing, it was held that criminals were all mental defectives. However, proper testing has shown that some criminals are highly intelligent, and even the population of Borstals show a great variation of intellectual abilities with the average being only slightly lower than that of the general population (Black and Hornblow, 1971).

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Most modern attempts to outline the genesis of delinquency can be described as sociological. Most, and particularly those relating to the family, can also be described as psychological, but the distinction is neither clear nor important.

Studies of the contribution of the family have been both the most numerous and probably the most productive. The conclusions of different researchers vary not so much in the degree to which they think the family contributes, as in the manner in which they claim the influence to be exerted. Some place the emphasis on the fact that the family positions the child in society and therefore decides the likelihood of exposure to other sociological factors.

> Because of its crucial role in 'placing' a child in society - by establishing at the outset, the neighbourhood in which he lives, the values his environment fosters, and his socio-economic status - the family is especially influential in leading to or fending off early crime involvement (Schur,1969)

It is clear that the material character of a home may encourage children to spend time outside of it, thus decreasing the influence of the family and increasing the influence of the street society. However it is clear that even in the most delinquent neighbourhoods not all children become regular offenders, and

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there is good evidence that individual families are "powerful determiners of proneness to delinquency" at least (Quay,1965).Trasler argues:

> If a child is never allowed to establish an enduring and intimate relationship either with his parents or with parent substitutes, it must follow that 'love oriented' discipline can have no place in his social training, for this is based on the exploitation of such a relationship.... It is to be expected that where the sanction is entirely unavilable - where the child has nothing to lose by being out of favour with the adults about him - social training will be less effective.

From this theory it would appear that families may allow delinquency to develop as a result of their inability to exploit warm emotional relationships within the family. It is not claimed that the family directly causes delinquency.

The affectional quality of the relationships which are available within the home is probably more important than the number of parents present, the material standards of the home, or the architecture.

Bowlby (1944) claims that the affectional qualities of home relationships bear <u>exclusive</u> responsibility for delinquency.

On this subject Quay (1955) concluded:-

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> The decision whether or not to commit a delinquent act depends in large part on anticipated emotional consequences of the behaviour of other people who might respond to the act .... That is to say, dependence and anxiety in reference to the responsive actions of others depend on the prior occurrence of pleasure and pain in reference to those others. The affective character of the parent child relationship is therefore of prime significance in determining the social motives which participate in the determination of delinquency. Delinquents say that their parents care little for them and they are probably correct. To single out this consideration for the exclusive consideration assigned to it by Bowlby and others is probably overstating the point, but the importance of parental affection, and the serious consequences of its lack, cannot be denied.

As will emerge from the discussion below, of the relationship between delinquency and hostility, Bowlby might not be overstating the case quite as strongly as Quay would suggest. Certainly a lack of parental affection is not a sufficient or necessary condition for cime to occur, but it might be the necessary condition for the development of delinquency. The importance of making this distinction can be illustrated with this quotation from Schur (1969).

> Most of the studies in which broken homes have been found to be highly significant relied on institutionalised youths for their samples of delinquents. When delinquent and non delinquent samples are drawn instead from the general population, through the self reported behaviour technique, the significance of this factor appears greatly reduced.

Rather than providing evidence that broken homes

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are not a factor in delinquency, Schur has highlighted evidence that supports the view that it is psychologically unsound to group people together simply on the basis of offences against the law, whether or not detected. If "hidden delinquents" so called, do not come from broken homes, it is because they are not psychologically delinquent and should not therefore be expected to. However there is nodoubt that factors other than family experiences are involved in the development of delinquents.

People of lower socio-economic background are over represented in the population of delinquents. It has been commonly believed in the past that lower class people have values which are deviant when compared with the rest of society. However Kohn (1959) showed that large samples of middle class and working class parents were in agreement on the importance of such qualities as honesty, self-control, good manners, and consideration for others in their eleven year old children. In spite of Kohn's findings, it is known that there are psychological differences between middle and lower socio-economic groups. One such difference which is important in the development of delinquents is temporal orientation. It is known that lower class subjects tend to have shorter temporal perspective than do middle class subjects (Le Shan 1952, Kulik, 1968, Black, 1969).

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More important than the fact that shortened future time perspective is associated with delinquency itself, is that it has implications for the way in which child rearing is approached. As a result of the differences in temporal orientation the lower class person is more likely to act in terms of immediate goals such as abating the irritation caused by a child's misbehaviour, while the middle class person is likely to take a more long term view of child rearing. Middle class discipline is seen more as a way of moulding characters than as a reaction to an immediate situation. Trasler says of the lower class approach:

> This way of bringing up children stresses the desirability of meeting their immediate needs, of making their lives as happy as possible; long term planning and worrying about the future have little place in it.

Sprott et al (1954) have demonstrated that families and neighbourhoods within the lowest social groups may differ from one another to a considerable degree, and that high and low delinquency areas are clearly differentiated in terms of the type of child rearing that predominates. As Trasler points out, we are led to the conclusion that the difference is still more likely to be one of families than of class.

Another argument that has been based on class is

that lower class children get more opportunity to learn criminal ways. While this may be true, it is not true that such chances are unavailable to children from families of higher socio-economic standing. As has been mentioned, there is now evidence that crimes are committed quite regularly by middle class children. One fact that supports this argument is that homes in lower class society tend to be much closer, so much more time is spent in the homes of neighbours, and children play in large groups on the street from a very early age. Middle class parents on the other hand put great emphasis on knowing where their children are, with the result that much more early socialisation takes place within the home. However we are here simply referring to chances of learning to commit crimes, and it has been made clear that the emphasis of delinquency is not on offences committed.

Of greater relevance to the central matter of delinquency is the fact that the working class boy is exposed to pressures from many adults to conform to the standards of the middle class. The teacher, the Minister, the youth leader, and so on, assume that this youth is able to follow their standards of foresight, and planning. When he does not he is rejected by these important people. As a result

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there is a common experience of being an outsider, a reject, a loser, and thereby frustration. This, as mentioned below, is very significant in the school situation.

Finally, a very important issue in all discussions of delinquency is that of the differential treatment handed out by the legal agencies. The criminal law is used by the people with social power to control those without power. The white to control black, the old to control the young, the middle and upper classes to control the lower class. In this system the delinquent can only be the loser.

> Not the least disturbing aspect of this situation is the quite vicious circle process by which middle-class suspects or defendants when they come to light - are given preferential treatment on the grounds that they are not really "criminal types". (Schur, 1969)

> The history of criminal legislation, in England and many other countries, shows that excessive prominence was given by the law to the protection of property against comparatively minor depradations, which of course means that the types of offences likely to be committed by members of the lower social classes figure more prominently than others in criminal statutes and, therefore, also in criminal courts and criminal statistics. On the other hand there was a marked reluctance to treat the various forms of fraud as criminal offences. (Mannheim, 1965)

However it is unlikely that such inbalance can

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adequately account for the differences between lower and middle class statistics. It does seem likely that the lower social class is going to contain a higher proportion of the grossly malsocialised persons, and that we must expect these groups to be less economically successful, and less likely to be able to provide well for their material or emotional needs, or those of their families.

Schur (1969) suggests that educational aspirations are probably high in lower class areas, and that lower class children. begin school not with negative attitudes to learning, but rather are eager to learn and are "excited by the initial experience of school".

> They soon find that the system is unwilling to accept them on anything like their own terms, or even to credit them with being acceptable human beings. Most of the teachers come from middle class backgrounds, have middle class values, speak middle class language, and demand middle class styles of deportment and academic performance. Instructional material .... has itself had a heavy middle class bias, and the child finds in its content practically nothing that seems to have any meaningful relation to his own experience and urban ghetto environment.

Not only does the lower class child arrive in a hostile environment, but he arrives ill prepared. While he has been down the road fighting with bigger

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boys, his middle class contemporaries have been spending an increasing amount of time in pre-schools or at their mothers' knees learning to read, to count, and to learn "educationally relevant" things. He starts off a loser in a game that is strongly weighted against him in the first place. The feeling of failure comes early to such children.

> The potential in this situation for delinquent adaptions is evident. Often such a child can quite realistically anticipate greater feelings of competence and self esteem, more group support, more varied and interesting experience, and in general increased social and financial payoff from criminal acts, than from continuing to knock his head against the wall of this alien and rejecting school experience.

Probably even more important, in that it provides a motivating force for delinquency, is the fact that this experience is a very major frustration, caused at a very early age, by the representatives of the "good society".

There have been many aspects of delinquency other than those mentioned above, that have received the attention of researchers. There has for example been a vast amount of work investigating the personalities of delinquents, which on the whole has been descriptive, and has not necessarily contributed much to the understanding of the dynamics of delinquency. We may, if we

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look at all the work that has been done in the area of delinquency, be forgiven for wondering if the subject is not so complicated that it is altogether beyond the comprehension of man. There is reason to be optimistic. As compred with the work on delinquency the research on aggression and hostility has, largely because of the simpler concepts being dealt with, led to a far more coherent understanding of its subject matter.

It is superficially obvious that hostility is related to some forms of delinquency, and it has been suggested (Woodmansey 1964) that all delinquency is simply an expression of hostility. On examination of the causes of hostility one is struck by their similarity to the factors discussed above. This relationship, if real, would clarify the basic differences between the delinquent and the socialised criminal, and it would be consistent with the observations of Mack discussed above.

C. Hostility and Delinquency

1. Aggression and Hostility:

The search for an explanation of aggression has

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been approached from two different directions both of which have provided very significant results. The first major breakthrough in the study of aggression came with the publication of the Monograph "Frustration and Aggression" (Dollard et al, 1939) This group laid down what is now accepted as the basis of what is now the 'frustration-aggression' hypothesis. Since then however the behaviourists have come up with evidence that aggression can be a learned response rather than a reaction to frustration. Both of these approaches have contributed to the understanding of aggression in a highly significant manner.

Frustration is defined by Dollard as an "interference with the occurrence of an instigated goal response at its proper time in the behaviour sequence". Aggression is defined as a "sequence of behaviour, the goal response to which is the injury of the person toward whom it is directed". This behaviour need not be overt, may take place in fantasy only, may be symbolic or direct attacks on animate or inanimate objects, or for that matter may not seem to be directed at a target at all. The authors specifically exclude assertiveness and accidental injuries from their formulation.

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The basic hypothesis which is today generally accepted is that frustration often "arouses or increases the instigation to aggression" (Berkowitz, 1962). Whether or not actual aggression results depends on a number of factors.

A question that is still open is whether or not frustration is a necessary and sufficient condition for aggression. A number of writers have claimed that there are non-frustrating causes of aggression (Durbin & Bowlby, 1939: Menninger, 1942: Seward, 1945). It seems that these disagreements come about as a result of narrower definitions of frustration than Dollard et al would wish to use. It does seem in fact that most of the claimed exceptions can be interpreted as forms of frustration.

The acceptance of the hypothesis put forward by Dollard et al has been generally accepted and has led Redl and Wineman (1951)to conclude:-

> The various studies in frustration and aggression have documented Freud's old suspicions along that line and have shown statistically that mere frustration of basic needs or important goals in the child's life may be enough to produce unmanageable quantities of aggression and destructiveness or other disturbances even in children who otherwise wouldn't have had to hate so much. Such data, incidentally, could

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> have a tremendous impact on as practical problems as those of punishment in schools, and reformatories, and it should be hoped that facts about which nobody has any doubt anymore, because they are so well documented, may find there way into our practice with children in the next half century.

