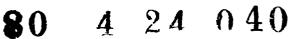


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> Human Resources Research Organization 300 North Washington Street Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Consulting Report

THE EFFECT OF DIFFERENT LEVELS OF CONFINEMENT ON THE SELF-CONCEPT OF MILITARY STOCKADE INMATES

by

Louis J. Beccaria

May 1971

Work Unit ESPRIT: "Development of Methods for Improving Soldier Adjustment to the Army"

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#### FOREWORD

The present research study was conducted in connection with Work Unit ESPRIT. This work unit was designed to investigate the causes of attitude deterioration and discontent among enlisted men and to determine the effect of the military environment on these attitudes. Specifically, this research effort is an attempt to understand the effect of different levels of confinement on the self-concept of military stockade inmates. It is hoped that the results of this research will aid the Army in analyzing and re-evaluating its efforts directed toward the rehabilitation of delinquent soldiers. Secondarily, it is hoped that this study will shed some light on the manpower efficiency problem as it relates to confined military personnel.

Work Unit ESPRIT is being conducted at Human Resources Research Organization, Division No. 2, Fort Knox, Kentucky. The Division Director is Dr. Donald F. Haggard; the Work Unit Leader is Mr. Eugene H. Drucker. Support is provided by the U.S. Army Armor Human Research Unit; LTC Joseph A. DeAngelis is the military chief.

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THE EFFECT OF DIFFERENT LEVELS OF CONFINEMENT ON THE SELF-CONCEPT OF MILITARY STOCKADE INMATES

#### INTRODUCTION

With the advent of the Volunteer Army, there will be an increasing need for the Army to make maximum use of its manpower. The Army will be smaller in size, and each soldier will be expected to make a maximum contribution to the Army's overall mission.

Stockade confinement is currently a major factor in the loss of necessary manpower. Men who are incarcerated in a confinement facility serve no important function for the Army and act as a drain on its needed manpower. Consequently, the Army has attempted to rehabilitate these men so that, when they are released, they can once again make a positive contribution to the Army program.

Over the past few years there has been an increase in the number of military offenders in the Army.<sup>1</sup> Many of these offenders are soldiers who have previously violated military laws and have previously been exposed to the correctional program of an Army installation confinement facility. Although the Army has exerted a considerable amount of effort toward the rehabilitation of these military offenders, the numbers which continually fill the correctional facilities suggest that this effort has been ineffective.

Considering the requirements of the Volunteer Army, and the present high recidivist rate, it has become increasingly important to examine the effectiveness of present stockade confinement procedures in bringing about desired rehabilitation. If these procedures are ineffective in bringing about adjustment of stockade inmatus, it is likely that these men will contribute little to the Army's geals upon release.

Realizing this fact, the Army has committed itself to a program of research to determine whether or not its correctional practices are, in fact, effective and correctional.<sup>2</sup> One approach to evaluating the effectiveness of correctional efforts is to examine those aspects of an individual which are affected by the rehabilitation process and to appraise the effect of confinement on those aspects.

One aspect of the individual which may be affected by confinement is his self-concept Thus, one purpose of a confinement program

<sup>1</sup>Marion Wood, CPT, "Spotting Potential AWOLS from Personnel Data Cards," ARMY, February, 1970, p. 60-61.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>This commitment arises out of the <u>Special Civilian Committee</u> Report For the Study of the United States Army Confinement System, published 15 May 1970. This committee was chaired by Austin H. MacCormick and was initiated at the request of the Department of the Army, Washington, D.C.

geared toward reliabilitation might be to in rease the edividual's self-concept; i.e., to cause him to per envelopment as being a more worthwhile person. Unfortunately, the experience of confinement may have the opposite effect; it may cause complex to perceive themselve as being less worthwhile people. Has fact is borne out by a study conducted by Harjit S. Sandhu in India a few years ago 3. His scale was designed to determine the effect of she t-term institutionalization on prison inmates. The results of this research showed that over a 90-day period, self-concept was found to deteriorate significantly among inmates who were confined in a traditionally restrictive and custodial atmosphere where there was much idle time to spend and no psychological treatment offered. Thus, with regards to the Army, such an effect ou military stockade inmates may cause these inmates to feel that they cannot succeed in the Army, and thereby load to an increase in subsequent delinquent behavior. Furthermore, if such an effect does occur, it could be directly related to the severity of confinement, possibly causing the greatest deterioration in self-concept to those who are in the greatest need of rehabilitation.

