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ATTITUDES OF INMATES OF THE MONTANA STATE PRISON
TOWARD LEGAL AND HELPING PROFESSIONS

By

Terry Anne Preston

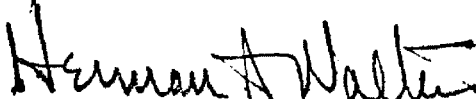
B.A., Bryn Mawr College, 1964

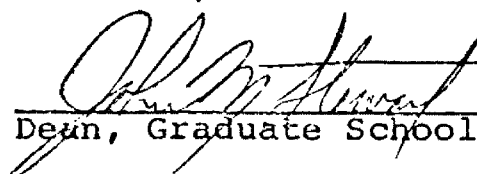
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Master of Arts

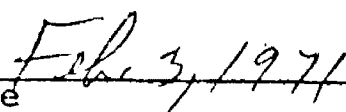
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to investigate the attitudes of inmates of the Montana State Prison toward individuals associated with the legal professions and those associated with the behavioral science or "helping" professions..

Traditionally, the prison exists for the primary purpose of punishing individuals who violate the laws of society. The assumption is made that the criminal had the free choice of obeying or violating the laws. In choosing the latter, he broke the contract between himself and the rest of society. Historically, punishment of lawbreakers has been justified on the basis of: (1) revenge, (2) deterrence by example, (3) custodial prevention of further crime, and (4) reformation of the prisoner (Maher, 1966). In recent years, as the prison environment and the goals of the prison have come increasingly into the fore of investigation, the last, that of reformation, has become the focus of attention. Yet studies of the outcomes of imprisonment indicate that in many cases reformation does

not occur. Indeed, in a review of the literature of correctional outcome studies, it was observed that a large number of cases recorded "harmful or no effect" outcomes (Wilkins, 1967). While the criminological literature abounds with studies of criminals, recidivists, etc., there is a marked lack of investigations of what exactly goes on within the prison which could enhance or detract from any therapeutic effect. In addition, most studies of the social phenomena of the inmate world seem to be either broad descriptions of the total prison (often from the point of view of the ex-inmate) or abstract attempts to apply general theoretical sociological models drawn from other fields (Blomberg, 1967; Wilkins, 1967).

Gibbons (1965) suggests that the inmate brings with him to the prison a pattern of "rejection of the rejectors." He feels that society has rejected him, and he in turn rejects the values of society and the people who represent these values. This pattern, Gibbons feels, began at an early point in his career, and Vedder (1954) speculates that it may have come from prior experiences with law enforcement agencies. Once inside the prison, the prison culture provides the inmate with relief from the "pains of imprisonment"--those deprivations and frustrations of prison life which seem designed to destroy his self-esteem (Sykes and Messinger, 1962). According to this view, the inmate finds that he can identify with a group who will support him in

his struggles against those who have condemned him to prison (McCorkle and Korn, 1962; Sykes and Messinger, 1962).

In the context of American society, the prison is a unique, highly atypical environment; its limits are rigidly determined and strictly enforced; the length of time an individual remains there is, to a large extent, out of his control; the people with whom he must associate are not necessarily his chosen companions; his choice of occupation is limited. But the prison has one characteristic in common with other human environments: it has a social organization with rules, mores, language and attitudes (Caldwell, 1956) which are capable of scientific investigation.

Certain roles in the society of the prison are always in existence, being filled by new actors as inmates and administration change. These roles occur so often and in so many prisons that argot terms (e.g., "fish" for new inmate) have been developed to designate them (Grosser, 1968). Sykes (1958) has suggested that by labeling the various individuals in their world, the inmates effectively provide structure to the prison experience. Further, he interprets the development of the unique terms as one of the methods of controlling an individual's behavior in the system and of communicating attitudes and beliefs which the individual may adopt to varying degrees into his own attitude system.

The social values which hold the prison community together seem to be primarily those of loyalty to other inmates and a unified opposition to non-prison populations, and this antipathy extends both to the prison administration and to society beyond the walls (Floch, 1956; Hayner and Ash, 1940; Mylonas and Reckless, 1963; Sykes and Messinger, 1962). Sutherland (1947), in his theory of differential association as a cause of criminality, proposed the principle that "a person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violation of law" (Sutherland, 1947, p. 6). Thus, he suggests that the more the individual associates with patterns of behavior that are outside the boundaries of society's acceptable behaviors, the more these become his own patterns of behavior. While this theory is most concerned with determining the process by which a person becomes a criminal, i.e., before imprisonment, this could apply to the associations which occur in the prison as well. It may be speculated that associations among individuals in the prison, as well as contact with the code of behavior, may be a contributing factor in continued criminality after prison release (Cressey, 1955). Clemmer (1950), following extensive observations of the prison community, suggested that as the time of imprisonment increases, the more likely the inmate is to adopt prison attitudes and incorporate them into his own behavior. He

called this process of assimilation to the prison "prisonization."

From the preceding discussion, it appears that attitudes held and met by the incoming inmate and the length of time spent in prison may have an effect on his subsequent attitudes. Mylonas and Reckless (1963), in a study of prisoners' attitudes toward law and legal systems, found that the more socialized the inmate in terms of the non-prison society, the more positive was his attitude towards these systems. This study suggests that the degree to which each inmate adopts prison attitudes may depend on how much he has previously accepted non-prison standards. The bulk of the evidence indicates that inmate attitudes towards the law are negative. Tolman (1939) in an early study found that an antagonism toward authority and resentment toward society did indeed exist in both repeating and first offenders. Peizer (1964), in line with Clemmer's prisonization concept, found, in a study of the effect of a year of custodial imprisonment on the socialization of the inmate, an increase in conformity on the part of the majority of the research group. Supporting this, Brown (1970) found that attitudes toward law and law enforcement held by individuals who had had prior experience in prisons (recidivists) were significantly more negative than those held by first offenders. Hulin and Maher (1959) distinguish two aspects of the attitudes toward the law: attitude toward

the law in general and attitudes toward the individuals representing the law with whom the inmates had some personal experience. They found that the attitudes toward both became increasingly hostile as imprisonment continued. Trends in their data suggested that attitudes toward the law in general showed the greater increase in hostility.