Probably the most influential investigation of learning factors related to aggression is that carried out by Bandura and Walters (1959). These writers defined "anti social aggression" as consisting of "acts which result in injury or harm to persons or property without necessarily implying that they are punishable by law." One obvious problem with this definition is that it does not exclude accidental injury, but it would seem safe to assume that the authors did not intend to examine accidental events.

Bandura and Walters do accept that hostility, resulting from the development of low tolerance levels, plays a part in the development of delinquents, but they consider that modelling is a more significant factor. It is clear from their own evidence that it is very difficult to separate learning and frustration related factors. For example, the authors found that the parents of aggressive boys often encouraged aggression outside of the home, and that their mothers

often permitted aggression directed at themselves. However it was found that their fathers did not tolerate aggression in the home and that they often punished the boys for it. It was also found that the boys felt more hostile toward their fathers than did controls. This, it would seem to me, is better explained in terms of frustration related factors than modelling.

2. Hostility as the Basis of Delinquency:

The idea that delinquency can be understood simply in terms of hostility does not seem to have been widely suggested, but it does seem to have been in the minds of several writers. Bandura and Walters, for example, considered the socio-legal associations of the term delinquency to be so wide that the term became psychologically useless. They therefore made the subject of their investigation "anti-social aggression". However, throughout their writing it is quite plain that they consider anti-social aggression to be at the heart of what is commonly termed delinquency, and they do in fact use the term delinquent in their book.

Berkowitz (1962) devotes a chapter to aggression in crime. Without going so far as to say that delinquency

can be seen simply as an expression of hostility, he does point out that they are closely related in some way. He says that although many crimes are obvious acts of aggression most are offences against property. He suggests that there are two aspects of hostility in offences against property. Firstly there is intentional or unintentional aggression against the loser of the property, and secondly there is aggression against the society at large which disapproves of such behaviour.

> Thus,aggression, as a violation of social standards,may be affected by many of the same factors governing violations of the norms against crime. Many criminals in other words, may possess characteristics generally held by people with strong aggressive tendencies.

Many factors contribute to criminality, but many of these can, according to Berkowitz, be understood in terms of the concept associated with aggression:

> Frustrations creating an emotional arousal predisposing to aggressive behaviour, aggressiveness habits also predisposing to such behaviour, external cues evoking the hostile actions, and inhibitions against these socially disapproved responses.

Further Berkowitz states that:-

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> Most law breakers may have been exposed to some combination of frustrations and aggressively anti-social role models, with the thwartings being particularly important in the development of 'individual' offenders, and the anti-social models being more influential in the formation of the socialised criminals.

Whether the relationship suggested by Berkowitz, between the combination of frustrations and role models and the tendency to offend individually or in a group, is real or not does not matter to this study. What is important is the suggestion that these two factors do exist in some combination for most offenders. I would suggest that the psychological delinquent is an individual who has been exposed to numerous substantial frustrations, whether or not he has had aggressive anti-social role models available. It may be that learning plays a more important role in the development of socialised criminals than in development of delinquents.

Berkowitz listed six characteristics associated with delinquency and found that they were very similar to those of aggressive persons. He argues that a history of intense frustration increases a person sensitivity to deprivation, but he also points out that the expression of overt hostility will depend on a number of factors. These are i) who he blames for the frustration, ii)the extent to which hostile behaviour has in

the past been reinforced, iii) the forms of hostility that have most often been reinforced, iv) the extent of interiorised moral standards opposing the particular hostile reaction.

A summary was given above of the factors which are seen as being related to delinquency, and it seems likely that most of the factors refer either to situations providing major frustrations, or situations providing a chance to learn illegal behaviour, or a mixture of both.

A strong statement of the relationship between hostility and delinquency comes from Woodmansey (1966, 1969, 1971). Woodmansey says that crime (legal definition) has many causes the foremost of which is delinquency (a clinical term). The essence of delinquency is seen as hostility, and the definition of delinquency is said to be, the tendency to act without regard for or in active opposition to the welfare of others. He argues that because hostility in a person is the result of being subject to hostility, it is reasonable to hypothesise that the hostile person has grown up in hostile relationships.

> The term hostility will be used here to denote a manifest tendency to attack someone, in whatever form (including threatening, blaming, or punishing) and for whatever motive (whether apparently for deterrence or for retribution), but will specifically exclude the 'firm yet friendly' exercise of responsible parental control
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> (Woodmansey, 1969) ...

So it is now suggested that hostile parents lead to a) anxious children and b) hostile children.

It is the conclusion of this investigator that the suggestions of Berkowitz, more explicitly presented by Woodmansey provide the most basic and simple explanation of the genesis and nature of delinquency that is available at this time. It is concluded that the psychological delinquent is, first and foremost, a hostile person, and that his offending is, usually at least, an expression of this hostility. It is not argued that all offenders are of this type, but it is thought likely that most of those who enter Borstal institutions are. If supported, this theory is rich in implications for the practices of legal agencies, in their dealings with delinquent offenders.

E. Authoritarianism

It has been argued above that the hostile youth has become such largely as a result of the hostility perceived by him in the actions of important others. In looking for factors in the 'penal' situation which might influence the rehabilitation of the delinquent, one which suggests itself is that of the authoritarian attitudes of the delinquent and of those who are responsible for him in the penal institution.

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There are, discussed in the literature, many aspects of the authoritarian syndrome which would seem to have relevance to the work of 'penal' rehabilitation.

"The authoritarian Personality" (Adorno et al, 1950) suggested that there is a personality type which the authors have called the authoritarian type, after the work of Maslow (1943) and Fromm (1947), which is made up of a collection of characteristics which are commonly found together in some people. They offered suggestions of what some of the characteristics are and devised a measure, the F-scale, which they claimed could be used to measure to what degree a person was of this type.

The characteristics which the authors seemed to attribute to the classical authoritarian person have been outlined by M.Brewster-Smith (Foreward to Kirscht and Dillehay, 1967) as follows:-

> Authoritarianism characterises the basically weak and dependent person, who has sacrificed his capacity for genuine experience of self and others, so as to maintain a precarious sense of order and safety that is psychologically necessary to him. In the type case, the authoritarian fronts with a facade of spurious strength, a world in which rigidly stereo-typed categories are substituted for the affectionate and individualised experience of which he is incapable. Such a person is estranged from inner values and lacks self awareness. His judgements are governed by punitive conventional moralism, reflecting external standards towards which he remains insecure since he has failed to

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> make them really his own. His relations with others depend on considerations of power, success, and adjustment, in which people figure as means rather than as ends, and achievement is valued competitively rather than for its own sake. In this world the good, the powerful, and the in group merge to stand in fundamental opposition to the immoral, the weak, the outgroup. For all that he seeks to align himself with the former, his underlying feelings of weakness and self contempt, commit him to a constant and embittered struggle to prove, to himself and others, that he really belongs to the strong and good, and the ego-alien impulses, which he represses, belong to the weak and bad.

Since its publication "The Authoritarian Personality" has been widely criticised, but the idea and the F-scale still remain acceptable as the basis of research. The methodolgical question which received most attention was that of acquiescence bias in the results of studies using the F-scale. It has been argued that in fact acquiescence is related to authoritarianism anyway and that it is therefore right to include it in research of authoritarianism (Gage, Leavitt, and Stone, 1957)(Gage and Chattergee,1960) It seems now to be accepted that whether or not it is best to include acquiescence as part of the authoritarian syndrome the bias does not negate findings using the F-scale, although relationships between the F-scale and other instruments which tend to have a similar bias may have to be questioned (Kirscht and Dillehay,1967: Lee and Warr, 1969).

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Theoretically it would seem that the authoritarian person is more hostile than the non-authoritarian, and many investigations have been made of this relationship. Evidence suggests that the authoritarian is more anxious, extrapunitive, and intrapunitive, and less impunitive than the non-authoritarian. (Freedman et al, 1956; Singer and Feshback, 1959). However these reports refer to Rosenzweig concepts which do not relate well with overt hostile behaviour (Chorost, 1962). Seigal (1956) found that while his Manifest Hostility Scale scores correlated with F-scale scores there tended to be a negative relationship between fantasy - aggression and authoritarianism. Chorost (1962) found a relationship between a behavioural rating of hostility and authoritarian parental attitudes, but not between those attitudes and fantasy- aggression as measured on the Rosensweig using his own scoring system. There is no conclusive evidence concerning the relationship between authoritarianism and general hostility levels, but it still seems likely that authoritarians are more hostile than non-authoritarians.

The original theory suggests that authoritarian people are particularly likely to show more hostility towards out groups, and this has been applied to relationships of general social status. Thibaut and

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and Riecken (1955) showed that high authoritarians are more likely to show hostility towards those of lower social status than themselves, than towards those of higher social status, and that they are more influenced by people of high social status than are non-authoritarians.

Epstein (1966) showed that authoritarians are more likely to imitate aggressive models than are non-authoritarians.

Whether authoritarian people are generally more hostile or only more inclined to direct hostility towards those of lower social status, it seems that if Borstal staff are highly authoritarian they will present both frustrations, and highly aggressive models to the trainee, but this is made to look even worse when we are told that the trainees own authoritarian attitudes make him more susceptible to influence by such aggressive models.

Completely apart from the authoritarians hostility, there are other factors which would seem to make him unsuitable for therapeutic work with hostile trainees.

Haythorn et al (1956) studied the behaviour of small groups containing high and low scorers on the

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F-scale. Observers rated the authoritarians as being more aggressive and less friendly, and records of the actual interactions demonstrated that authoritarians engaged in more self-isolating acts while low scorers showed more positive emotion, more agreement, more concern for the feelings of others, and made fewer acts of direct command.

If we accept that delinquency is a hostile reaction to what is perceived (probably correctly) as a hostile, uncaring world, it seems unlikely that authoritarian people are going to be able to handle the job of rehabilitating these delinquents as well as might less authoritarian people.

One of the best supported characteristics of the authoritarian is of course the tendency to be racially intolerant. The implications of this for an institution with a 60% Maori population merits investigation far beyond the scope of this study.

II. AIMS OF THE STUDY

This study has four major aims which will be dealt with in two sections.

In the first section an attempt will be made to show that hostility is closely related to delinquency, thus supporting the explanation of delinquency proposed above. The effect of Borstal Training on hostility will be assessed as a measure of the effectiveness of that training, and the relationship between hostility and authoritarianism will be investigated.

The second section will deal with authoritarian attitudes of the staff. An attempt will be made to measure these attitudes and to find out if there is any evidence of change following the more progressive policies proclaimed by the New Zealand Justice Department in recent years

III. HYPOTHESES

Section A.

1. Delinquency is directly correlated with hostility
2. Delinquency is negatively related to the ability to react to frustrations constructively.
3. Authoritarian attitudes are directly correlated with levels of hostility.
4. Borstal Training does not decrease levels of hostility.
5. Borstal Training increases levels of authoritarianism.
6. The less a given instrument relies on verbal skills the more likely it is to be useful with delinquents.

Section B.

7. Borstal staff are highly authoritarian
8. The education of staff will be directly correlated with their degree of authoritarianism.
9. Age will be negatively correlated with authoritarian attitudes.
10. Years of service will be directly correlated with authoritarianism.
11. There is an inverse relationship between authoritarianism and rank

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12. Promotion marks are inversely related to authoritarianism.
13. Non-authoritarians will rate their job satisfaction lower than high authoritarians.

