

THE STUDY OF VIOLENCE IN CALIFORNIA PRISONS

-- A REVIEW WITH POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Lawrence A. Bennett

Chief of Research

California Department of Corrections

Ph.D., Psychology, 1968

Claremont Graduate School

May, 1975

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Some Differing Emphases	1
The 1960 Study of Violence	3
The 1965 Task Force to Study Violence	7
Aggressive History Profile	14
Three Reports on Behavioral Observations	15
Institution Violence and Parole Outcome	18
The Department of Finance Study	20
Some Recent Ongoing Efforts	22
Some Additional Efforts at Control and Management	27
Policy Implications	28
Future Research Needs and Plans	31
Exhibit 1 Variables Significantly Different Between Violent and Non-Violent Prisoners San Quentin -- 1960	4
Exhibit 2 Variables Not Significantly Different Between Violent and Non-Violent Prisoners San Quentin -- 1960	6
Exhibit 3 Characteristics of Violent Inmates Folsom, CMF, SQ, CTF, DVI and CMC-E	8
Figure 1 Disciplinary Prediction Scale I for New Admissions by Construction and Validation Samples	17
Exhibit 4 Characteristics of Male Felon Aggressors in Stabbing Incidents, 1960-1974	23
Figure 2 Inmate Assault Incidents Related to Percent of Release Dates Denied by Adult Authority, 1969-1973	25

The 1965 Task Force to Study Violence

The next effort was a major one. The 1965 Task Force to Study Violence was carried out by the Research Division under the direction of top-level departmental administrative staff. The effort was augmented by such knowledgeable individuals as Hans Tock and James Park. Methodology for this particular study involved the examination of data concerning violent incidents occurring in six major institutions with analyses directed toward shifts in patterns between 1963 and 1964, and a comparison of the characteristics of both the aggressors and victims with their respective residential populations. For the purpose of the study, a violent act was defined as "Assault by inmates using either fists or any weapon which resulted in injury to himself or others and which was deemed serious enough by the institution to report it in an 'Incident Report'." Incidents against staff and among inmates were treated separately, as were the California Department of Corrections inmate group and the Youth Authority wards housed in adult correctional institutions.

A large number of findings resulted. In summary, the amount of violence was on the increase in medium custody institutions. From 1963 to 1964, minor injuries to staff from blows and major injuries to inmates from weapon assaults more than doubled. The characteristics of violent inmates (Exhibit 3) shows some parallels with the earlier study but also some decided shifts. While a history of prior institutional violence still showed the

strongest relationship to present assaultive behavior and non-white ethnic background (in this case Mexican ethnic origin) maintained a strong relationship, we now see family criminal record and high MMPI Paranoia Scale scores positively related whereas previously these items were non-differentiating.

Exhibit 3

CHARACTERISTICS OF VIOLENT INMATES

Folsom, CMF, San Quentin, CTF, DVI, and CMC-East

1963-64

1. Prior institutional violence.
2. Born in California.
3. Mexican ethnic origin.
4. Family criminal record.
5. Juvenile escapes.
6. Never married.
7. High MMPI Paranoia Scale score.
8. Last imprisonment under age 25.
9. Maximum or close custody.

An attempt was made to unravel the motivational aspects of the incidents. Labeled "Causal Factors," it was found that 35 percent of the inmate to inmate assaults seemed to stem from accidental, real or imagined insult combined with hyper sensitivity. Twenty-five percent were associated with homosexual

activities while 15 percent seemed to be related to so-called "pressuring" activities--the use of force or threat of force to persuade weaker inmates to part with their possessions. Racial conflicts accounted for 12 percent of the incidents with the remainder (16 percent) being divided between informant activities (9 percent) and retaliation for past assaults (7 percent).

Despite the fact that three of the institutions under study-- California Medical Facility, California Mens Colony and San Quentin--house large numbers of emotionally disturbed inmates, the emotional condition of the individual was apparently not seen as a significant causal factor in the reported assaultive behavior.

Another factor to be considered when reviewing this study must be the relative contribution of a few inmates to the problem of violence. In the detailed examination of kinds of incidents and differing motivations, the fact can be easily overlooked that the incidents under study were perpetrated by two percent of the inmate population. The foregoing is not to minimize the seriousness of the problem but rather to note the serious statistical constraints encountered when one is faced with predicting the rare event.

In terms of time and place, it would appear that violent incidents are more likely to occur in the Spring and, during the period of this study, were more likely to occur in the living and recreational areas. Work and dining areas only accounted for about 15 percent of the violent incidents.

Attacks on staff occurred most often at California Medical Facility--our mental hospital for the Department of Corrections--again raising the question of the possible relationship between emotional disturbance and assaultive behavior. A second finding was that Youth Authority wards participated five times as often as adult inmates in violent assaults on staff. The preceding findings will be examined later in conjunction with related data. Attacks on staff, for the most part, occurred during apprehension or processing of an inmate suspected of being involved in some disciplinary infraction.

When aggressors were compared to victims, with both Youth Authority wards and Department of Corrections inmates combined, it was found that more aggressors than victims had the following characteristics:

First arrest under age 25.

Inmate described in records as hostile.

History of prior institutional violence.

Gang leader at time of incident.

When adult offenders only were used in the comparison, more aggressors had the following characteristics than did victims:

- Born in California.
- Mexican ethnic origin.
- Family criminal record.
- Juvenile escapes only.
- Never married.
- High MMPI Paranoia Scale score (60+).
- Last imprisoned under age 25.
- Incident while individual under age 25.
- Maximum or close custody status.