While the prison social system has been the object of some scrutiny, the exact nature of the attitudes held by this society, as well as the investment of the individual in terms of these attitudes remains unclear. Studies of the attitudes of inmates toward the legal profession do indicate that these professions are viewed in a negative manner by the inmate society in general. How much of this negative attitude is due to experience prior to the prison, and how much can be attributed to the prison experience itself is not known, but there is certainly little evidence that these negative attitudes are changed as a result of prison. Thus it would be difficult for the legal professions to make therapeutic interventions in the direction of changing the inmates' non-prison behavior.

In recent years there has been increasing use of personnel from the behavioral sciences or "helping" professions in the prison. The use of these personnel is an attempt to introduce another form of therapeutic intervention. Yet there has been a paucity of studies of attitudes of the inmate society toward these professions. Grosser

(1968) has suggested that the simultaneous existence of both custodial and treatment orientations can only fail to do justice to treatment aspects. It seems likely that people from the helping professions who are employed at a prison will be viewed by the inmate society as allied with the legal system. To the extent that this is the case, the outcome of change and rehabilitation of the inmate may be made more difficult to achieve. It is therefore important that the attitudes of the inmate society toward these professions be determined.

There are a number of measures which have been used in studies of attitudes; e.g., sentence-completion tests, Likert-type scales, and questionnaires. One procedure, the semantic differential (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum, 1957), would appear promising as a means of empirically determining general attitudes and factors, and also has the advantage of being relatively efficiently administered in the restricted situation of the prison. This method has been used in a number of studies of attitudes, including studies of attitudes of patients in psychotherapy toward their therapists, attitudes of the public toward mental health professions, attitudes of mental patients and normal subjects toward mental patients, attitudes of psychiatric patients toward mental health and attitudes of students under several drug conditions (Barclay and Thumin, 1963; Crumpton, Weinstein, Acker and Annis, 1967; Giovannoni and Ullman, 1963;

Nunnally, 1961; Nunnally and Kittross, 1958). Using the semantic differential, selected concepts (e.g., self, other persons, abstract concepts, etc.) can be compared in terms of common underlying factors. The factors are determined from judgments made by the subject about these concepts in terms of sets of polar adjectives.

Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957) have defined the meaning of a concept as "its allocation to a point in the multidimensional space" and an attitude toward that concept as "the projection of this point onto the evaluative dimension of that space" (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum, 1957, p. 190). The dimensions of the semantic space have to do with general types of characteristics, each type being independent of every other type, which can be used to define the concepts. Thus, for example, if several paintings were to be judged by non-artists, a judgment of "good" (from the evaluative factor) might, in the case of one painting, also be judged "active" (from the activity factor). For another painting, the judgment might be "good-passive." The evaluative dimension would not predict the activity dimension--they are two types of characteristics which are independent of each other. In the study of attitudes, however, the evaluation of the concept is the most relevant, and it is this dimension which defines an attitude.

The purpose of this study was twofold. The first

purpose was to determine the independent dimensions of the semantic space of the inmates of the Montana State Prison and examine these dimensions for their similarity to those found by Osgood et al. (evaluative factor, activity factor and potency factor). This would yield information about the independent general criteria used by the inmate sub-culture to judge professional groups. The second purpose of this study was to determine, using the evaluative factor of this semantic differential, the attitudes of inmates at the Montana State Prison toward individuals in authority in the legal system and individuals in the helping professions. Since the Montana State Prison at the time of administration of this study was primarily a custodial institution, it was hypothesized that attitudes toward the individuals associated with the prison system and the legal profession would be associated with negative attitudes. It was further hypothesized that attitudes toward people in the helping professions would be associated with those in the legal professions and thus would also be negative. In addition, it was hypothesized that professions with which the inmates would not have had frequent experience would be evaluated as "neutral," thus providing a group to compare with the other two professional groups.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Subjects

Ninety-eight male inmates of the Montana State Prison were originally screened for this study. Of these ninety-eight subjects, the results of nineteen subjects were disqualified through the screening procedures described below, leaving a sample of seventy-nine subjects whose tests were analyzed. Because of the arrangement of the prison schedule and occupations, it was judged by the prison administration that the sample of inmates to be tested should come from groups already scheduled to meet together. Therefore, volunteers were first obtained from the prison school (N = 43) and trustees living on the prison farm (N = 18). Since, at the time of this study, twelve inmates had "walked away" from the prison farm and the number of volunteers from this group was lower than expected, an additional sample was obtained from the general population within the prison proper (N = 18). The average age of the final study sample (N = 79) was 31 years and the range was 19 to 58 years. The length of time that subjects had been in prison ranged from 3 to

129 months. Information concerning previous sentences in other prisons was unavailable.

Screening

It was originally intended that a test to screen subjects for minimal literacy would be administered prior to administration of the attitude test. However, it became apparent once at the prison that it would be difficult to test a given group of inmates for the period of two hours required for both of these tests. The schedule of the prison was based on one-hour time segments. Therefore it was decided that information available from prison records would be used as the screening criterion.

Two sources of information from each inmate's record were used to screen the subjects for minimal literacy. The General Achievement Test Battery (GATB) had been administered to all incoming inmates since 1965, and standard scores on this test battery were available. The Verbal Aptitude (V) subtest score was used as a screening criterion. This is a sixty-item paper and pencil test in which the subject chooses which two adjectives of a choice of four adjectives are alike. The first ten items on the test consist of adjectives judged by the investigator to be of approximately the same difficulty as those in the attitude test (described below). Passing the first ten adjectives would yield a score of 70, and this score was

therefore taken as the cutoff level. The validity of this subtest is .83 when correlated with the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS) Vocabulary subtest score; the test-retest reliability is .90 for adult males (Manual for the General Aptitude Test Battery). Of the seventy-nine subjects used in the final analysis, eight had GATB scores between 70-79; seventeen between 80-89; twelve between 90-99; and twenty greater than 100. Twenty inmates used in the final sample did not have GATB scores on record. Therefore a second screening criterion was used: a report of at least a 6th-grade education.

Attitude Scale

An attitude scale, in the form of the semantic differential (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum, 1957), was used to assess the attitudes of prisoners toward the nine occupations. The semantic differential involves "the successive allocation of a concept to a point in the multi-dimensional space by selection from a set of given scaled semantic alternatives" (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum, 1957, p. 26). In other words, this instrument consists of nouns, or "concepts," such as tree, house, doctor, woman, etc., and paired polar adjectives, or "scales," such as good-bad, strong-weak, active-passive, etc. The scale between each of the polar adjectives is divided into seven points, with "4" being the neutral point. The task of the subject is to

judge which of the two adjectives most nearly describes the concept. Each concept is judged on each scale.