IV. PROCEDURES

A. Subjects

Section A:

The eight-six subjects used in this section are all trainees at Waikeria Borstal (described in Appendix I) whose ages at admission to the Borstal were between 15 and 21 years. They are all serving Borstal Training sentences; the institution sometimes houses young prisoners. They are divided into two samples:-

i) New Arrivals: This group consists of the trainees who arrived at the institution between October 25 and December 5, 1971, excluding those who were subsequently transferred to other institutions. The forty-four trainees who remained in the institution were tested and of these two gave unscorable responses and were therefore dropped from the sample. Testing took place when the average time spent in the institution was between four and five weeks.

ii) Parole Predictions: This group of forty-four subjects was obtained by asking the officer in charge of each section of the institution to predict which of the trainees going before the Parole Board in November would normally be given a release date. Because it was the 'Board'

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immediately before Christmas and because it is hard to get work at that time, it was thought that the number of releases might be down on usual. The officers were asked therefore to give the names of those they thought would normally get released if the 'Board' was sitting at some other time. The total number for whom releases were predicted was fifty-four, of these only forty-four being available for testing, the others being either at a Pre-release Hostel away from Waikeria, working on farms in the area on release to work, or working at jobs within the institution from which they could not be spared for testing. Of those predicted for release five were not released while ten trainees who were not predicted were released. (i.e. 91% of those predicted were released while 84.7% of those released were predicted.)

It is realised that ideally this study should have been carried out longitudinally with the same subjects being tested at the beginning and at the end of their sentence. However this was not possible because it would have taken two years for the completion of the sentences. The two samples were compared on a number of variables and were found to be substantially the same.

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TABLE 2

A comparison of the Two Trainee samples on various important factors:

Sample	Age	Previous appearances	Schooling (yrs past S.4)	Months Since 1st appear.
New Arrivals	17	4.5	3.8	34.7
Parole Predict.	17	4.1	3.6	34.5

All figures are sample means, calculated from date of reception at Waikeria.

It is obvious from this table that there is no difference between the two samples with regard to age, schooling, or history of Court appearances.

TABLE 3

A comparison of the Institutional Experiences of the Two Trainee Samples:-

Institutions	The Number of Trainees having been in each type of Institution	
	New Arrivals	Parole Predictions
Detention Centre	12	10
Borstal	8	9
Prison	2	0
Child Welfare(Other than Campbell Park)	11	15
Periodic Work Detention Centre	6	6
Psychiatric	2	1
Campbell Park	1	2
Total	48	43

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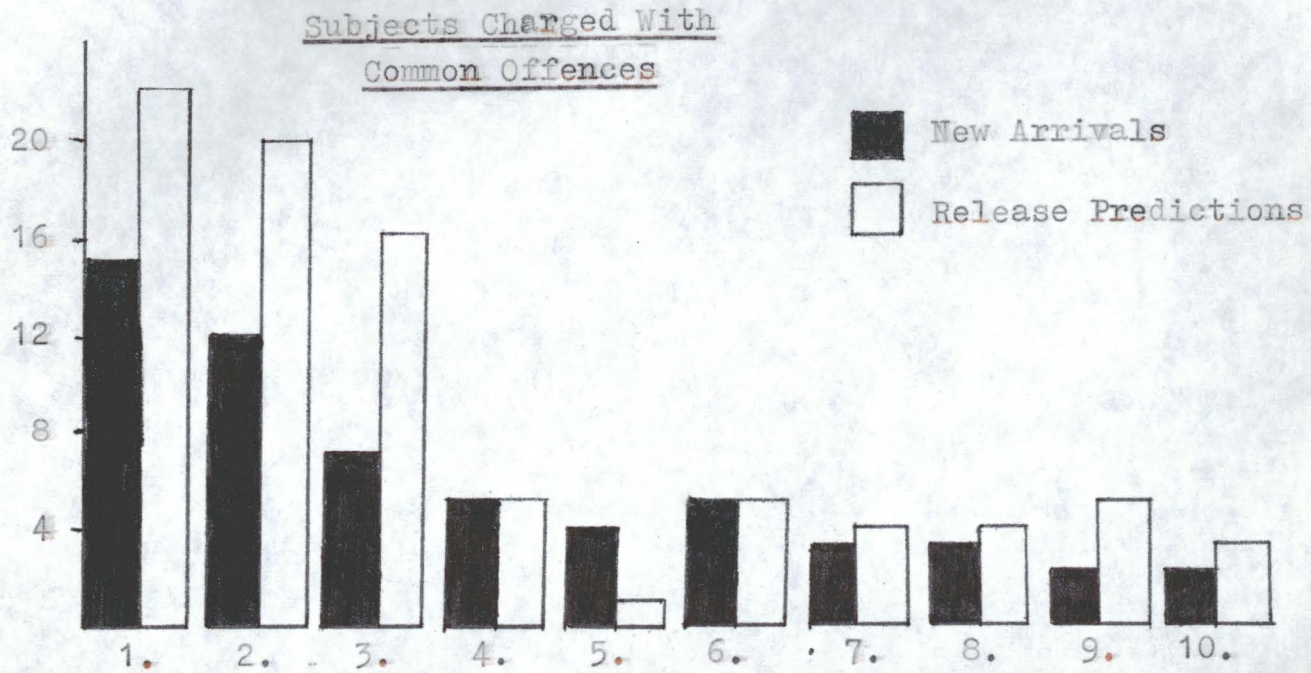

1. Burglary
2. Conversion of Vehicles
3. Theft
4. Assault
5. Rape
6. Breach of Probation
7. Wilful Damage
8. Getting into a Vehicle
9. Escape from Custody
10. Driving While Disqualified

FIGURE 1.

The figures given in Table 3 were taken from the trainees personal files. There is no differentiation between remands and longer sentences, and there is no way of assessing the effects of the various types of institution. All that can be said is that the total numbers of institutions attended by the two samples are similar, and they break down into similar frequencies for each type of institution.

Figure 1. shows that for both samples the order of popularity of the various types of offence is subtantially the same. The number of types of charge against each individual is different as is indicated by the numerical difference between the samples under each of the offence categories. The figures given refer to the number of subjects with one or more charges of each type, they do not refer to the absolute number of recorded charges (e.g.if a person is convicted of six burglaries he is listed as one person who has burglary charges, not as six burglaries). The variety of charges for each subject has dropped, but why this should be is unclear. It may indicate a change in the Police policy regarding the charging of offenders. This difference does not seem to balance out the more specific similarities which have been found between the samples, and it is concluded that the two samples are

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so similar that they can be safely presumed to represent a single population, and to provide a reasonable substitute for the more desirable "before and after" analysis of a single sample.

Section B:

The subjects in this sample are the 31 officers who returned questionnaires which were sent out to forty-four officers whose names were obtained by selecting every third name from a list of staff arranged in alphabetical rank order. The Superintendent, Deputy Superintendent, Assistant Superintendent, and Chief Officer were not included on the list. (a description of the Staff hierarchy is given in Appendix II)

B. Instruments Used

The following instruments were used:-

(i) The Manifest Hostility Scale (MHS)

Siegal (1956) designed a questionnaire type scale based on the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale. The MHS consists of fifty statements which are answered 'True' or 'False' as the subject applies them to himself. The language used is not very difficult but the level of literacy required for an adequate completion of this scale would be beyond that of a number of trainees in the Borstal.

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Most of the answers are scored "Hostile" when answered in the positive direction, so there is the possibility that acquiescence will effect the results. (Appendix III)

(ii) The Rosenzweig Picture - Frustration Study (P-F)

The P-F Study is a projective style instrument designed to measure modes of reaction to common every day frustrations. It consists of rating the responses of subjects who are asked to fill in the dialogue for cartoon characters, who have been placed in common situations of frustration. It is assumed in scoring that the subjects will identify with the cartoon character being frustrated and respond in a way consistent with the manner in which he would himself respond if placed in a similar situation.

The original scoring system devised by Rosenzweig has the responses rated as extra-punitive, intra-punitive, or impunitive. However it has been pointed out (Chorost 1962) that the scoring system devised by Rosenzweig does not relate well to overt behaviour, possibly because it seems to lump general aggressive or assertive responses together with hostile responses. Chorost

has devised a scoring system that measures purely hostile responses, and he has shown that the results are related to overt behaviour. It was decided that the Chorost scoring system should be used in this investigation as the interest is in hostile responses.

> Briefly, the criteria for the three major scoring categories in the revised manual are as follows:-
> (a) Fantasy hostile - aggressive responses will be given a score of -1. Included in this category are responses characterised by the "hero's" putting himself against the "instigator" in a hostile, challenging, threatening manner. Also included in this category are responses which contain sarcasm and swearing directed at the instigator. (b) Fantasy aggression-anxiety responses will be given a score of +1 and will include responses characterised by attempts to deny or minimize frustration, compliance, submissiveness, blame avoidance, and ethical arguments against aggression. Responses where the "hero" expresses the presence of feelings of frustration but makes no attempt to direct these feelings outwards to cope with the instigator are also classified in this category. (c) "Appropriate" assertive responses will be given a score of 0. This category include those reactions to the situation which are judged to be assertive but non-hostile and directed at overcoming or rectifying the instigation.
>
> Responses which do not appear to fall within any of the above categories are designated unscorable or U responses. Those responses which contain elements of more than one category are given combination scores". (Chorost 1962 p68)

(N.B. In the manual for Chorost's scoring system,

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hostile aggressiveness is scored +1 and aggression - anxiety -1. This is the scoring notation used in this study).

While this measure cannot be used by the completely illiterate, the literacy requirement is fairly low, responses being given by each subject at his own level. (Examples of Chorost's scoring method are presented in Appendix IV)

iii) The Lee - Warr Balanced F Scale (F-):

Two major considerations were taken into account in the selection of a measure of authoritarianism, both of them having to do with the acquiescence factor which has received such extensive attention. It is not yet certain whether or not acquiescence should or should not be excluded from measures of 'F'. It was decided however that relationships between 'F' scores and scores on other instruments would be more easily interpreted if the acquiescence factor was removed. This is particularly important in that the MHS which is also being used in this study is also open to influence by acquiescence, and any relationship between scores on these two measures would be particularly hard to evaluate if the original F scale was used.

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As pointed out by Kirscht and Dillehay (1967) most of the so-called balanced F- scales have been very poor instruments because of either poor reliability of the negative items, or the failing of items which are simple reversals of the original positive items. The scale devised by Lee and Warr (1969) appears to have overcome these problems. One failing of this instrument is that there is not a large pool of sample scores available for comparison. There are however sufficient to give some idea of how high a given sample mean is.

A major problem that this scale shares with most of the other F-scales is that a high level of literacy is required of those who answer it. While this is no problem for most of the samples that have been studied in the past (these mostly having been students) it is highly significant problem when one is dealing with delinquents, many of whom are illiterate or near illiterate.

The original Lee-Warr scale consists of 30 items, fifteen being scored in the positive direction and fifteen in the negative. In this study however two of the negatively scored items were dropped as they are

not applicable to New Zealand populations.

The items of this scale are of a similar Likert type design to those of the original F scale (Appendix V)

(iv) The Hogan Symbolic F Scale (SF-test)

Because of the literacy problems mentioned above it was decided to include a symbolic measure associated with authoritarianism. It was felt that in doing this we would be able to draw conclusions about the Borstal population in general without regard for literacy levels. Otherwise, a substantial percentage of the population might have to be dropped as being unable to handle the verbal F-scale. This is important because it is known that authoritarianism is related to intelligence and the exclusion of illiterates or near illiterates would substantially bias the results.