The primary purpose of the primary favoration is to examine the effects of different levels of configuration inmates - Within the military correctional system, there is a continuum of confinement severity ranging from company-area costruction to incarcoration in a Federal penitentiary Au intermediate level of confinement severity, stockade confinement, was selected for this study. Within this level, two sublevels of confinement were included: a Minimum Security level and a Medium Security level The Minfmum Security level is, by and large, characterized by better living conditions and less restriction on activities than is the Medium Security level. That is, those confined in Minimum Security live in a bay-area setting much as do Basic and All trainees. The only birs in evidence are those separating this section from the cest of the stockade. Much of the inmates' day is spent in some type of productive activity since they are required to go on work details throughout the post under unarmed guard. They are afforded recreational facilities such as television and pool tables.

Those confined in Modium Security, on the other hand, live in a wing of the stockade composed of large multi-man cells, each cell holding about 10-12 mea. These inmates often spend much of their time in valeness, as they are not required to go on work details as are the Unimum Security inmates. Their to reational facilities are, in general, more restricted than those in the Minimum Security section. They have limited access to television or pool tables.

<sup>3</sup>Harjl) 3. Sandhu, "Impact of Chort-Term Institutionalization On Prison Innates." British Journal Of Criminology, July, 1964, p. 461-67.

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Thus, these two levels of confinement may have an important and differentiating effect on the self-concept of these men. It is possible that the more restrictive and custodial the surroundings, the more greatly an inmate's self-concept is affected. If so, it is important to determine whether these levels of confinement act as agents or deterents in the rehabilitation process.

A secondary purpose of the present study is to obtain background data dealing with the subjects' personal history that might be related to level of self-concept. Such factors as age, education, marital status, race, etc. have been recognized as having a definite bearing on the development of an individual's self-concept. Those individuals who have experienced a poor personal background tend to develop a lower self-concept than others who have not had such a background. Likewise, those with lower self-concepts are frequently found to have engaged in some form of delinquent behavior. Thus, knowledge of the relative level of self-concept upon assignment to a confinement facility may provide the correctional staff with an index of inmates' needs for rehabilitation.

### METHOD

# Subjects

To determine the effects of different levels of continement on inmates' self-concept, a self-concept question laire was administered at two different periods of time to three groups of soldiers. These soldiers were divided into two experimental groups of confined delinquents and a control group of non-delinquents.

One level of confinement, the Minimum Security Group, consisted of 13 men confined at the Fort Knox Confinement Facility. The second level of confinement, the Medium Security Group, consisted of 24 men also incarcerated at the Fort Knox Confinement Facility. Level of confinement was not based on inmates' previous record or present offense. Rather, assignment to the Minimum or Medium Security level was based generally on the individuals' initial behavior pattern.

The Control Group consisted of 29 men assigned to the 194th Armored Brigade. These men had never been in a stockade. The scores obtained from these men served as a standard with which to compare the scores from the experimental groups. By such a comparison, the effects of confinement on self-concept could be determined.

# Measuring Instruments

The Self-Concept Questionnaire (see Appendix A) consisted of 30 pairs of bipolar adjectives. The adjectives within each pair were opposite in meaning, and separated by a 7-point scale, such as:

 Friendly :
 :
 :
 :
 :
 Unfriendly

 Honest :
 :
 :
 :
 :
 :
 Dishonest

Each subject was asked to describe himself by placing a mark in one of the spaces between each pair of adjectives. The closer the mark was to an adjective, the more closely he thought that trait described himself. This procedure was an adaptation of the semantic differential technique formulated by Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum.<sup>4</sup> The two adjectives in each pair differed in social desirability. One adjective was always high in social desirability (e.g., Friendly, Honest), and the other was always low in social desirability (e.g., Unfriendly, Dishonest). The highly desirable items appeared on the right in half of the scales, and on the left in the other half. This was done to control for the tendency of some subjects to respond with only the right or the left of the scale.

4C.E. Osgood, G.A. Suci, and P.H. Tannenbaum, <u>The Measurement of</u> Meaning, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957).