The concepts used in this study included three selected to represent the helping professions and three representing the legal professions. In addition, three concepts were chosen which, although there was no empirical basis, were arbitrarily designated as being "neutral" in terms of the other two professional groups, as well as in terms of the experience of the inmates.

Psychiatrists	Wardens	Accountants
Social Workers	Guards	Architects
Doctors	Judges	Veterinarians

The scales for this study were selected from the adjective lists used in several different studies. These adjectives were chosen in general for their applicability to judgments about qualities of human beings (e.g., adjective pairs such as "thick-thin" or "red-green" were judged by the investigator to be less relevant than adjective pairs such as "good-bad" or "strong-weak"). Adjectives were chosen which were judged by the investigator to be common and relatively simple. In addition, each adjective used in this study was defined, and the list of definitions was included in the test booklet (Appendix A). Of the fifteen scales used, seven were taken from the factor analysis of Osgood et al.: "good-bad," "wise-foolish," "safe-dangerous" and "friendly-unfriendly" had been found by them to contribute to the "evaluative" factor; "strong-

weak" was part of the "potency" factor; and "active-passive" and "emotional-unemotional" were part of the "oriented activity" factor. The adjective pairs were:

good-bad	worthless-valuable
active-passive	simple-complicated
strong-weak	trustworthy-untrustworthy
wise-foolish	friendly-unfriendly
sincere-insincere	emotional-unemotional
straight-twisted	predictable-unpredictable
safe-dangerous	helpful-unhelpful
smart-stupid	

Each concept was judged on each scale, resulting in 135 judgments for each subject. In this study, "positive" adjectives were arbitrarily designated by a scale position of "1" and "negative" adjectives were designated by a scale position of "7," with "4" as the neutral point. For administration, concepts and scales were arranged in booklet form. Each concept was placed at the top of a separate page, with the fifteen scales listed beneath (Appendix B).

Procedure

The first two groups of volunteers tested were those from the prison school and from the prison farm. Since the investigator was a female and she was not allowed by prison rules to be with groups of inmates, the attitude test was administered by a male psychologist working on leave from the University of Montana for the summer. He was well acquainted with the test as well as the procedures to be followed in this kind of administration. The test was administered to the school group in the morning and to the

farm group in the evening.

At the time of administration, subjects were requested to identify their booklet by putting their inmate number at the top of the test booklet. They were informed that this identification was necessary for purposes of screening, but that the interest was not in their individual responses but rather in the answers of the group as a whole. They were assured that no one except the investigator would know their identity or see their answers. Total administration time was approximately one hour. At the end of the time, booklets were collected and another sheet was distributed. This consisted of ten concepts each paired randomly with one scale, and was used to determine test-retest reliability (Appendix C).

Lists of all inmates who attended school and all inmates who lived on the farm were available. Therefore, while the test was being administered, the records of all of these inmates were examined for GATB scores or level of education. After the test administration, the inmate number on the test booklet was checked against these findings. The tests of those subjects whose GATB scores were too low ($N = 4$) were eliminated from the study. In addition, tests which had false or missing inmate numbers ($N = 8$) were eliminated since they could not be screened. Tests in which the subject failed to fill out one or more pages of the test were also eliminated ($N = 7$).

The third group to be tested was a selected sample from the general population working within the walls. This group was tested primarily because the number of volunteers from the prison farm had not been as large as had been expected due to the fact that twelve men had "walked away" from the farm three days prior to this study, and tension was quite high. This group was selected by going through a file of all inmates working within the walls and choosing every fifth one. Subjects who had previously been tested in the school group were eliminated. The names were then checked for GATB scores over 70 and length of present stay in prison greater than six months. This latter criterion was used because it was felt that there was an adequate representation of people in the school group who had been in the prison under six months, and that the people who had been in longer were not adequately represented. These fifty inmates were then asked to volunteer, and eighteen agreed. Test administration for this group was as described for the other two groups. Two subjects in this group gave false inmate numbers as identification, but their tests were retained in the sample since they had been screened for literacy prior to test administration.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

In line with the two purposes of this study, the analysis of the results was in two parts. The adjective pairs used in this study were chosen from a number of different sources, and did not exactly duplicate those which contributed to the evaluative factor in the factor analysis of Osgood et al. For this reason, the first part of the analysis used a factor analysis to determine whether the dimensionality of the semantic space (with the three factors of evaluation, activity and potency accounting for the majority of the variance) would be replicated by this sample of subjects from a subculture of the general population using these scales. From this analysis, the exact content of the evaluative factor for this group (the scales contributing to this factor) could be determined. In the second part of the analysis, the scales making up the evaluative, or attitudinal, factor could be used to define the attitude of the inmates toward the different professional groups.

Factor Analysis

This part of the analysis of the results of this study involved a determination of the factor structure of the polar adjectives (scales). It was felt that, for comparative purposes, this analysis should be as close as possible to the analysis of Osgood et al. Therefore, a principle-factor analysis was chosen. Calculations were made using the general factor analysis program (BMD03M) using an IBM 360/91 computer.

The assumption is made in factor analysis that the number of variables (in this case, the fifteen scales) can be reduced to a number of common factors. The total variance of any given test can be expressed in terms of three types of variances: that attributable to common factors which clusters of variables share, that attributable to the particular selection of variables in the study (specific variance) and that attributable to experimental error (error variance). The specific variance and the error variance combined give the residual variance. The aim in factor analysis is to maximally account for the total variance in terms of the common variance, and to minimize the residual variance.

To do this, each variable is correlated with every other variable, and this correlation matrix is then re-defined by an iterative mathematical procedure in terms of a matrix of coefficients. These coefficients express the

proportion of the variance of each variable which contributes to the common variance. Each of these coefficients is called the "factor loading" of the variable. The iterative procedure consists of first determining that linear combination of the original variables which contributes a maximum amount to the common variance of the total test. This is the first factor. The second factor is determined by defining that linear combination of the original variables which contributes a maximum amount to the residual variance, after the variance contributed by the first factor is removed. This procedure continues until the residual variance has become stable, i.e., until the amount of common variance contributing to the residual variance is minimal. At each of these steps, a value ("eigenvalue" or "latent root") is computed which represents the determinantal solution of the common variance, and yields the proportion of common variance attributable to the given factor.