This measure was developed on the assumption that intolerance of ambiguity is a central factor to the concept of authoritarianism. However, it is difficult to know how this factor should be measured in its pure form, or what its relationship to other factors such as rigidity might be. Hogan has shown that his symbolic measure does correlate

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highly with the Adorno F-Scale, for student samples at least. The measure should be able to be handled equally well by the literate and the illiterate.

> The SF - test consists of 12 pairs of geometric drawings and three pairs of digit arrangements. (For example, one geometric drawing in one of the sets consists of four lines of equal length joined so as to form a square, while the companion drawing is made of four lines of unequal lengths that would form a square if joined; one digit arrangement in one of the sets consists of the numbers 1 through 7 placed horizontally in ascending order, while the same digits placed horizontally but in a mixed order form the companion arrangement. One symbol of each set is thought to be more elicitable than its companion symbol of the authoritarianism related phenomenon of intolerance of ambiguity. A score of 1 was therefore assigned to those symbols not expected to be indicative of high F- scores while a score of 2 was assigned to those symbols whose choice was expected to be positively associated with high F-scores (Hogan, 1970)

The simple instructions ask the subjects to choose which geometric drawing or digit arrangement from each pair the subject "<u>likes best</u>". The highest possible score is 30 and one problem with the instrument is that it tends to score high and there is usually a small range of scores. However, there is evidence that it is quite sensitive enough to differentiate between groups. (Appendix VI)

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(v) The Metropolitan Reading Scale (MRS):

This test is used throughout the New Zealand Penal Service to measure reading skills. All trainees entering Waikeria Borstal are given this test and results are recorded on their files. It was decided however that the subjects of this survey should be retested because it was uncertain how well the testing was being administered in the institution. It was also possible that a persons reading skills may have been affected by education he received within the institution since his arrival and original testing.

Black (1969) says that it has been found from experience that a prisoner with a raw score of 15 is able to read a newspaper. Of the New Zealand prison population 25% score below 20. It was decided that this point should be used as a cut off point for analysing data gained from the MHS and the F-Scale when the factor of poor reading skills was to be allowed for. Generally however, the analysis includes people of all degrees of literacy because to do otherwise would be to make the sample less representative.

C. Details of Method:

Section A:

The subjects in the trainee samples were tested in groups of 8 or 10. It was explained to each group that the testing was part of a study of Borstal trainees in general, and that individuals results would not be put into their files, or be seen by anyone other than the investigator.

The tests were always administered in the following order:-

Symbolic F-test (Hogan 1970a and b)

Manifest Hostility Scale (Siegal 1956)

Balanced F- Scale (Lee & Warr 1969)

Rosenzweig Picture - Frustration Study (Rosenzweig 1948)

Metropolitan Reading Scale.

To minimize the literacy problem all instructions for each test, and all of the written items were read aloud by the examiner. When there was a noticeable misunderstanding definitions of key words were given. It is recognised that this could have lead to particular emphasis being put on words so that the emotional content of items might be effected. There is no way to guarantee that this did not occur, but it can be pointed out that the examiner was aware of this

possibility at the time of testing, and was careful to guard against it. It was decided that this would be done in spite of the questions which might be asked concerning the validity of the results, because it was considered important that as few subjects as possible be dropped from the sample for reasons of illiteracy.

Information over and above test results was taken from the institution files which are kept for all trainees. No interviewing was done. The accuracy of the information in the files is uncertain and all that can be said about it is that if there are any inaccuracies they should be randomly spread throughout the samples as the same procedures are used in gathering information on all trainees.

To test the relationship between hostility and delinquency four factors, which it was thought might satisfy as indices of delinquency, were extracted from each subjects file. The factors were i) the recorded number of previous appearances before the Children's Court, Magistrates' Court, or the Supreme Court; ii) the time elapsed in months since the first recorded appearance in one of the above courts; iii)

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length of sentence before gaining a release prediction; iv) the number of misconduct reports received during sentence. The first two indices are applicable to pre-institution behaviour and were tested against the new arrivals sample, while the second two indices are applicable to behaviour within the institution and so could only be tested against the parole prediction group.

Throughout the study, where it was considered that literacy might effect results, statistics were calculated on the basis of those people with a MRS score of 20 or more. All correlations were calculated on the new arrivals sample except for the two mentioned above.

Section B:

The staff sample, as pointed out previously, was surveyed anonymously. The survey consisted of a questionnaire covering several areas of experience relative to the institution and a copy of the balanced F-Scale. It would have been very useful to have included a measure of hostility, but it was considered that as the intention of the MHS is so obvious, its inclusion would have caused people not to participate

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in the study. As it happened the response rate was only 70.5%, a barely acceptable level.

The educational experiences of staff were listed in two categories, preservice education and inservice training. The major milestones within each category were rated as follows:-

Preservice Training

1. Primary School only
2. Some secondary schooling
3. School Certificate
4. University Entrance
5. Some University Work

Trades were not included because they could not easily be grouped according to the educational requirements of each trade.

Inservice Training

1. Junior Officers' Course
2. Intermediate Officers' Examinations
3. Senior Officers' Examinations
4. Certificate of Criminology

D. Statistical Treatment of Data:

The hypotheses of the first section of this study deal with: the inter-relationships between the factors of delinquency and hostility, authoritarianism and hostility, and the effects of Borstal training on these factors.

The second section deals with the analysis of authoritarian attitudes of staff members.

It is considered that all of the data approximates the requirements for the use of parametric statistics and so these have been used.

The correlational hypotheses were all tested in terms of the Pearson product-moment statistics, and the effects of Borstal Training were investigated in terms of the 't' statistic.

V. RESULTS

Section A

In his study of the relationship between hostility and authoritarianism Seigal (1956) reported mean MHS scores for high, middle and low authoritarian university and veteran samples. The average university MHS score was 14.1 while the average veteran's score was 17.2 The highest mean score was 20.8 for highly authoritarian veterans. This compares with averages of 28.64 for new arrivals and 28.28 for parole predictions in the present study.

We must conclude that the present sample is highly hostile.

TABLE 4

Analysis of Indices of Delinquency and their correlates in Hostility

Delinquency factors	Manifest Hostility	Chorost P-F '+1'	Chorost P-F '0'
The recorded number of previous appearances before the Children's Court, Magistrates' Court, or the Supreme Court	r=0.1307	r=0.297*	r=-0.3992***
The time elapsed in months since the first recorded appearance in one of the above Courts	r=0.1883	r=0.2703*	r=-0.2675*
Time spent in Borstal	r=0.21666	r=0.1954	r=-0.2093

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The number of misconduct reports received during sentence	r=0.3075*	r=0.6169****	r=-0.4670**

*Significant at .05 level ***Significant at.005 level
Significant at .025 level ** " " .0005 level

All of the correlations are in the direction that is predicted by hypotheses 1 and 2. Scores on the MHS correlate with only the fourth factor at a level which can be said to approach significance (.05). However, the hostile aggression scores from the P-F Study give more significant results with the correlations on, the first two indices, being significant at the .05 level, and the fourth index, being significant at the .0005 level. Except for the third index, all indices have a significant negative correlation with non-hostile aggressive responses, which can be seen as a measure of the tendency to react to frustrating situations constructively. Hypotheses 1 & 2 are well supported by these results.

TABLE 5

Analysis of authoritarianism and its correlates in Hostility:

Measures of Authoritarianism	MHS(MRS± 20)	P-F Study Scores -1	0	+1
SF-test	r=-0.1059	r=0.0799	r=0.2072	r=-0.1971
F-Scale	r=0.1469	r=0.3175*	r=-0.0281	r=-0.1064

*significant at .025 level

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Hypothesis 3 is not supported by these data. Once more the relationship between hostility and authoritarianism remains unclear

TABLE 6

Analysis of the effect of Borstal Training on Hostility levels:

Measure		New Arrivals	Parole Predictions	t
MHS (Whole sample)	Mean	28.64	28.27	
	SD	7.31	7.44	-0.2306
MHS (MRS + 20)	Mean	27. 4	28.16	
	SD	7.04	7.47	0.3980
P-F Study Scores +1	Mean	8.62	12. 3	
	SD	4.75	5.06	3.2828*
0	Mean	5.98	3.16	
	SD	2.46	2.33	-5.4021**
-1	Mean	8. 9	7.87	
	SD	4.07	3.85	-1.2081

*significant at .005 level **significant at .0005 level

When the 't' statistic is calculated for the whole sample on the MHS there is a very small decrease in scores. When the calculation is made only for those with MRS scores of 20 or more however, the small decrease turns to a slightly larger increase. Neither of these changes comes anywhere near significance.

There is a very marked increase in hostile-aggressive responses as measured by the P-F Study,

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and there is an even more marked decrease in the non-hostile assertive responses. The decrease in aggression anxiety responses does not quite reach significance. Hypothesis 4 is well supported by these results.

TABLE 7

Analysis of the effects of Borstal Training on Authoritarianism:

Measure		New Arrivals	Parole Predictions	t
F-scale (Whole sample)	Mean	101.93	100.61	-0.5566
	SD	10.23	10.96	
F-scale (MRS ± 20)	Mean	104.3	103.26	-0.4041
	SD	9.47	10.07	
SF-test	Mean	11.9	11.0	-1.1046
	SD	3.33	4.11	

Hypothesis 5 is not supported by these results. In fact, although none of the results are significant, they do suggest that authoritarianism might be decreased by Borstal Training.

TABLE 8

Analysis of the relationships between the two measures of Hostility:

Relationship	Whole samples	Metro RS ± 20
MHS to +1	r=0.4234**	r= 0.2745*
MHS to 0	r=0.1209	r=-0.0725
MHS to -1	r=-0.4622**	r=-0.2647*

** significant at .005 level *significant at .1 level

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The two measures of hostility do correlate with one another at a significant level. The MHS is positively correlated with +1 scores and negatively related to 0 and -1 scores. However neither of the correlations with 0 are significant.

TABLE 9

Analysis of the relationship between the two measures of authoritarianism

Relationship	Whole samples	Metro RS ± 20
F-scale to SF-test	r= 0.2629*	r=0.4156**

*significant at .05 level

**significant at .025 level

The two measures of authoritarianism are positively correlated.

Hypothesis 6 appears to be supported in that there is a definite tendency for the less verbal tests (SF-test and P-F Study) to give clearer and more significant results than the more verbally demanding tests (F-scale and MHS).

Section B.

TABLE 10

Mean Lee-Warr F-Scale Scores as Reported by the Authors:

Sample Category	Mean	SD	N
Peace Corps Trainees	80.2	18.7	54
Princeton Undergraduate & Graduate Students	87.5	16.5	556
Princeton Fundamentalists	108.5	16.4	6
Nonachieving high school students	107.9	6.8	14
Right wing	102.5	22	12
Neutral	94.9	18.2	29
Left wing	61.1	8.6	16

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Some of the F-scales returned by staff had a small number of items left unanswered. These scores were corrected for 28 items and the average for the sample was 98.5. The data provided by Lee and Warr, in Table 10 above were gained using the full 30 item scale so comparison requires that the present result should be corrected for 30 items. This gives an average of 106.4 similar to the highest of scores gained by Lee and Marr in their investigations. It is concluded that the staff sample can be considered highly authoritarian.