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In addition, a Background Questionnaire (see Appendix B) was idministered to all subjects in order to gain insight into the factors in their personal history which may have played a part in the development of their self-concept. The questions asked in this questionnaire sought information such as the subjects' age, race, education, mari al status, previous confinement experience, etc.

# Testing Procedure

The subjects in the experimental groups were tested initially within three days of their entering the confinement facility. They were tested again 30 days later while still in confinement. The testing sessions on both occasions were conducted in a classroom within the confinement facility.

The men in the Control Group were also tested twice, the second testing taking place 30 days after the initial testing. The testing sessions for this group were conducted in the 194th Armored Brigade classroom.

The research design employed in this study is shown in Table 1.

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Group	Test 1	Test 2
Control Group- (No Confinement)	N=29	X=29
Minimum Security Level Confinement	X=13	X=13
Medium Security Level Confinement		X=24

Research Design for the Confinement Study

## RESULTS

#### Confinement

The Self-Concept Questionnaire was scored by assigning numerical values to each response according to its social desirability. The most socially desirable response was given a weight of 7, and the least socially desirable response was given a weight of 1. The values of the 30 responses made by a subject were then summed. The range of possible scores was 30 to 210. The higher the score, the better the subject's self-concept.

The scores were analyzed to determine the effect of different levels of confinement on the self-concept of military offenders. Table 2 presents the measures of central tendency and variation from the mean for the two experimental groups and the control group on each of the two administrations of the Self-Concept Questionnaire. The results showed that the mean self-concept score was highest for the Control Group and lowest for the Medium Security Group during each of the two sessions.

## Table 2

Range, Mean, and Standard Deviation for the Test Performance of the Minimum and Medium Security Groups and the Control Group

			<u>Test</u> Peri	ods		
		lst Test			2nd Test	
Groups	Range	Mean	<u>SD</u>	Range	Mean	<u>SD</u>
Control	90-190	157.83	20.87	87-189	155.06	21.99
Minimum Security	120-194	153.54	26,10	94-198	144.92	30.92
Medium Security	120-182	141.50	22,02	71-178	134.88	26.12

To determine the reliability of the Self-Concept Questionnaire, a Product Moment Coefficient of Correlation was calculated between the test-retest self-concept scores of those in the Control Group.<sup>5</sup> The Correlation was .86, significant at the .01 level of confidence.

Table 3 shows the results of an analysis of variance of selfconcept scores. A significant main effect was obtained for groups, indicating that there was a difference among the three groups involved

<sup>D</sup>The time period between the 1st and 2nd testings was 30 days.

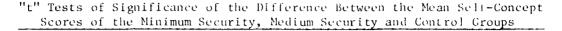
in the study. The main effect for test periods was not significant, however, indicating that self-concept scores did not change over the 30-day period. The interaction between groups and test periods was not significant.

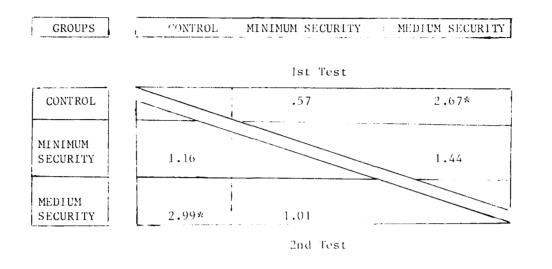
Table 3

Analysis of Variance Between On the Self				rol Groups
Source	<u>dt</u>	ms	F	P_
Total	131			
Between Subjects	65			
Groups	2	4,403	14 50	<.01
Error <sub>b</sub>	63	301		
Within Subjects	66			
Test Periods	I	315	. 36	NS
Test Period: x Groups	2	462	.52	XS
Error <sub>w</sub>	63	881		

Since a significant difference between groups was found, "t" tests were conducted for each pair of groups to determine the source of significance. These tests revealed no significant difference between the 'inimum Security Group and the Medium Security Group, nor between the inimum Security Group and the Control Troup on either the initial testing or the follow-up test. There was, however, a significant difference in self-concept scores between the Medium Security Group and the Control Group on both test administrations. The results of these tests are summarized in Table 5.

# Table 4





\*Indicates significance at p < .01 level.

# Background

To determine the similarities and differences in the backgrounds of the subjects in the three groups, a frequency distribution was constructed using the information contained in the Background Questionnaire (see Table 5). The distributions revealed that the Medium Security Group was younger by three years in comparison with the Minimum Security Group and by one year when compared with the Control Group. The two delinquent groups did not differ from each other in years of education; however, they tended to have less education than did the Control Group.