One of the difficulties of factor analysis lies in the definition of the communalities of the correlation matrix. The communalities of the matrix are the diagonal entries and represent the correlation of each test with itself. If there were no experimental error in the test and the test were perfectly reliable, then unities could be placed in the diagonals. In this case the total variance of the test would be attributable to common variance. This

assumption is often made in factor analysis, but it does lead to possible overestimation of the contribution of each variable to the new factors, if there is indeed experimental error or specific variance represented in the total variance. Although no perfect solution to the problem of communalities has been determined, the most accurate, recommended, approximation to communalities can be obtained by using the squared multiple correlation of each variable with the remaining $n-1$ observed variables (Harmon, 1967). These values were used in the present study.

To obtain the correlation matrix for this semantic differential, scores for each subject were first summed over the concepts, yielding one mean score for each subject for each scale. These means were then correlated across the subjects. Figure 1 shows the positive eigenvalues (latent roots) of the correlation obtained by the factor analysis. Only the first factor satisfied Kaiser's (1959) criterion of eigenvalues greater than one. This criterion allows identification of the factors considered to contribute the greatest amount of weight to the analysis and thus permits the exclusion of less psychologically meaningful factors. The first factor accounted for 67 percent of the total variance. Eleven of the fifteen scales used in this study had factor loadings of over .70 on the first factor. These eleven scales were: trustworthy-untrustworthy, valuable-worthless, friendly-unfriendly, wise-foolish, sincere-insincere,

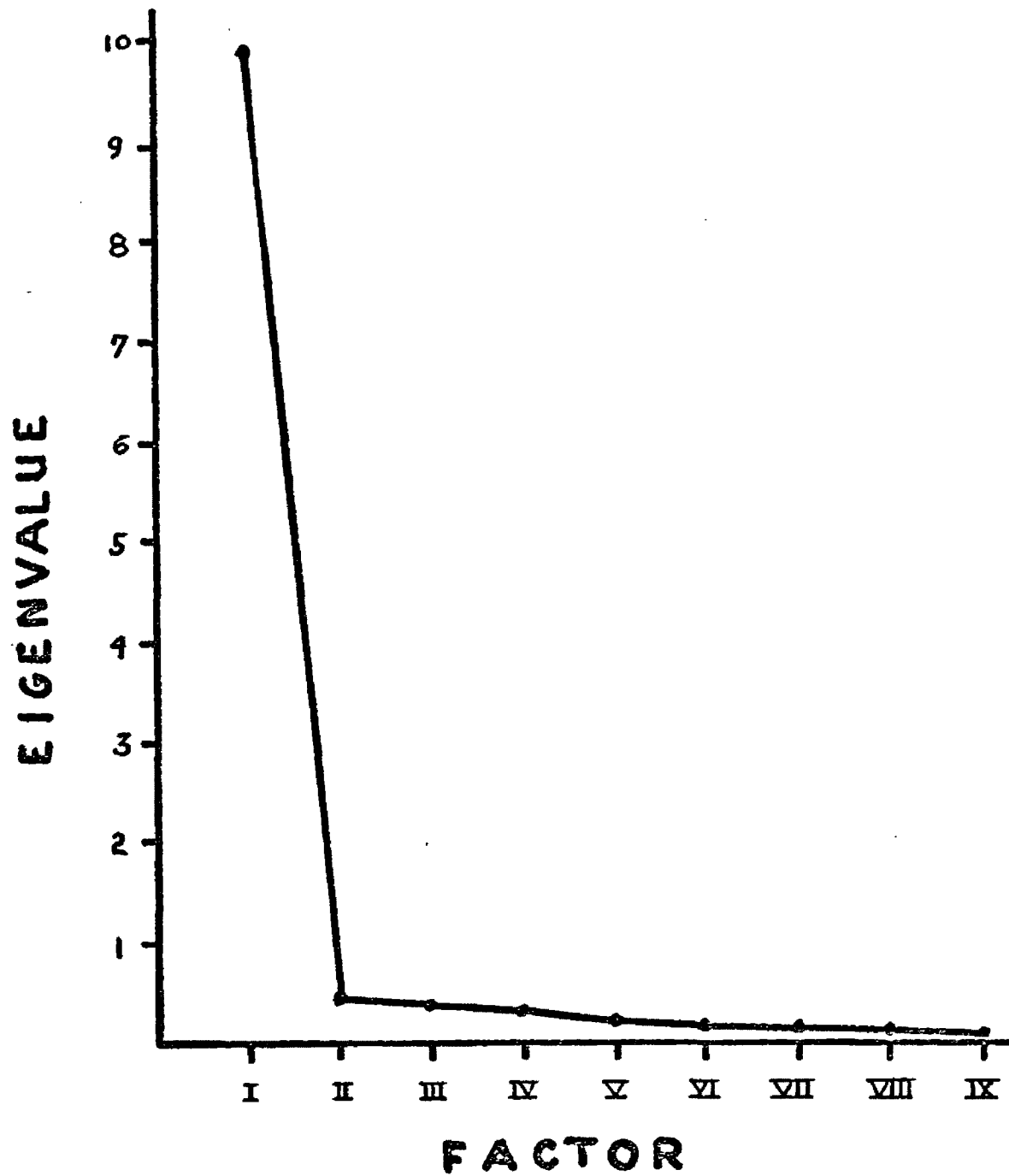


Figure 1.--Positive eigenvalues of principal factor analysis of semantic differential

good-bad, straight-twisted, helpful-unhelpful, strong-weak, smart-stupid and safe-dangerous. Table 1 shows the unrotated factor loadings of the fifteen scales on the first four factors.

Concept Comparisons

The mean scale scores for each scale on each concept, and on each professional group (summed over subjects), for those eleven scales which contributed to Factor I are presented in Table 2. Scale scores in this study were more toward the positive end of the scale. Table 2 also shows the mean score for each concept on Factor I (over the eleven scales). These means were ranked, with the concept with the least positive mean ranked as "1" and the concept with the most positive Factor I score ranked as "9." Professions (concepts) ranked in order from least to most positive: guards, wardens, judges, social workers, accountants, psychiatrists, architects, veterinarians, and doctors.

Figure 2 shows the means of the three professional groups on the eleven scales contributing to Factor I. As can be seen, the helping and neutral professions were positive and judged quite similarly. The legal profession was more negative than both of the other two groups.