F- scale and age:

The co-efficient of correlation for F and age r=0.1615

F-scale and years of Service:

The co-efficient of correlation of F and years of service r=0.0376

F-scale and Educational experiences:

TABLE 11

Analysis of authoritarianism and its correlates in Educational Experience:

Relationship	Preservice Education	Inservice Education

*significant at .005 level

F-scale and Rank:

The co-efficient of correlation for F and rank r=0.152

...

F-scale and Promotion:

The co-efficient of correlation for F and promotion marks r=-0.3322*

F-scale and Job Satisfaction:

The co-efficient of correlation for F and job satisfaction r=0.2622* (*.01 level of significance)

All of the results are in the directions predicted except for that relating to rank. Only education correlates with F at an acceptable level of significamce although the correlations with promotion marks and job satisfaction approach an acceptable level.

V1. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The basic claim in Woodmansey's theory of delinquency is strongly supported by the results. Three of the four indices of delinquency used in this study provide significant results when correlated with the fantasy hostile-aggression scores.

These correlations are strengthened as evidence, by the fact that the highest correlation is found to be between fantasy hostile-aggression scores and the number of misconduct reports received during sentence. This supports Chorost's finding that his measure of hostility is well related to manifest behaviour. The more indirect the index of delinquency seems to be the less is the correlation with hostility.

The argument that the Borstal could not hope to significantly reduce hostility because of it being perceived as a hostile institution received more dramatic support than the writer expected. With the same samples the Chorost measure of hostility showed a highly significant relationship to misconduct within the institution, and at the same time a marked increase in the level of hostility as a result of Borstal Training.

The implications of this finding seem inescapable. It is possible, but one would think unlikely that there

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will be a reversal of this effect as soon as the trainee leaves the institution. This can only be checked by further investigation. For the moment one must conclude that not only does the Borstal fail to reduce hostility levels in it's trainees, but it actually increases them. The Borstal would seem to be contributing to the so called "delinquency problem". This of course is not an entirely new observation in that it has long been believed that naive people entering penal institutions might learn criminal skills. However this present finding suggests not that skills are taught but that a more basic disposition which motivates criminal behaviour is developed by the institution itself. It is accepted that the Manifest Hostility Scale did not support these conclusions in a statistically significant way, but all of the results were in the expected direction so it can only be concluded that the reason for the lack of statistically significant results lies, not in any weakness of hypotheses, but in the unsuitability of the test for verbally inadequate delinquents.

With the long standing theoretical claim that authoritarians are hostile people, and with the evidence that authoritarian parental attitudes lead to both

...

hostility and authoritarianism in children(Fromm 1947 : Siegal 1956. Chorost, 1962 : Walter and Stinnet 1971), it would be thought that hostility would correlate with authoritarianism in delinquents, a group considered to be high on both factors. Although none of the correlations reach significant levels, they would seem to indicate that a negative relationship between these two factors is more likely. This possibility is supported by the fact that both of the measures of authoritarianism show reductions resulting from training, which in the case of the SF-test almost reaches significance. We cannot draw any conclusions from these results with regard to delinquents let alone the general population. One suggestion might be however, that only the types of situation in which hostility is aroused and expressed differ for authoritarian people, while the basic tendency to react in a hostile manner is not realted to authoritarian attitudes. Another possibility is that people with low scores are less likely to be hostile than people with high scores, a relationship which does not show up in the analysis of only subjects with relatively high scores. Any attempt to explain the tendency for authoritarianism to reduce as a result of Borstal Training would be unfounded.

Concerning the measures used in this study,

...

we can conclude that Chorost's scoring system for the P-F Study makes that instrument a very useful tool for the analysis of hostility in subjects with poor verbal skills. It may also be superior to the Manifest Hostility Scale when being used by highly literate subjects. It is not so easy to draw conclusion regarding the use of the authoritarian scales, because the findings in this study, relating to authoritarianism, were indecisive, probably for reasons other than the quality of the instruments used. It does seem likely however that the SF-test does provide a reasonable means of assessing authoritarian attitudes in verbally inadequate subjects.

As hypothesised the staff of the institution were found to be highly authoritarian. This study has not attempted to provide fresh evidence which would support the contention that authoritarian attitudes are unsuitable in therapeutic relationships, but it is believed that information available would strongly support this contention. What has been done is an attempt to discover whether or not such attitudes are decreasing in the influence they are likely to have on trainees. None of the results reached high levels of significance except for

...

those relating to preservice education, so the following discussion must be regarded as being of a suggestive nature rather than being an attempt to draw supportable conclusions. It seems likely that people who are low on authoritarian ratings get better promotion marks and gain less satisfaction from their work than do those with higher ratings. However, there does not seem to be a positive correlation between authoritarianism and rank. This might suggest that in spite of gaining better marks non-authoritarians tend to leave the service before they get far up the hierarchy. This idea is supported in that non-authoritarian people tend to have fewer years of service, although this could also be explained by some change in the recruiting policy. Whichever way the answer lies, at best, we can say that, whatever tendency there is for non-authoritarian persons to be employed in preference to more authoritarian people, there is unlikely to be a significant change in the general attitudes of staff.

Perhaps the only way in which it is likely that authoritarian attitudes of staff will be reduced is that higher educational requirements might be demanded of new entrants to the service. However, the Service is perhaps unlikely to attract and keep better educated and less authoritarian people until other changes have been made. ...

VII. IMPLICATIONS

Punishment can be seen to have three functions; deterrence of the potential law-breaker, vengeance as a means of alleviating the frustration of "good law-abiding people", and the reformation of the offender so that he may cease to offend and perhaps lead a happier life. This study has not attempted to evaluate the first two functions, and it may well be that they are performed admirably by the New Zealand Borstal system. One imagines however that the Psychologist working in the penal setting could not satisfactorily justify his work on the basis of such a success. The interest of the clinical psychologist must be directed toward improving the life of his client, in this case the offender (not the institution!).

To satisfactorily deal with a client the psychologist must first know what the basic "problem" is. I have argued that the problem is one of hostility based mainly on long experience in hostile environments, and particularly in hostile relationships with other people. If the situation is to be rectified it seems fair to assume that it is going to be through experience of better relationships. The importance of staff-trainee relationships has been underlined elsewhere.

> To first study an inmate with the use of the latest psychological techniques, and to process

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> him through a modern classification programme, then send him to an institution where he remains for the rest of his sentence under the direct supervision of a guard who lacks the basic concept of handling men, is certainly one of the so-called cultural lags of modern penology. (Perdue,1964)

Statements to this effect have also been made in New Zealand:

> The forces of change reaching an inmate are largely conditioned by the standards, attitudes, and personalities of our Prison Officers. The nature of the daily contacts between Officer and Trainee is of vital importance (Hanan,1969)
>
> If the forces of change that are to reach an inmate are conditioned chiefly by officer standards and officer attitudes, it follows that research into the causes of recidivism should concentrate upon this basic factor. (Parker,1967)

On the basis of existing information this study has assumed that authoritarian people are less likely to be able to form therapeutic relationships than are non-authoritarians. The study has demonstrated that the staff of the Borstal at Waikeria are authoritarian in their attitudes, and there is little or no evidence that this is changing at the present time. In fact the rank system, with its implications of diminished responsibility for the individual officer, would suggest that the present situation is being protected. It seems reasonable that we should conclude that the unsuitability of the staff employed in the institution contributes to the institutions failure. I would not suggest that this

...

is the only reason for the marked increase in hostility which has been indicated by the present samples, indeed it is impossible to apportion the magnitude of contribution to this problem. However it is reasonable to conclude that, so long as the present staffing arrangements continue, there is little likelihood that the present trends will be reversed. The basic material required for therapeutic relationships is just not being provided. Neither does it seem likely that the problem will be solved by the education of the present staff. The problem is one of values not simple education. It is also unlikely that a simple change in employment practices will be sufficient. Without the necessary changes in the structure of the institution and its hierarchy, re-definition of the relationships between Senior staff and their subordinates, and an increase in responsibility of each staff member for his own actions in such a way that he can act as an independent human being, non-authoritarian staff would most likely find the institution unacceptable and leave. Military discipline may be useful when men are to be asked to stand against an enemy and fight, it is totally unrealistic when men are to be asked to form warm, direct relationships with one another and the people they are

...

dealing with. What is being suggested here is not necessarily a revocation of the Borstal System, but rather a closer relationship to what would seem to have been the original concept. Hood (1965) quotes Alexander Paterson, the man who has been called the father of the modern Borstal system, as having said:-

> The Borstal system has no merit apart from the Borstal staff. It is men and not buildings that will change the hearts of misguided lads. The foundations of the Borstal system are first the recruitment of the right men. (1925)

APPENDIX I

A general description of Waikeria

In New Zealand the responsibility for maintaining incarcerated young offenders is shared by two government departments. The Child Welfare Division of the Education Department takes responsibility for looking after children under the age of 17 years. The penal service of the Justice Department is responsible for people over the age of fifteen years, given that a younger person considered to require highly secure conditions might be held in a Justice Department institution.

The residential institutions of the Justice Department which are particularly charged with responsibility for young offenders are the Detention Centres, and the Borstals. The Detention Centre was developed as a short term institution where boys who do not have a long record of offences and who are physically fit, and reasonably intelligent, might be prevented from getting onto a more criminal path by being put into hard, demanding, highly organised institution for two to three months. The ages at which boys may enter are from 16 years to 21 years and no boy who has previously been in Detention Centre or Borstal may be sentenced to Detention Centre.

The Borstal institutions do the major work of dealing with young persistent offenders. A boy sentenced to Borstal is committed to that institution for an unspecified period up to two years. His progress is judged by

...

the officers in charge of him who will put him up for a Parole Board appearance when they consider him to be ready. However each trainee sees the first Board to sit after his arrival in the institution, and the law requires that he will again see the Board at least once in every six month period. The Parole Board has the right to decide whether or not the particular trainee is ready for release. The Parole Board is chaired by a Magistrate and consists, with the exception of the Superintendent, of people from outside of the institution. At the time of the study it was sitting six times a year but this figure has since been increased.

Waikeria is the largest of the two receiving Borstals in New Zealand (there are also other "open Borstal" houses for which trainees are selected from the two major Borstals.) It is part of the Waikeria Youth Centre which also contains a Detention Centre. The staff is shared between the two institutions. The buildings are mainly of two tier prison wing design with single cells only. However because of overcrowding many of the cells have in fact had a second bunk put in them. There are also two newer villas each of which holds fifty boys in open conditions. The deisgn of the older buildings is entirely unsuitable for a modern rehabilitative programme, and this factor has, with some justification, been seen, by some, as the major reason for the not too impressive success rate of the institution.

Each of the three wings holds approximately 100 trainees and each has been divided in half by the addition of a partition across the middle of the wing. The aim has been to break the institution into smaller units which will identify themselves as such. This has not been very successful because during the day the trainees from the wings are mixed in work parties, and for those who are inside the building during the day it is possible to go almost anywhere with freedom. This means that many associations are formed outside of the sleeping units, and it appears that socially the trainees in the wings with the exception of the classification section, form one large unit. This large mass of trainees which is indivisible because of building designs, makes the introduction of any serious therapeutic program very difficult and the control and manipulation of interaction factors almost impossible.