In other background areas, the Medium Security Group differed substantially from the other two groups. That is, Medium Security inmates tended to be Black and US component (drafted) soldiers more often than the other subjects; a greater proportion of the Medium Security Group was single, and they had spent less time in the Army. The data also showed that this group of inmates came more frequently from a smaller home locale and from homes broken by separation and divorce. The Control Group showed a higher percentage of brothers in the military. The Minimum Security Group demonstrated a higher occasion of having had brothers who had spent time in a military stockade.

Concerning definquency backgrounds, the three groups differed little in incidence of having previously been fired from a civilian job. The Medium Security inmates, however, the d a greater frequency of civilian arrests, civilian confinement, Article 15 citations\*, previous stockade confinement and AWOL violations.

#### Table 5

Frequency Breakdown for Background Factors Between the Minimum and Medium Security Groups and the Control Group

Group	Mcan Age (Years)	Mean Education (Years)	Race (Black)	Component	(LS)	Married	Mean Time Snewt In	Service (Mon)	Parents	Separated/ Divorced	Residence	(Large City >100,00)
CONTROL	21.0	11.5	32	1	7%	417	24		1	02	3	57
MINIMUM SECURITY	23-2	10.5	<u>31%</u>	4(	57 57	38	22		2	3.	3	12
MEDIUM SECURITY	19.7	10.0	88/	7.	$\mathcal{V}_{-}$	16;	17	,	4	6	)	3%
Group	Brother In The Military	Brother Confined In Stockade	Fired From Civilian	Joh	Civilian Arrests	Civilian	Lonfinement	Article 15		Previous Stockade	Confinement	TOWN
CONTROL	59.	0.1	17/		147	1	7%	48.		02		
MENIMUM SECURIEY	465	23/	150		542	1	57.	46.	2	542		62%
MEDIUM SECURITY	397	012	17;		63%	58	32	63	X.	63%		83%

\*An Article 15 is a provision of the Uniform Code of Military Justice. It is a non-judicial punishment given by a commander to one of his subordinates for a relatively minor offense not warranting summary, special, or general court-martial

#### DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

## Confinement

The primary purpose of this investigation was to study the effect of different levels of confinement on the self-concept of military stockade inmates. It was hypothesized that there would be a decrease in self-concept as a result of 30 days confinement in a stockade setting, and that this decrease would be greater in the more restrictive Medium Security level than in the less restrictive Minimum Security level of confinement. It was believed that the decrease in self-concept would come about as a result of the traditional custodial atmosphere of such a facility and the lack of genuine psychological treatment given its inmates.

The results of the present investigation suggest that there was no significant change in self-concept experienced by either of the confined groups as measured over the 30-day period. Those in the Minimum Security Group did not differ significantly from the non-confined group, nor did they differ significantly from those in the Medium Security Group. Those in the Medium Security Group did differ significantly, however, from the non-confined group at both the initial test and at the retest period 30 days later.

It is possible that a 30-day confinement period is too short a time to appreciably affect self-concept. However, a decrease of 7 and 9 points, respectively, in the self-concept scores of the Medium and Minimum Security Groups suggests that confinement was beginning to have an impact on these men and that after longer periods of confinement, a significant change in self-concept would have occurred. This possibility is supported by the study undertaken by the Indian criminologist, Harjit S. Sandhu.<sup>6</sup> Sandhu investigated the effect of a 90-day period of institutionalization on prison inmates. The results indicated that self-concept deteriorated significantly over the 90-day period when inmates are incarcerated in a traditional restrictive, custodial atmosphere with much idle time to spend and no psychological treatment offered.

## Background

An analysis of the background data on inmates in the Medium Security Group suggests that they have a more prevalent history of delinquency than those inmates in the Minimum Security Group or those men in the Control Group. It is possible that this delinquency history may have led to a decrease in their self-concepts. Thus, the soldiers who have a longer history of delinquency may consequently view themselves as less worthwhile than soldiers who have not committed such acts and who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Sandhu, op. cit., p. 401-07.

perceive themselves as adhering to the laws and adjusting to their military life.