Figure 3 shows the means of each of the nine concepts on the eleven scales. The concept with the lowest (most positive) mean factor score was doctors, and the concept

TABLE 1

Unrotated Factor Loadings of Scales
on the First Four Factors

Scale	Factor			
	I	II	III	IV
Trustworthy	.92	-.09	-.11	.05
Valuable	.88	.22	.18	-.03
Predictable	.63	-.47	.11	-.02
Emotional	.44	-.16	.32	.07
Active	.66	.09	.22	.13
Friendly	.88	-.01	.04	.13
Wise	.92	.03	-.03	-.15
Sincere	.93	-.03	-.05	-.17
Good	.94	.05	-.02	.06
Straight	.91	-.13	-.24	.03
Helpful	.90	.20	.09	.06
Strong	.78	.01	.00	-.08
Smart	.93	.07	-.05	-.22
Safe	.84	.05	-.26	.22
Simple	.03	-.21	-.00	.02

TABLE II

Mean Scores of Individual Concepts and Professional Groups
for Factor I of Semantic Differential

Scale	Helping Profession				Legal Profession				Neutral Profession			
	Individual		Group		Individual		Group		Individual		Group	
	Doct	Psyc			SocW	Judg			Ward	Guar		
Good	1.95	2.53	3.09	2.52	3.51	3.58	4.29	3.79	2.67	2.53	1.97	2.33
Smart	1.62	2.02	2.97	2.20	2.67	3.49	4.78	3.64	2.42	2.02	2.19	2.21
Sincere	1.86	2.51	3.28	2.55	3.35	3.66	4.84	3.95	2.54	2.33	2.13	2.33
Wise	1.85	2.40	3.40	2.55	3.20	3.34	4.73	3.57	2.49	2.13	2.29	2.30
Trust- worthy	2.00	2.80	3.33	2.71	3.68	3.85	4.92	4.15	2.77	2.75	2.66	2.03
Straight	2.02	2.71	3.54	2.75	3.52	3.64	4.67	3.94	2.96	2.64	2.48	2.69
Helpful	1.70	2.25	3.19	2.38	3.80	3.76	4.53	4.03	2.34	1.88	1.73	1.98
Valuable	1.47	2.42	2.97	2.28	2.73	3.62	4.15	3.55	2.39	1.78	1.94	2.03
Friendly	2.25	2.44	3.01	2.56	4.39	4.01	4.78	4.39	3.15	2.58	2.23	2.65
Safe	2.02	2.85	3.04	2.63	3.89	3.71	4.06	3.88	2.70	2.43	2.16	2.43
Strong	2.53	2.94	3.70	3.05	3.29	3.63	4.90	3.94	3.63	2.84	2.82	3.09
Mean	1.92	2.53	3.23		4.60	3.46	3.66		2.73	2.34	2.23	
Overall Rank order	9	6	4		1	3	2		5	7	8	