As stated above the Borstal population is made up of offenders between the ages of 15 and 20. Most of the boys who come to the Borstal have quite long records of juvenile offending although these may be exclusively to do with driving offences. Most of the boys arriving in the institution have a previous record of institutionalisation, some only having a Detention Centre record, while many have extensive records of residence in Child Welfare homes, often

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from a very early age. Apart from this, the residents of Waikeria Borstal seem to be similar to most of the other populations of persistent juvenile offenders that have been so extensively described in the literature.

New arrivals are delivered to the institutions receiving office by the Police and signed over to the institution. Their belongings are listed and stored, and all the necessary details are recorded. They are then transferred to the Classification Wing where their hair is cut and where they will stay for the first three weeks or so of their sentence. The Classification Wing has a programme substantially different from that of the rest of the institution. There is no work apart from the cleaning of the Wing which is done in a very fastidious manner. Lunch is early and after an hour or so in their cells the boys are brought out for orientation lectures which are given by various staff members mainly with a view to introducing the trainees to the institution and its requirements. After this there is drill, tea, recreation and bed. The emphasis in this Wing is on strong, military style discipline. Over the period spent in the Wing each trainee is observed, tested by the Schoolteacher, and a general report on his background and progress written. After about three weeks he comes before a Classification Committee which consists of the Superintendent, Officer in Charge of the Classification, Chaplain, school teacher, psychologist, and one of the officers in charge of the Open Houses. The committee interviews him, and decides

where he should do his sentence within the institution, what his educational requirements appear to be, and what work is most suitable for him. From this meeting he goes to the appointed wing or house and settles into the major part of his sentence under the charge of a Divisional Officer, one of whom is in charge of each section of the institution.

Waikeria is centred on a large farm and provides a variety of work experiences. Most of the programme is based on work with a small amount of time being spent on education for those who chose to study. Spare time is spent in sports activities mainly. There is little time set aside for formal therapeutic or counselling sessions, and there would not be the staff to handle these if there was more time.

APPENDIX II

The Selection Training and Promotion of Staff

The superintendent has the power delegated from the State Services Commission to appoint basic grade officers at the minimum rate of pay, up to the establishment figure set for his institution.

Applicants take a test which, at Waikeria, is supervised by the teaching staff. The test consists of arithmetic, dictation, and written exercises, and the Raven's Progressive Matrices. The standards required are a minimum of about standard six educational ability and a Raven's score above thirty-five (considered to be about the 25th per centile).

Having passed the test the applicant is interviewed by the Deputy Superintendent and other senior staff, and is given a Medical examination. The basic medical requirements are:- age between 23-35, height not less than 5'7", vision, hearing, and speech all being normal with reading glasses being permitted.

Training:

The aims of staff training have been written down in the Penal Division Manual as follows:-

> The staff training programme must be designed to develop in each officer:-
> (a) a full realisation of his custodial responsibilities.
> (b) a humane approach towards the treatment of and consideration of inmates as individual human beings
> (c) his qualities of leadership and powers of disciplinary control.

...

When a new trainee joins the service it is laid down that he should receive an introductory training.

(1) All probationary officers on commencing duty will be put through a two weeks basic induction course with the object of giving each new appointee some understanding of the conditions of employment, the organisation of the institution and the duties and responsibilities of his own position.

(2) The induction course, under the supervision of the staff training officer, will include tour of the institution, discussion, study periods, and attachments to officers on various assignments.

(3) The superintendent will approve a time table and syllabus for the course, which in addition to matters peculiar to the institution will include

(a) matters affecting the officer personally: e.g.pay, conditions of work, leave, acts, regulations, orders

(b) matters affecting the officer and the inmate e.g. policy of the secretary - characteristics of the inmate population - programme of the institution - report writing.

(c) matters affecting him as an institution officer e.g. fire precautions, accident prevention, security, keys, institution procedures, duties of officers on particular posts

(d) practical work under the guidance of experienced officers.

Usually within six months and always within two years of taking up duty, officers are expected to attend the two week Junior Officers' course in Wellington. At the end of the course officers sit and are expected to pass examinations in i) Acts, Regulations, and Instructions and ii) Elementary penology. Those who fail take another one week course at a later date and resit the examination. Passing the Junior Examination within the first year of service speeds up the reception of pay increments.

...

Beyond this level it is up to the individual officer to decide whether or not he will participate in further training and thereby gain promotion. The intermediate examinations are taken by correspondence and need not be taken in one year. To be eligible to sit the examination an officer needs to have school certificate and two years of service. There are four papers to be passed; Acts, Regulations and Instructions, English, Penology, and Psychology. Once these papers have been passed the officer is eligible to attend a 'panel' where he is extensively interviewed and tested in practical situations. This 'panel' decides whether or not he is suitable for promotion. Having passed the Intermediate Panel an officer is eligible for promotion from Prison Officer rank to 3rd, 2nd and 1st Officer ranks.

To sit the Senior Examinations an officer must have University Entrance and have spent at least 5 years in the service. There are examination papers in: Public Administration, Criminology and Penology, and Public Service Acts and Regulations. Again these can be taken at the candidates own pace. Having passed the papers the officer is eligible to attend the Senior Selection panel which will decide whether or not he is suitable for further promotion. The Senior Panel enables an officer to hold positions from Assistant Superintendent upwards. Acceptance does not automatically promote officers. They must apply for vacancies and promotion marks and other factors will

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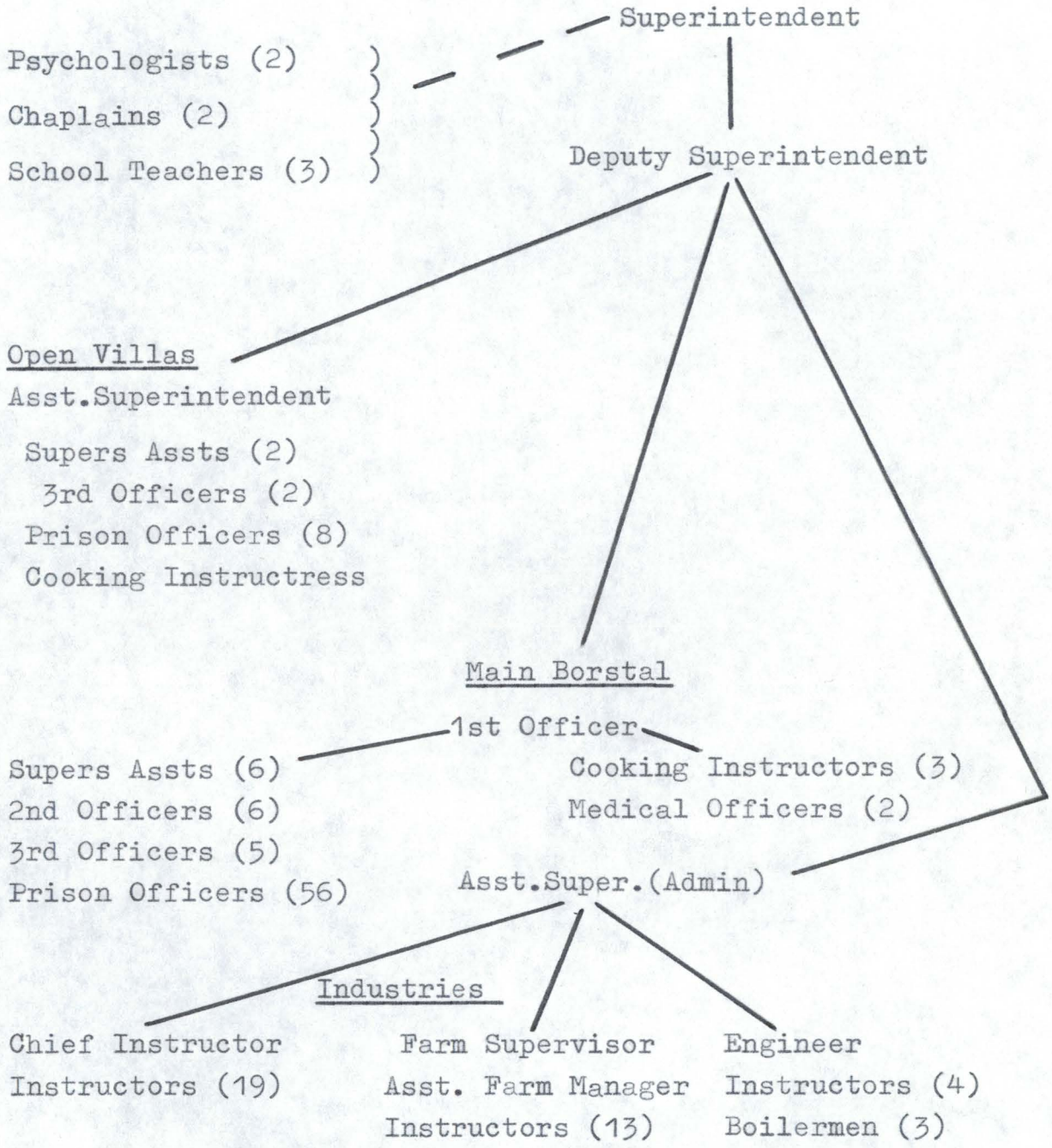
be taken into account.

It is considered that the intermediate examinations are at a level equivalent to University Entrance, and that senior examinations are equivalent to a first year university level. There are also opportunities for some officers to attend the Certificate and Dipoloma courses in Criminology at Auckland University. There is one other system of staff training which may in future have an effect on the type of people who become prison officers. The Prison Officer Cadet scheme has not been operating long enough for a proper evaluation of its outcome. This scheme takes boys from school and gives them three years full time training. It is well described elsewhere (Cameron,1971)

Waikeria Staff Establishment (excluding DC)



APPENDIX III

The Manifest Hostility Scale

Please check the following statements either true or false as applied to you in general.

		True	False
1.	I have often found people jealous of my good ideas, just because they have not thought of them first	(X)	( )
2.	I don't blame anyone for trying to grab anything he can get in this world	(X)	( )
3.	It is safer to trust nobody	(X)	( )
4.	I am often inclined to go out of my way to win a point with someone who has opposed me	(X)	( )
5.	I have very few quarrels with members of my family.	( )	(X)
6.	I think nearly everyone would tell a lie to keep out of trouble	(X)	( )
7.	I am easily downed in an argument	( )	(X)
8.	I am not easily angered	( )	(X)
9.	When someone does me a wrong I feel I should pay him back if I can	(X)	( )
10.	I have at times stood in the way of people who were trying to do something, not because it amounted to much, but because of the principle of the thing	(X)	( )
11.	Some of my family have habits which bother and annoy me very much	(X)	( )
12.	I have at times had to be rough with people who were rude or annoying	(X)	( )
13.	It is alright to get around the law if you don't actually break it.	(X)	( )
14.	I like to poke fun at people	(X)	( )
15.	Someone has it in for me.	(X)	( )
16.	I easily become impatient with people	(X)	( )
17.	I do not blame a person for taking advantage of someone who lays himself open to it	(X)	( )

...

18.	Most people are honest chiefly through fear of being caught	(X)	( )
19.	I sometimes tease animals	(X)	( )
20.	I have frequently worked under people who seem to have things arranged so that they get credit for good work but are able to pass of mistakes to those under them.	(X)	( )
21.	Some people are so bossy that I feel Iike doing the opposite of what they request, even though I know they are right	(X)	( )
22.	I like to play practical jokes on others	(X)	( )
23.	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.	(X)	( )
24.	I know who is responsible for most of my troubles	(x)	( )
25.	At times I have a strong urge to do something harmful or shocking	(X)	( )
26.	In school I was sometimes sent to the headmaster for playing up	(X)	( )
27.	I am often sorry because I am so cross and grouchy.	( )	(X)
28.	I often feel irritable	(X)	( )
29.	I am sure I get a raw deal from life	(X)	( )
30.	At times I feel like smashing things	(X)	( )
31.	I get angry sometimes	(X)	( )
32.	In school my marks for behaviour were quite regularly bad	(X)	( )
33.	I think that most people would lie to get ahead	(X)	( )
34.	Sometimes I feel as if I must injure either myself or someone else	(X)	( )
35.	If people had not had it in for me, I would have been far more successful	(X)	( )
36.	I believe I am being followed	(X)	( )

...