The soldier who commits an offense and is incarcerated in a stockade knows that he has not properly fulfilled his function as a member of the Army. Since he is a social being, he may tend to perceive himself as being out of line in the eyes of those members of his immediate social system who expect adjustive behavior on his part. This interpretation is based on the concept of the "looking-glass self" as formulated by the American sociologist Charles H. Cooley.<sup>7</sup> This concept is founded on the idea that "A person is influenced by what he imagines is his appearance to other persons, what he imagines to be their judgment of him, and his resultant feelings of pride or mortification." In this way, it may be very possible for delinquency to have a deteriorating effect on one's self-concept.

Another possible explanation for the results stems from the fact that self-concept was markedly lower in the Medium Security Group initially than it was in the Minimum Security Group and in the Control Group. Thus, the data suggest that the self-concepts of the men in the Medium Security Group were lower than those of the men in the Control Group even before entering confinement. When this difference in selfconcept actually occurred cannot be stated with any degree of certainty based on the present data. It is possible that background factors occurring prior to military service may have played an important part in the development of their self-concept.

One of the background factors which appears to set the Medium Security Group apart from the others is race. As is noted in Table 5, a larger percentage (88%) of the inmates in the Medium Security Group were Black than were the inmates of the Minimum Security Group (31%) or the subjects in the Control Group (3%). The fact that Blacks in our country very often have come from disadvantaged home environments and poor socio-economic backgrounds may lend credence to the idea that their self-concepts may have been adversely affected by these conditions. Also, this group came more often from a home environment broken by separation and divorce than did the other two groups. Since home environment, too, is regarded as an important factor in the development of one's self-concept, it is conceivable that this factor contributed significantly to the development of the self-concepts of this Medium Security Group.

Additional analysis of prior delinquency history gives us some added insight into the interrelationship of delinquency background and self-concept in this Medium Security Group. In accordance with the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>L.J. Ross, <u>Basic Sociology</u>, (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1963).

findings of Brodsky and Eggleston<sup>8</sup> who maintain that "military delinquents have a higher incidence of civilian offenses than control groups," analysis of the background data of the three groups indicates that the Medium Security Group tended to have been arrested and confined in civilian life more often than the Minimum Security and Control Groups. The Medium Security Group was also given more Article 15 citations while in the Army, and had more previous experience in a military stockade than the other two groups.

# Summary

The results of this investigation suggest that confinement in a stockade causes no significant change in self-concept over a 30-day period of time, although a downward trend was noted. The data do appear to suggest, however, that self-concept may be affected by personal background factors and that both of these may then be related to delinquent tendencies.

The finding that self-concept tends to be significantly lower among offenders in the Medium Security Group than among those in the Control Group may be of interest in developing predictive or rehabilitation programs. In terms of manpower efficiency in the Volunteer Army, this finding may have valuable implications. First, self-concept may be a useful tool in the development of a pre-induction or pre-offense diagnostic instrument for identifying those men who are most likely to engage in some form of delinquent behavior in the Army - By identifying these men in advance, future commanders could be alerted to the fact that these men may experience some adjustment difficulty in their military career. Subsequently, some action could be taken to work with these people more closely, taking into greater consideration their needs and deficiencies. Secondly, self-concept could be utilized as a post-offense disposition device in military corrections by aiding in the prediction of successful adjustment of inmates upon early release from confinement. In terms of the overall mission of the Army, the use of such an indicator could be helpful in bringing about a decrease in net lossess in manpower and an increase in manpower efficiency. Finally, self-concept may be one aspect of the individual that could be positively affected by rehabilitation programs, thereby decreasing the present recidivism rates.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Stanley J. Brodsky & Norman E. Eggleston, <u>The Military Prison:</u> <u>Theory, Research, and Practice</u>, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1970).

APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

# HUMAN R SOURCES RESEARCH ORGANIZATION Fort Knox, Kentucky

# SELF-ANALYSIS QUESTIONNAIRE

## Directions

Below you will find some pairs of words which are opposite in meaning, such as <u>Friendly</u> and <u>Unfriendly</u>. They are often used to describe how a person feels about himself. Use these words to describe how <u>you</u> feel about <u>yourself</u> today by placing an "X" in one of the spaces between the pairs of words.