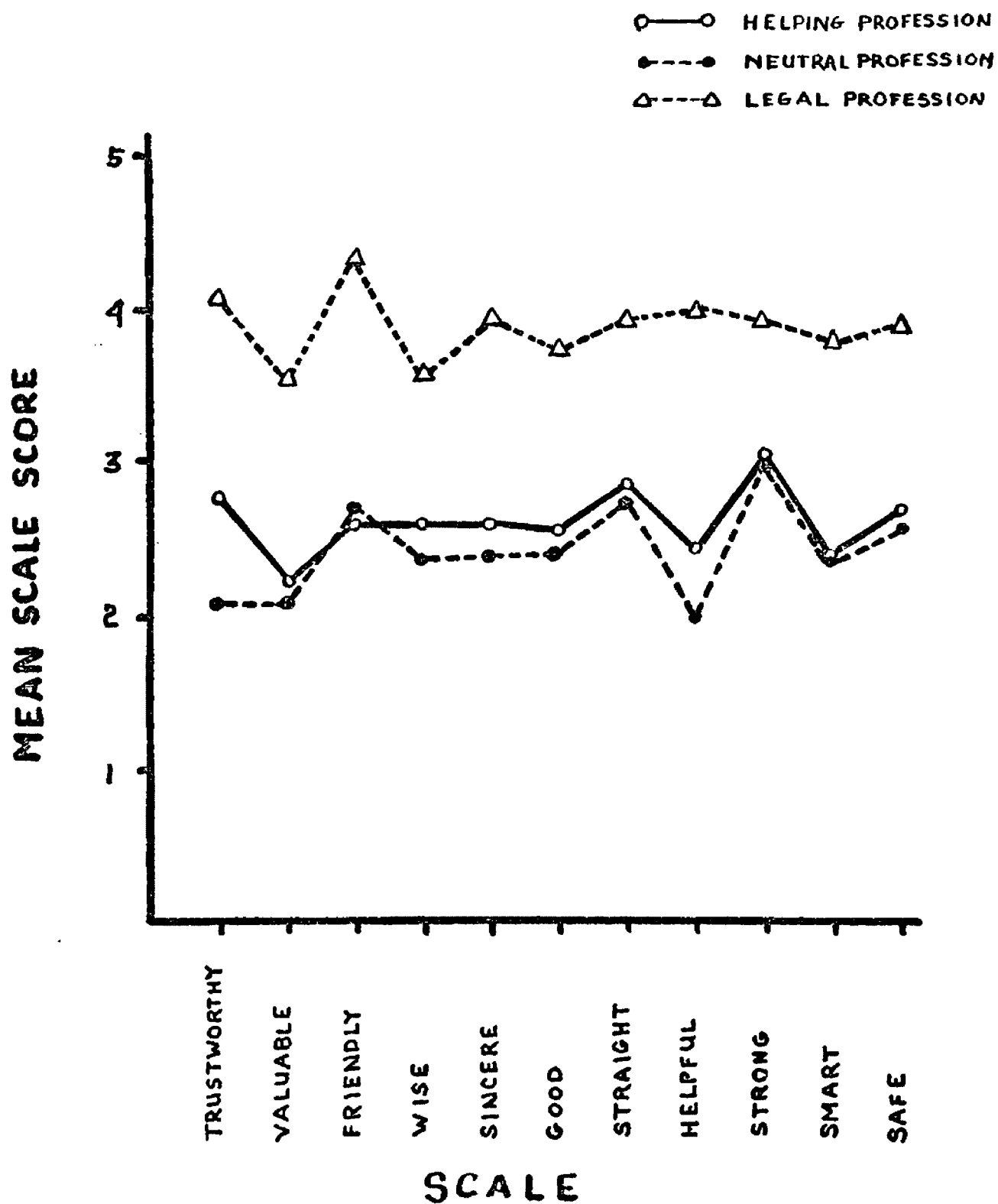


Figure 2.--Mean group scores on scales contributing to Factor I

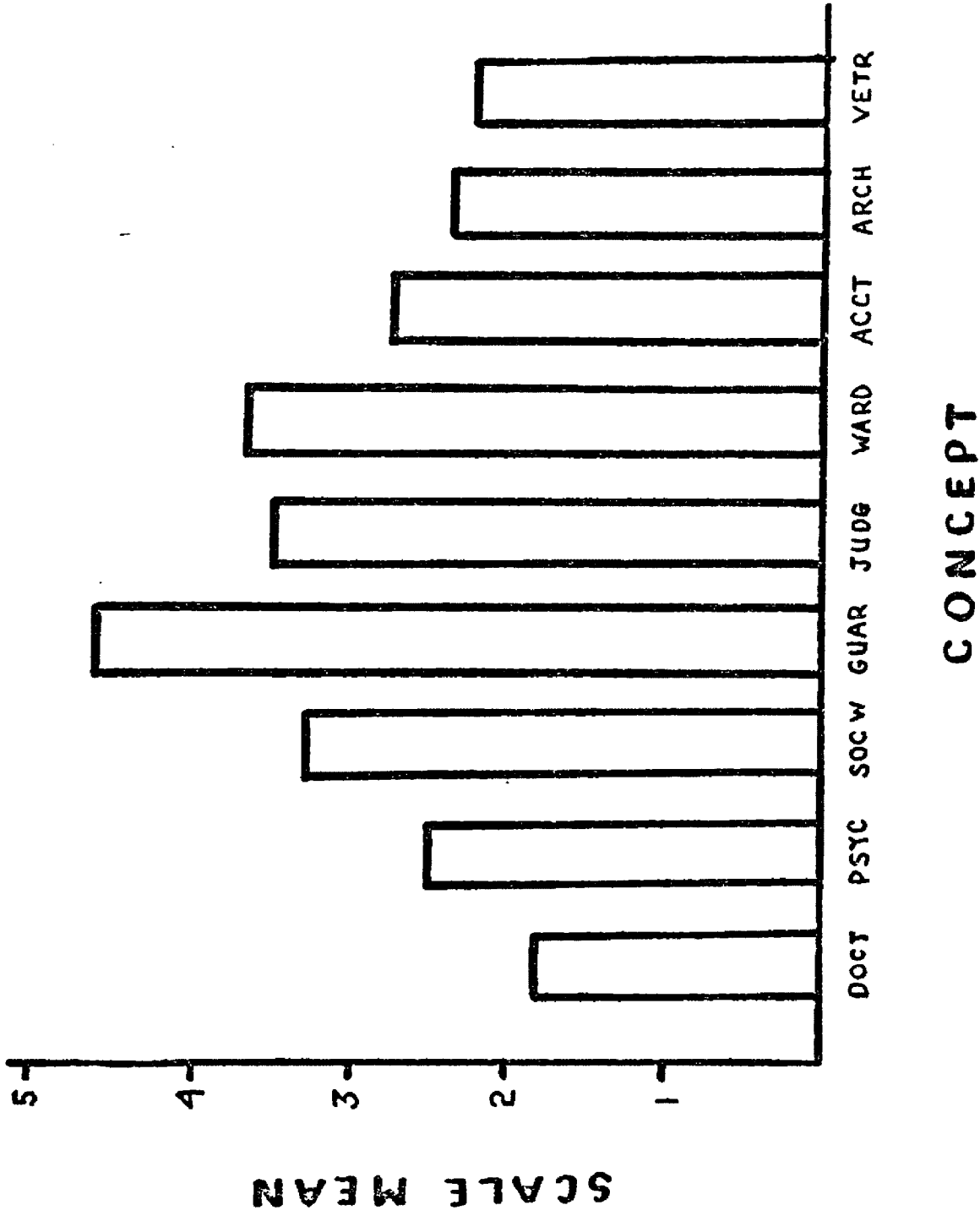


Figure 3.--Overall scale means of each concept for Factor I

with the highest (most negative) mean factor score was guards. Multiple one-tailed t tests were then used to determine the significance of the differences between these factor mean scores, with $p < .05$ and $df = 10$. Guards were significantly more negative than all of the helping and all of the neutral professions and wardens. Wardens were significantly more negative than two of the helping professions (psychiatrists and veterinarians) and guards. The mean factor score of judges differed from doctors. Psychiatrists and doctors were significantly more positive than two of the legal professions (guards and wardens) and doctors were more positive than judges. Social workers were significantly more positive than guards. Within the helping professions, social workers were significantly more negative than doctors.

The test-retest reliability of this semantic differential was .66, indicating that the inmates were consistent in their judgments.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

One of the most striking findings in the factor analysis of the scales used in this study was the fact that most of the scales contributed heavily and predominantly to the first factor. Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957) have found that the evaluative (attitudinal) variable in human judgments is a pervasive one. It regularly appears first and accounts for the majority of variance in the semantic differential. This was certainly the case in this study. In addition to the scales found by Osgood et al. to contribute heavily to the evaluative factor ("good-bad," "wise-foolish," "safe-dangerous" and "friendly-unfriendly"), the scale representing their potency factor ("strong-weak") also loaded heavily on the first factor of the present study. One of the scales chosen for this study ("straight-twisted") came from Nunnally (1961) which he suggested was part of a separate dimension of judgment called "understandability"; this scale also contributed to Factor I. While the factor analysis of this study replicated the findings of Osgood et al. in terms of one pervasive factor which accounted for the majority of variance, the constitu-

ents of this factor were broader than those found previously.

The finding that several scales, which previously have been differentiated in terms of other dimensions, were part of this one dimension suggests that judgments made by this group of inmates are based on a strong, overriding and generalized evaluation. This population of inmates may therefore differ from the general population in terms of the degree to which general evaluation contributes to judgments about professional groups. This could be investigated in future studies by using a larger number of adjective pairs, which are representative of other independent factors found in other studies. If, as in the present study, some or all of these adjectives were part of this generalized factor, this would have implications in terms of the degree of flexibility and range of dimensions available to the inmates with which to make judgments. Osgood et al., and more recently Heise (1969), have suggested that the greater the degree of emotional importance of the concepts used in the semantic differential, the more the analysis of the scales tends to collapse to one factor. The fact that several inmates had escaped from the prison at the time of the study may have made the task of this study an emotionally charged one for the inmates who volunteered for it. They may have wished to give responses which would put them in a good light to the non-prison society. The finding of one major factor may have reflected this condition.