37.	I never have temper tantrums	( )	(X)
38.	I believe I am being plotted against	(X)	( )
39.	Someone has been trying to rob me	(X)	( )
40.	I have no enemies who really wish to harm me	( )	(X)
41.	I do not try to cover up my poor opinion or pity a person so that he won't know how I feel	(X)	( )
42.	I am often said to be hotheaded	(X)	( )
43.	I commonly wonder what hidden reason another person might have for doing something nice for me	(X)	( )
44.	I get mad easily and then get over it soon	(X)	( )
45.	At times I feel like picking a fist fight with someone	(X)	( )
46.	Sometimes I enjoy hurting persons I love	(X)	( )
47.	I can easily make other people afraid of me, and sometimes do for the fun of it.	(X)	( )
48.	Horses that don't pull should be beaten or kicked	(X)	( )
50.	There are certain people that I dislike so much that I am inwardly pleased that they are catching it for something they have done	(X)	( )

(X) Marks the answers scored hostile

APPENDIX IV

Scoring Examples for Chorost-Rosenzweig Scores

Situation I. The driver of an automobile is apologizing to a pedestrian for having splashed the latter's clothing.

+I	"I'll bet you are".
+I	"Why don't you watch where you're going."
+I	"Damn you, you've ruined my pants"
0	"All right, but be more careful next time"
0	"I'll send you the cleaning bill for the damage"
-I	"It's O.K., you couldn't help it"
-I	"It was an old suit anyhow"
-I	"You've got my new wuit all wet."

Situation 2. The hostess is expressing consternation at a guest's having broken a favourite vase

+I	"That's too God damn bad."
+I	"Tough"
0	"I'm sorry, I'll get a new one for your mother".
0	"I'll be glad to replace it."
-I	"It was an accident"
-I	"Please don't get angry"

Situation 3. A girl is remarking that her companion seated in a theatre behind a woman with a large hat, cannot see a thing

+I	"I'll knock that hat off her head"
+1	"Take that damn thing off."
+I	"She's got a lot of nerve"
0	"Please take off your hat,lady."

...

0 "I'll ask her to remove her hat."

0 "Tell her to take off her hat."

-I "I wish she'd take off that monstrosity."

-I "Let's move to another seat."

-I "Yes,I can see"

-I "I know, it's terrible"

-I "That's O.K."

Situation 4. A man who has driven his friend to a railroad station is apologizing because the breakdown of his car led to missing the train

+I "Next time I'll take a taxi"

+I "I'm sorry too -- thanks a lot."

+I "Damn you and your car."

0 "When does the next train leave."

0 "I'll catch the next one."

-1 "It wasn't your fault, things like that can't be helped."

-I "I should have left earlier."

-I "That's all right"

Situation 5. A customer is complaining to a clerk that she has brought back a brand new watch three times now because it refused to go

+I "It's a stopwatch."

+I "That's tough."

+I "Don't go home."

0 "I will try to fix it for you."

0 "You'll have to buy a new watch."

0 "We'll have it sent to the factory for repair."

-I "I'm terriby sorry about it."

-1 "I'll give you another watch (or your money back)."

...

Situation 6. A library attendant is explaining to a girl carrying four books that the rules permit only two books to be taken out at a time.

+I "That's too bad, I'm taking out four."

+I "I'm a privileged character."

O "I'll read these then come back for the other two."

O "Would you save these for me?"

O "All right, I'll read these here."

O "But I read four."

-I "All right."

-I "I'll return the others."

-I "I'm sorry, I didn't know the rules"

Situation 7. A waiter is accusing a customer of being too fussy.

+I "I'm paying you to wait, not to question".

+I "That's none of your business."

O "No, I am not."

O "I don't like it."

O "I expect to get what I ordered."

-I "I'm sorry, maybe I am."

-I "I have to have my food in a certain way."

-1 "I can't help it."

Situation 8. A young man is explaining to a companions that the latter's girl friend has invited him to a dance

+1 "We are through!"

+1 "Wait'll I get her."

+I "Why that lousy..."

+I "Oh yeh?!"

...

+I "That's what she thinks."

+I "You're wrong, I am going and with her too."

0 "I'll have to speak to her about that."

-I "Yes I can't make it."

-I "That's O.K., have a good time."

-I "We've broken up."

-I Well,all's fair in love and war."

-I "I changed my mind, I am going."

u "Did she say that?"

Situation 9. While it is raining, a clerk in a pawn shop is refusing a customer his umbrella until the manager arrives in the P.M.

+I "Listen, I want it now."

+I "Who the hell do you think you are."

0 "But I need it now."

0 "Can't you call the manager?"

0 "Can you loan me one till he arrives?"

0 "I can pay for it", "That's my umbrella"

-I "I'll be back later then."

-I "O.K."

-I "I don't mind a little rain."

-I "What'll I do then?"

Situation 10 A man is accusing another of being a liar

+1 "So what!"

+I "Prove it."

+1 "Take that back or else."

+I "I don't give a damn what you think."

0 "I am not."

...

-I "I'm sorry you feel that way."

-I "Everyone is entitled to his opinion."

-I "There must be some misunderstanding."

-I "I know it."

Situation 11. A party in a phone booth at 2.00 A.M. is apologizing for a wrong number to a person who has apprently just been awakened by the call.

+I "This is a fine time to be making a call."

+I "Why don't you be more careful?"

O "You dialed the wrong number."

-I "It's not your fault."

-I "That's O.K."

-I "No trouble at all."

u "What do you mean?"

Situation 12. A man is pointing out to another that the latter's hat has been taken by someone else who has left his own instead.

+I "Why can't the guy be more careful."

+I "The thief."

+I "That God damn Fred Brown."

O "Where did he go?"

O "I'll get mine later."

O "I'll take his and exchange for it next time I see him"

-I "Yes, I guess he did."

-I "I can understand that-- they both look alike"

Situation 13. A man at his desk is stating that he cannot keep a previously arranged appointment with a caller just arriving

+1 "Why didn't you call me?"

+1 "Why you lousy..."

...

+1 "I'm disappointed about the way you do things."

+1 "That's a fine way to run a business."

0 "I came a long way to see you."

0 "Why not?"

0 "But this is important."

-1 "How about tomorrow?"

-1 "When can I see you then?"

-1 "I'll come back later."

Situation 14. A woman standing on a windy street is remarking to a companion that someone for whom they are waiting should have been there ten minutes ago

+1 "Well, you know her."

+1 "She is always late."

+1 "Maybe she was killed by a falling snowflake."

0 "Let's go."

-1 "I wonder what's keeping her."

-1 "I'm getting cold."

-1 "Maybe she was delayed by the storm."

-1 "I'm sorry."

-1 "Yes,she is late."

-1 "That makes me mad."

-1 "Let's wait a little longer."

Situation 15. A woman is apologizing to her partner in a card game for having made a stupid play

+1 "Anyway, I tried."

+1 "Why don't you learn how to play?"

+1 "You're telling me."

0 "You should be more careful."

0 "Don't do it the next time."

...

-1 "I know."

-1 "That's O.K., we all make mistakes."

-1 "Don't worry about it, it's just a game."

-1 "Those are the breaks."

Situation 16. At the scene of an automobile accident one man is accusing another of having had no right to try passing

+1 "You're a menace on the road."

+1 "That's tough, I wanted to."

+1 "Shut up."

+1 "You were going too slow."

+1 "It was your fault."

0 "There was no double line."

0 "Yes, I did."

0 "Let's call a cop."

-1 "I am very sorry."

-1 "I'll pay for the damage."

-1 "Let's talk this over sensibly."

Situation 17 A woman standing with a man beside an automobile is reprimanding him for having lost the keys

+1 "Oh, shut up."

+1 "Stop nagging."

+1 "You've done it yourself."

0 "Let's look around for them."

0 "Where are your keys?"

0 "Be patient."

-1 "Sorry."

-1 "Here they are."

-1 "We'll have to take a cab."

-1 "I think I left them in the house."

...

Situation 18. A clerk in a store is apologizing to a customer for having just sold the last of some item

+1 "Wise guy."

+1 "Go to hell."

0 "Save me one when you get them again."

0 "Order some more."

0 "Where can I get some more?"

-1 "O.K. I'll come back when you have some more."

-1 "That's too bad."

-1 "You just can't win."

Situation 19 A motorcycle policeman is accosting an auto driver for passing a schoolhouse at 60mph

+1 "To a fire."

+1 "Passing the school at 60mph."

+1 "It's only Devereaux Schools."

0 "There were no warning signs."

0 "It's an emergency."

-1 "I'm sorry officer."

-1 "My speedometer was broken."

-1 "I didn't see the sign."

Situation 20. A girl is musing aloud to her friend as to why they were not invited to a party in an adjoining room

+1 "She's selfish."

+1 "She's probably jealous."

+ 1 "She's an old hag anyway."

+1 "She wants to get even with us."

-1 "Who cares."

-1 "Maybe she forgot about us."

-1 "Maybe it's just for old friends."

-1 "I don't know."

-1 "Maybe she doesn't like us."

...

Situation 21. A woman is admonishing two others for saying mean things about someone who was in an accident the day before and is now in the hospital.

+1 "That doesn't change my opinion of her."

+1 "She deserved it."

+1 "That's nothing for me to worry about."

0 "What's happened to her?"

-1 "Oh, I'm sorry."

-1 "I really didn't mean what I said."

-1 "I didn't know that."

-1 "That's too bad, how is she?".

Situation 22. A man who has fallen down is being asked whether he is hurt

+1 "Damned right I did."

+1 "It just hurts me when I smile."

+1 "Don't just stand there, help me up."

+1 "No, I just broke my back."

0 "It'll be O.K."

0 "Yes, but I'll be O.K."

-1 "No, I'm all right."

-1 "I'm very clumsy."

-1 "I don't think so."

Situation 23. A woman dressed for travel has interrupted a phone conversation to explain to a man surrounded by luggage that a relative wants them to wait till she arrives and bestows her blessings.

+1 "I can hardly wait."

+1 "To hell with your aunt."

0 "We'll miss the train if we wait."

0 "Get them over the phone."

0 "Tell her we can't wait."

-1 "All right, we'll wait."

-1 "O.K.but tell her to hurry."

-1 "I hope we don't miss the train."

...

Situation 24. A man returning a torn newspaper explains apologetically that the baby caused the damage.

+1 "Kee your baby away from my paper."

+1 "Thief."

+1 "Get your own paper from how on."

-1 "That's all right -- he didn't know any better."

-1 "I'll get a new one."

-1 "I've read it already."

-1 "I can still read it."

APPENDIX V

Balanced F-Scale

The following are statements with which some people agree and others disagree. Please mark each one in the right margin, according to the amount of your agreement or disagreement, by using the following scale.