If you think one of the words in a pair describes <u>your</u> feelings almost exactly, place an "X" in the space right next to that word. For example:

Friendly : X : \_ : \_ : \_ : Unfriendly

However, if you think your feelings really do not lie any closer to those described by either of the words, then place an "X" in the space mid-way between the two words. For example:

Friendly :\_\_\_\_: X :\_\_\_: Unfriendly

Otherwise, place an "X" in the space closer to the word which most clearly states how you feel about <u>yourself</u>; the closer the mark is to one word means the more closely you think that word fits <u>your</u> feelings about <u>yourself</u>. For example: If you feel that you are often <u>Friendly</u>, but not always, you might wish to mark your answer as follows:

Friendly : X: Untriendly

If you think you are sometimes <u>Un</u>friendly, you would place an "X" as follows:

Friendly :\_\_\_\_: X :\_\_\_: Unfriendly

Look at the words at both ends of the line before you put in your "X." Work rapidly; your first answer is likely to be the best. Do not omit any items and mark each item only once. If there is anything you do not understand, please raise your hand and ask about it.

.....BEGIN.....

NAME				SOCIAL SECUR	LI FY NUMBER
(Last)		(First)	(Middle)		
UNIT				TODAY'S DATE	
			******	(	Month) (Day) (Year)
Hardworking	::::	_::_		:::	Lazy
Responsible	:::	_::_		::	Irresponsible
Cooperative	::	_:::	:	::	Unccoperative
Bold	::	_::_	:	::	Timid
Generous	::	.::_		::	Selfish
Act on Impulse	::	_::	<u></u> : <u></u> :	::	Self-Controlled
Depend on Others	:::	:		:;;	Depend Only on Myself
Cautious	::	_::_		::	Take Chances
Lead Others	:;;	_::_	·:	:::	Follow Others
Respectful of Others	:::	_::_	:	:::	Disrespectful of Others
Unfriendly	:;;	_::_		::	Friendly
Reliable	:::	_:::		:::	Unreliable
Use Poor Judgment	::	_::_	:	;::	Use Excellent Judgment
Quick- Tempered	:::	_:::	:	:::	Cool-Headed
Sad	::	_::_		::	Нарру
Good	::	_::_	:	::	Bad
Valuable	:::	_::_	::	::	Worthless
Patient	::	_::	;;	::	lmpatient
Talkative	::	_::	;	::	Quiet

Untruthful	:	;	:	:	:	:	:	:	lruthiul
Forgiving	:		:	:	:	:	:	:	Untergiving
Nervous	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Calm
Insecure	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Confident
Interesting	:		:	:	:	:	:	:	Bering
Lucky	:		:	::	:	:	:	:	Unlucty
Dishonest	:		:	:	:	:	:	:	Benest
Successful Person	:	:	:		;		:	:	Failure
Hopeless	:	:	::	:		:	:	:	llopeful
Soci <b>a</b> ble	:	:	:.	:	:		:	:	Unsociable
Intelligent	:	:		:		:	:	:	Stupid

# APPENDIX B

# HUMAN RESOURCES RESEARCH ORGANIZATION Fort Knox, Kentucky

BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

1.	Name:		
	(Last)	(First)	(Middle)
2.	Social Security Number:		
3.	Date of Birth:		
4.	Highest Grade Completed in	School:	
5.	Race: (Check one)		
	White (Caucasian) Black (Negroid) Other		
6.	What is your Military Clas	sification?	
	RA US		
7.	Married: Single:	Separated:	Divorced:
8.	Date you came into the Arm	ny: Month Day	Year
9.	Parents: (Check one)		
	Living Together Separated Divorced Father Deceased Mother Deceased Not Sure		
10.	Where have you lived most	et your life?	
		to 2,500 people) than 2,500 people than 25,000 people more than 100,000 peo	p le

Section 1

11. Have you ever had a brother in day of the military solution

If your answer to question 11 is "YAS," please answer Question 11. If your answer to question 11 is "NO," <u>do not</u> answer Question 112.

"IA Was your brother ever confined to a stockade?

12. More you ever tired from a civilian job?

13. Were you evel arrested in civilian life?

$$\frac{2}{2} = \frac{2}{2} \frac{2}{6} \frac{2}{5}$$

1. Were you ered confined in a civilian fail or prison or detained in a capabile detention center?

15. Level sneet claser in Arricle 15.

to, that strense are very antity based with " (Describe blieffor

Fi. Kere via ever confined to a stockade before?

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