However, the extremely high loadings of the scales on this factor would tend to suggest that even if this contributed to the findings of the present study, there still exists one generalized and pervasive judgmental dimension. It would be informative in this regard to replicate this study at a time when such a highly emotional situation did not exist in the prison.

With the exception of guards, which was judged very slightly in the negative direction from the neutral point of "4," all of the concepts in this study were judged to be positive. Thus the hypothesis of negative judgments of people in the legal and helping professions by inmates of the Montana State Prison was not found to be the case. In addition, a "neutral" group of concepts was used in this study, consisting of professions it was assumed that the majority of inmates would not have encountered frequently enough to have developed strong feelings about. It was expected that the average rating of this group would be "4," or neutral, but instead, the finding of this study was that this group was judged in a positive direction. This deviation from the neutral to the positive could be interpreted as representing learned socially desirable responses. In this regard, it is important to note that the evaluative factor of the semantic differential has been suggested to be sensitive to social desirability (Krieger, 1963). Thus inmates showed a positive attitude toward a group of

professions with which they presumably had limited personal experience. This positive position, deviating from the neutral point, could represent a baseline estimate of the inmates' view of what is an acceptable attitude from the point of view of the non-prison society.

If the position of the "neutral" group is taken as that of a baseline, then the difference between this neutral group and the professions representing the legal group and the law is clear. In this study, the legal profession was judged comparatively more negatively than the neutral or helping professions, supporting findings of other studies that attitudes of prison inmates toward the legal professions were negative. Attitudes toward the helping professions in this study more closely resembled attitudes towards the neutral professions. While this finding may be specific to the Montana State Prison, it suggests that individuals representing the helping professions who entered this prison society with a therapeutic orientation would be viewed in a positive, or at least a neutral, manner by that society. How much this would be true in other prisons must await studies of less custodial and more rehabilitatively oriented prison systems.

It would be interesting to determine if the pattern of attitudes of inmates who were first entering the prison environment would be similar to that of the general prison population found in this study. This kind of investigation

might help to determine the changes in attitude, if any, which occur concomitant with the prison experience. There is some suggestion from the present study that the direction of the attitude toward people in certain occupations may be largely a function of personal experience of the inmate with these occupations. The four professions with whom the inmate population had had the most current experience, including guards, wardens, judges, and social workers, ranked comparatively as the four most negative of the professions tested. It may be speculated that the importance of these professions in terms of quality and potency of personal experience with them, as well as how recent the experience has been, may well be factors affecting the attitudes of inmates. For instance, new inmates just entering the prison for the first time might well have a strong negative attitude toward judges, since a judge could be viewed as causing the inmate's being placed in the prison. As time in the prison increases, however, experience with authoritative guards and wardens may cause more negative attitudes toward these groups than toward judges. It is assumed that communication and ultimate therapeutic intervention of people in the helping professions depends upon the maintenance of generally positive attitudes, such as those exhibited by the inmates toward the helping profession in this study. Thus the ability to separate the relative impact of personal contact versus contact with the general attitudes which the

prison experience may provide would be of great significance in the planning of any program aimed at rehabilitation. In addition, if personal experience is found to be of importance in the attitude of the inmate, it would then be important to determine how much this attitude would be communicated to the general inmate group. This would certainly have implications in the consideration of the utilization of the inmate group as a vehicle for changing attitudes and behaviors of the individual inmate.

It is possible that the lack of strong negative responses throughout the entire test, while reflecting evaluations based on the perceived expectations of the non-prison society, may not have indicated true feelings of the individual inmates. The extent to which the positive attitudes towards people in the helping professions could be interpreted in terms of possible therapeutic intervention by these professions would depend on the extent to which it represents the true individual attitudes, and not merely "lip-service" to the demands of the non-prison society. One possibility for future research, therefore, would seem to be the development of testing methods which could differentiate response biases in the direction of social desirability from true individual attitudes. A control or weighting for social desirability could be included, or an analysis employed which would take into account differences among individuals. In addition, it is possible that a bias

was introduced by the structure of the semantic differential¹ used in this study. The adjectives and concepts chosen were phrased in terms of the language of the non-prison society, and it may be that if argot terms, which may be more meaningful to the inmates, were used instead, socially desirable responses would be less prevalent.

It is obvious that the results of this study raise a number of questions concerning the investigation of attitudes of prison inmates. Nevertheless, the findings of a strong, undifferentiated dimension as the basis for judgmental responses, as well as the differences in attitudes found among the three professional groups represented, pose intriguing directions for future research. Further refinement of test methodology, stratification among inmates and increases in numbers studied may provide a means of identifying the direction and dimensionality of attitudes of prison inmates. This, in turn, could ultimately yield suggestions as to the most effective approach to making the penal environment one of rehabilitation, rather than of punishment.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

Attitudes of inmates of the Montana State Prison toward individuals associated with the legal professions and those associated with the helping professions were studied. Seventy-nine male volunteers from the prison school, farm and general population were tested using an attitude scale in the form of a semantic differential. Factor analysis of the scales yielded one general evaluative factor accounting for 67 percent of the common variance. This indicated that inmates' judgments about the professional groups were basically evaluative with little flexibility. Nine concepts were investigated: three representing the legal profession (guards, judges and wardens), three representing the helping professions (doctors, psychiatrists and social workers) and three representing presumably "neutral" professions (accountants, architects and veterinarians). Subjects judged all professions except guards in a positive direction. In comparison, however, the legal professions were more negative than both the neutral and the helping professions. Also, those professions with which the inmates had the most contact, guards, wardens, judges and social workers, were more

negative than the other professions. It was speculated that the quality and potency of personal experience with these professions, as well as how recent the experience has been, may play a role in the direction of attitudes toward these professions. Individuals in the helping professions who entered the prison society with a therapeutic orientation would be viewed in a more positive manner by that society. The extent to which this attitude would help or hinder the therapeutic process would depend on the extent to which it represented the true attitudes held by the individual inmates rather than representing responses to the social desirability aspects. Directions for future research were suggested including use of attitude tests not as sensitive to social desirability, increase in the adjectives used on the semantic differential to reveal possible different dimensions of judgments, stratification of the subjects in terms of length of time spent in prison and determination of amount of personal experience with professions tested.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