+1: slight support, agreement	-1: slight opposition, disagreement
+2: moderate support "	-2: moderate opposition disagreement
+3: strong support "	-3: strong opposition disagreement

*1. Members of religious sects who refuse to bear arms should be treated with tolerance and understanding .....

2. Divorce or annulment is practically never justified .....

3. There is a divine purpose in the operations of the universe .....

4. The poor will always be with us .....

5. Army life is a good influence on most men .....

*6 One of the greatest threats to the New Zealand way of life is for us to resort to the use of force. .....

*7. What a youth needs most is the flexibility to work and fight for what he considers right personally, even though it might not be best for his family and country. .....

8. No person who could ever think of hurting his parents should ever be permitted in the society of normal decent people .....

9. Sex crimes such as rape, and attacks on children deserve more than mere imprisonment, such criminals ought to be publicly whipped or worse. .....

*10. A world government with effective military strength is one way in which world peace might be achieved. .....

*11. Science declines when it confines itself to the solution of immediate practical problems. .....

...

12. Disobedience to the government is sometimes justified .....

13. It is the duty of a citizen to criticise or censure his country whenever he considers it to be wrong .....

14. The worst danger to the New Zealand way of life in the last 50 yrs had come from foreign ideas and agitators. .....

* 15 Unless something drastic is done, the world is going to be destroyed one of these days by nuclear explosion or fallout .....

* 16 One way to reduce the expression of prejudice is through more forceful legislation .....

* 17 Most censorship of books or movies is a violation of free speech and should be abolished .....

* 18 As young people grow up they ought to try to carry out some of their rebellious ideas and not be content to get over them and settle down. .....

* 19 Honesty, hard work, and trust in God do not guarantee material reward .....

20 The minds of todays youth are being hopelessly corrupted by the wrong kind of literature .....

* 21 The church has outgrown its usefulness and should be radically reformed or done away with. .....

22 It is only natural and right for each person to think that his family is better than any other. .....

23. We should be grateful for leaders who tell us exactly what to do and how to do it. .....

24. It usually helps the child in later years if he is forced to conform to his parents ideas. .....

25. The facts on crime and sex immorality suggest that we will have to crack down harder on some people, if we are to save our moral standards. .....

26. Few weaknesses can hold us back if we have enough will power. .....

27. An insult to our honour should always be punished .....

28. In the final analysis parents usually turn out be right about things. .....

Scores are awarded as follows:

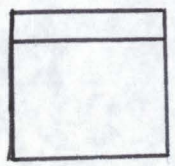
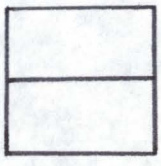
-1	= 1	+1	=	4
-2	= 2	+2	=	5
-3	= 3	+3	=	6

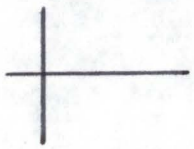
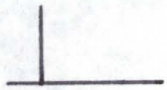
All of the items marked * have the direction signs (+ and -) reversed before scoring

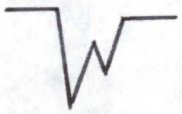
APPENDIX VI

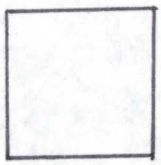
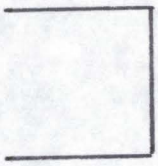
Symbolic F-Test

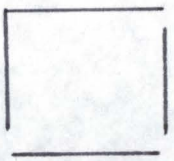
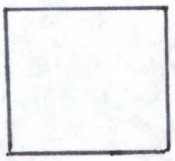
Below are fifteen pair of line drawings and number arrangements. Look at each pair and then place a check mark inthe circle to the right or left of the one drawing or number arrangement in each pair that you like best.

1.  ○ ✓ 

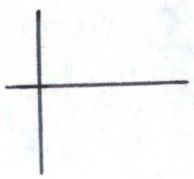
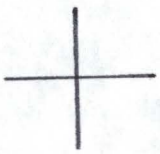
2.  ✓ ○ 

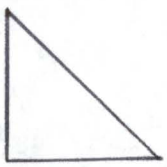
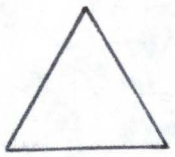
3. ✓ ○ 

4.  ✓ ○ 

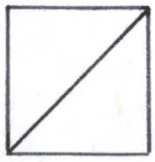
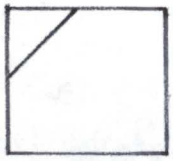
5.  ○ ✓ 

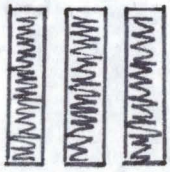
6. 1 2 3 4 ○ ✓ 1234

7.  ○ ✓ 

8.  ○ ✓ 

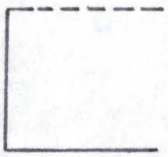
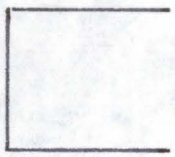
9. 1 2 3 4 5 ✓ 0. 4 1 2 5 3

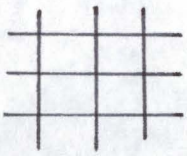
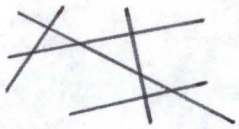
10.  ✓ 0 

11.  0 ✓ 

12. ✓ 0

13. 30-40
20-30
5-10
10-20 0 ✓ 5-10
10-20
20-30
30-40

14.  0 ✓ 

15.  ✓ 0 

Scoring: "Authoritarianism" items indicated by ✓ are assigned a score of 2; "non-authoritarianism" items assigned a score of 1.

The Sociology Dept,
The College of Charleston,
Charleston, South Carolina.

APPENDIX VII

Raw Data From Trainee Samples

New Arrivals:

Age	Prev Apps	S-F	F	MH	Metro	1	0	-1	u	Mths Since 1st App
17	3	13	101	M26	9	u	Ou	u	u	10
20	3	10	95	34	4	8	6	7	3	26
18	1	15	103	20	26	12	5	7	0	21
18	6	12	95	31	20	8	8	7	1	35
17	2	9	109	34	31	12	5	9	0	2
18	5	15	91	39	4	12	9	3	0	10
15	1	11	88	32	4	4	10	9	1	49
15	0	12	110	31	28	11	9	4	0	0
16	3	12	114	28	26	3	8	13	0	26
16	4	13	104	25	23	1	8	15	0	46
18	4	14	102	18	24	2	10	12	0	18
18	2	15	102	29	34	14	8	2	0	1
15	2	6	90	27	30	8	8	8	0	66
17	6	6	94	41	27	6	8	11	0	43
15	2	12	105	31	28	4	9	10	1	11
15	6	5	100	43	4	19	3	2	0	115
17	4	13	110	34	10	9	6	6	3	49
19	6	12	100	26	15	10	6	8	0	121
16	3	13	87	26	21	10	7	5	2	6
19	4	14	94	29	24	7	10	7	0	20
19	3	15	96	33	15	9	6	9	0	13
19	3	12	77	40	4	16	2	1	5	13
18	4	15	128	41	20	6	7	11	0	35
17	5	9	99	35	28	13	1	5	5	31
16	9	8	108	19	31	9	4	10	1	65
17	5	u	106	25	28	7	5	11	1	19
15	5	14	109	35	21	9	7	8	0	31
17	5	14	107	17	28	11	8	5	1	41
16	6	6	108	27	27	19	2	3	0	76
17	4	14	120	26	20	3	4	16	0	69
15	8	13	99	30	13	14	1	9	0	35
16	4	15	91	28	15	5	5	14	0	32
17	3	15	110	30	30	12	4	8	0	9
18	11	13	104	16	10	4	6	12	2	26
18	4	15	121	19	20	4	6	14	0	40
16	2	1	90	19	30	3	7	14	0	7
18	1	15	100	13	36	5	6	13	0	11
15	22	9	105	39	26	18	2	7	0	106
17	2	15	101	28	34	13	4	6	1	22
18	7	12	94	24	31	9	5	11	0	32
17	5	11	101	24	33	8	3	13	0	12
18	4	15	113	31	25	4	8	11	1	35
						1	5	18	0	
N	42	42	41	42	42	42	42	42	42	42
SUM	713	189	488	4281	1203	917	362	251	374	28	1375
M	17	4.5	12	102	28.6	22	8.6	6	8.9	.7	31.3

Parole Predictions:

Age	Pre Aps	S-F	F	MH	Met	1	0	-1	u	Mths Sin 1 Ap	No of Rep	Lth of Sent
17	5	7	106	18	4	11	7	5	1	27	6	9
15	6	13	106	34	24	22	0	2	0	41	5	8
17	5	6	90	19	4	u	u	u	u	26	2	8
18	2	14	106	30	30	15	4	5	0	13	1	8
17	7	10	95	40	21	6	7	11	0	63	2	15
20	9	4	116	14	36	4	5	11	4	5	0	6
15	3	9	91	20	29	7	5	12	0	36	0	7
18	7	15	127	34	23	16	1	8	0	53	3	18
18	5	8	83	27	37	13	2	9	0	12	2	9
18	3	13	115	34	29	11	4	9	0	59	0	6
17	5	0	94	27	27	14	4	4	2	34	4	13
16	2	6	106	27	27	15	1	6	2	16	19	20
15	2	15	104	28	4	u	u	u	u	3	5	20
17	3	15	101	31	34	13	3	9	0	37	0	8
16	5	15	106	30	22	13	4	7	0	30	2	10
20	3	10	106	16	21	9	4	10	1	65	0	9
18	3	15	99	23	35	5	5	14	0	61	0	7
18	3	15	95	30	29	12	6	6	0	5	1	8
17	2	9	93	33	34	22	0	2	0	35	7	6
17	6	9	84	21	33	12	3	9	0	22	0	5
16	4	12	100	26	32	7	8	9	0	27	3	9
17	2	14	110	38	24	15	0	8	1	7	5	9
17	4	13	116	3o	21	8	5	10	1	7	3	9
15	2	15	93	37	33	8	3	12	1	44	0	9
19	10	14	83	37	37	20	1	3	0	49	8	10
17	3	13	104	27	30	13	0	12	0	36	4	15
17	5	1	117	27	0	u	u	u	u	41	12	15
18	4	15	92	34	14	12	2	8	2	35	1	11
17	4	14	100	34	0	8	1	14	1	23	0	9
17	5	9	95	32	0	u	u	u	u	56	2	9
18	5	11	75	24	4	u	u	u	u	28	1	10
17	2	13	88	26	4	11	2	11	0	23	7	13
15	2	12	101	35	21	6	3	15	0	18	1	7
17	4	15	109	14	29	10	5	10	0	48	2	8
19	3	15	115	34	26	21	1	2	0	8	9	15
17	2	5	118	29	33	18	0	6	0	60	5	5
15	4	13	110	10	26	16	3	5	0	57	2	9
17	5	6	105	39	21	20	1	2	1	29	10	9
19	6	15	102	38	4	7	4	10	3	71	0	9
16	5	14	108	27	33	12	6	9	0	87	1	7
15	4	13	96	38	4	20	1	3	0	37	5	16
19	1	9	93	19	0	6	3	8	7	25	2	4
16	5	11	106	19	28	2	5	8	1	31	1	14
15	3	4	68	34	15	20	1	3	1	12	13	11
N.44	44	44	44	44	44	39	39	39	39	44	44	44
S749	180	484	4427	1244	942	480	120	307	29	1502	156	442
M 17	4.1	11	101	28.3	21	12	3.1	7.9	.7	34.1	3.6	10

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