DEFINITIONS

ACTIVE	means	doing a lot and moving a lot.
PASSIVE	means	not doing a lot and not moving much.
EMOTIONAL	means	showing many feelings.
UNEMOTIONAL	means	not showing feelings.
FRIENDLY	means	being easy to get along with and kind.
UNFRIENDLY	means	being hard to get along with and not kind.
GOOD	means	doing the right thing.
BAD	means	not doing the right thing.
HELPFUL	means	giving a hand and giving aid.
UNHELPFUL	means	not giving a hand and not giving aid.
PREDICTABLE	means	almost always doing the same thing.
UNPREDICTABLE	means	almost always doing different things.
SAFE	means	being free from risk or threat.
DANGEROUS	means	having much risk or threat.
SIMPLE	means	plain and easy to understand.
COMPLICATED	means	having many parts and hard to understand.
SINCERE	means	being honest and real.
INSINCERE	means	not being honest and real.
SMART	means	being fast to learn and understand.
STUPID	means	being slow to learn and understand.
STRAIGHT	means	being clear and not tricky.
TWISTED	means	being tricky and not clear.
STRONG	means	having great power of body or mind.
WEAK	means	not having power of body or mind.
TRUSTWORTHY	means	able to be trusted or believed in.
UNTRUSTWORTHY	means	not able to be trusted or believed in.

VALUABLE	means	having a use or value.
WORTHLESS	means	having no use or value.
WISE	means	knowing and doing the right thing.
FOOLISH	means	not knowing and not doing the right thing.

APPENDIX B

INSTRUCTIONS AND SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

The purpose of this study is to find out how you feel about people in certain jobs. The ones we are interested in are: doctors, architects, judges, veterinarians, guards, psychiatrists, wardens, social workers and accountants.

You will find one of these listed at the top of each of the following pages. Underneath, you will find pairs of words describing people in the job. Here is a sample item:

ARMY OFFICERS

loud ₁ : ₂ : ₃ : ₄ : ₅ : ₆ : ₇ quiet

There are numbers under the spaces which are there to separate the spaces, so please do not pay any attention to these numbers.

Your task is to show which of the two words in each pair you feel describes people in this job the best.

For example, if you feel army officers are extremely loud, you would mark this way:

loud X ₁ : ₂ : ₃ : ₄ : ₅ : ₆ : ₇ quiet

Your mark is put next to "loud."

If you feel that they are extremely quiet, you would mark this way:

loud ₁ : ₂ : ₃ : ₄ : ₅ : ₆ : X ₇ quiet

Your mark is put next to "quiet."

If you feel that army officers are very loud, or are very quiet, you would mark this way:

loud ₁ : X ₂ : ₃ : ₄ : ₅ : ₆ : ₇ quiet

With your mark in the space near "loud" but not next to it.

or:

loud : : : : : X : quiet

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

With your mark in the space near "quiet" but not next to it.

If you feel that army officers are slightly loud, or are slightly quiet, then you would mark this way:

loud : : X : : : : quiet

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

With your mark in the direction of "loud."

or:

loud : : : : X : : quiet

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

With your mark in the direction of "quiet."

If you feel that army officers are neither loud nor quiet, you would mark like this:

loud : : : X : : : quiet

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Here your mark goes in the middle.

Please mark all of the pairs of words, and please be sure that you have placed your mark in the middle of a space. If it is not clear where you meant your mark to go, then your answers cannot be used. And be sure that you mark every choice.

Do you have any questions about how to show your answers? If so, please raise your hand so we may help you.

On the next page is a list of the words which are used in this study and their meanings. Turn to this page and look at it.

Are there any questions about what these words mean? Please raise your hand if there are.

Now please turn to the next page and begin marking your choices.

DOCTORS

trustworthy	<u>1</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>7</u>	untrustworthy
worthless	<u>7</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>1</u>	valuable
unpredictable	<u>7</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>1</u>	predictable
emotional	<u>1</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>7</u>	unemotional
passive	<u>7</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>1</u>	active
unfriendly	<u>7</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>1</u>	friendly
wise	<u>1</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>7</u>	foolish
sincere	<u>1</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>7</u>	insincere
good	<u>1</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>7</u>	bad
twisted	<u>7</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>1</u>	straight
unhelpful	<u>7</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>1</u>	helpful
weak	<u>7</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>1</u>	strong
smart	<u>1</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>7</u>	stupid
safe	<u>1</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>7</u>	dangerous
complicated	<u>7</u>	:	<u>6</u>	:	<u>5</u>	:	<u>4</u>	:	<u>3</u>	:	<u>2</u>	:	<u>1</u>	simple

APPENDIX C

RETEST FORM

SOCIAL WORKERS

smart $\frac{1}{1} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{3}{3} : \frac{4}{4} : \frac{5}{5} : \frac{6}{6} : \frac{7}{7}$ stupid

ACCOUNTANTS

helpful $\frac{1}{1} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{3}{3} : \frac{4}{4} : \frac{5}{5} : \frac{6}{6} : \frac{7}{7}$ unhelpful

WARDENS

simple $\frac{1}{1} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{3}{3} : \frac{4}{4} : \frac{5}{5} : \frac{6}{6} : \frac{7}{7}$ complicated

JUDGES

twisted $\frac{7}{7} : \frac{6}{6} : \frac{5}{5} : \frac{4}{4} : \frac{3}{3} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{1}{1}$ straight

VETERINARIANS

stupid $\frac{7}{7} : \frac{6}{6} : \frac{5}{5} : \frac{4}{4} : \frac{3}{3} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{1}{1}$ smart

GUARDS

unemotional $\frac{7}{7} : \frac{6}{6} : \frac{5}{5} : \frac{4}{4} : \frac{3}{3} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{1}{1}$ emotional

ARCHITECTS

predictable $\frac{1}{1} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{3}{3} : \frac{4}{4} : \frac{5}{5} : \frac{6}{6} : \frac{7}{7}$ unpredictable

PSYCHIATRISTS

worthless $\frac{7}{7} : \frac{6}{6} : \frac{5}{5} : \frac{4}{4} : \frac{3}{3} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{1}{1}$ valuable

DOCTORS

weak 7 : 6 : 5 : 4 : 3 : 2 : 1 strong

VETERINARIANS

friendly 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 unfriendly