Aggressors among Youth Authority wards differed from the Youth Authority victims on a number of characteristics but these will not be explored inasmuch as the emphasis is upon an understanding of adult prison inmates.

As noted earlier, a past history of violence, especially institutional violence, seems fairly strongly related to the aggressive behavior noted during the period studied. The foregoing becomes more apparent when identified aggressors are compared with the prison residents.

	<u>Identified Aggressors</u>	<u>Resident Population</u>
Any Prior Violence	87.6%	71.9%
Prior Criminal Violence	60.9	47.0
Prior Institutional Violence	48.9	12.9
Prior Cultural Violence	44.9	18.7

As can be seen, both the largest actual difference and the largest relative difference between the groups was on the variable of past institutional violence (the incidence of a history of prior institutional violence is roughly four times as great among assaultive inmates as among the populations from which they come).

The report continues,

Among other indications of the psychologically distinctive nature of institutionally assaultive inmates is their repeated tendency to become involved in any kind of institutional rule violations. Similarly, the prior escape rate for the adult correctional inmate aggressors is striking if one recalls that most of this group have only jail or juvenile commitments previous to this commitment. (1965 Task Force to Study Violence in Prison Report, p. 6.)

At all institutions, regardless of the average age of the resident inmates, the younger the offender, the greater their participation as aggressors in violent incidents. At the institution housing a large number of Youth Authority wards, Deuel Vocational Institution, the Youth Authority wards participated more than four times as often as adult inmates in violent inmate to inmate incidents; five times as often in violent incidents against staff.

The report appropriately focuses on the critical issue of the apparent relationship between youthfulness and assaultive behavior with the following analyses,

The comparatively serious violence record of Youth Authority aggressors raises the question of whether this relative viciousness is a function of age, or whether Youth Authority wards in adult correctional institutions are a unique problem group. To help answer this question, Youth Authority wards in California Training Facility (Soledad), Deuel Vocational Institution (Tracy), and California Medical Facility (Vacaville) were compared with the adult felon inmates at these three institutions who fell into a roughly comparable age bracket of 20 to 24. The major finding in these comparisons is that the two groups are very much alike. The only statistically significant exceptions to this rule are: (1) proportionately more Youth Authority wards have backgrounds with personal opiate use and family criminality; (2) comparatively more Youth Authority wards have prior institutional violence recorded; while (3) fewer of the Youth Authority wards show prior criminal violence. These differences, however, may be produced by discrepancies in case history records. (1965 Task Force to Study Violence Report, p. 6.)

Out of such consistent findings one must conclude that youthfulness has a positive relationship to violent aggressive behavior. Speculation offers two explanatory possibilities. The first might be the heightened vigor of the young offender who is at the prime of his physical and sexual potential that demands some sort of active interaction with the environment. Despite the extensive opportunity for physical release through exercise and sports activities, apparently the psychological as well as the physical restrictiveness of the prison leads to

aggressive outbursts. The alternate concept would suggest that younger inmates must struggle to make their mark, to "earn their spurs" in an all male environment where older inmates maintain their status on the basis of a past reputation for toughness. As is often the case in the human situation, it may well be that both concepts contain a part of the truth.

Aggressive History Profile

At some point along the way, a minor side trip must be taken to explain some terms that have cropped up a number of times in this review. Such terms as "cultural violence," etc., are drawn from an instrument developed by John P. Conrad (1966). Designated the "Aggressive History Profile," the attempt was to quickly summarize the history of violent, aggressive behavior of each individual through a system of categorization of kinds of acts committed by an individual plus providing some index as to degree of involvement. The categories are cultural, criminal, accidental, situational, pathological and institutional. Thus, an individual whose history revealed only a single instance of a threat to do violence associated with some sort of subcultural conflict would be rated lower than an individual who has been involved in several overt acts of aggression. No single numerical index can be offered, however, for there is no known way in which to determine the relative weights of cultural vs. criminal violence. At any rate, with this scale a general

profile of an individual's history of aggressive behavior could be easily depicted. It was designed to be used in attempting to predict post-institutional violence. The application of this measurement to institutional violence represents more of an attempt to take advantage of all readily available information rather than developing out of any theoretical system which suggests that past violence of any kind is a great predictor of subsequent violence in an institutional setting.

Three Reports on Behavioral Observations

Rather than taking the usual approach of the ex post facto retrospective study, these three reports were the outgrowth of an attempt to gather comprehensive information as it occurred about a large number of adult male inmates, starting from their entry into the system.

The first report (Jaman, 1968) provided a detailed description of who the people were in terms of background characteristics and what they did during their first year in prison. Along with the large percentage who became involved in vocational training, institutional work assignments, and academic training, a small number became involved in violent incidents. The definition of violence used in this study included threats of violence as well as the inflicting of injury. It was found that about seven percent of new admissions and four percent of readmissions (those returned from the community as parole violators, either as a

result of a new felony commitment or because of a violation of conditions of parole). The percentages found are considerably higher than the two percent of the resident population previously noted. One could argue that differing time periods are under consideration. However, such a view cannot be supported, for the 1965 Task Force study dealt with 1963 and 1964 incidents while the study under discussion made use of 1964 admissions-- the resulting incidents would be occurring during 1964 and 1965. Thus, the conclusion must be considered that those inmates newly entered into the system contribute disproportionately more to the disruptive behavior of the institution than do those who have been in residence for some longer period.

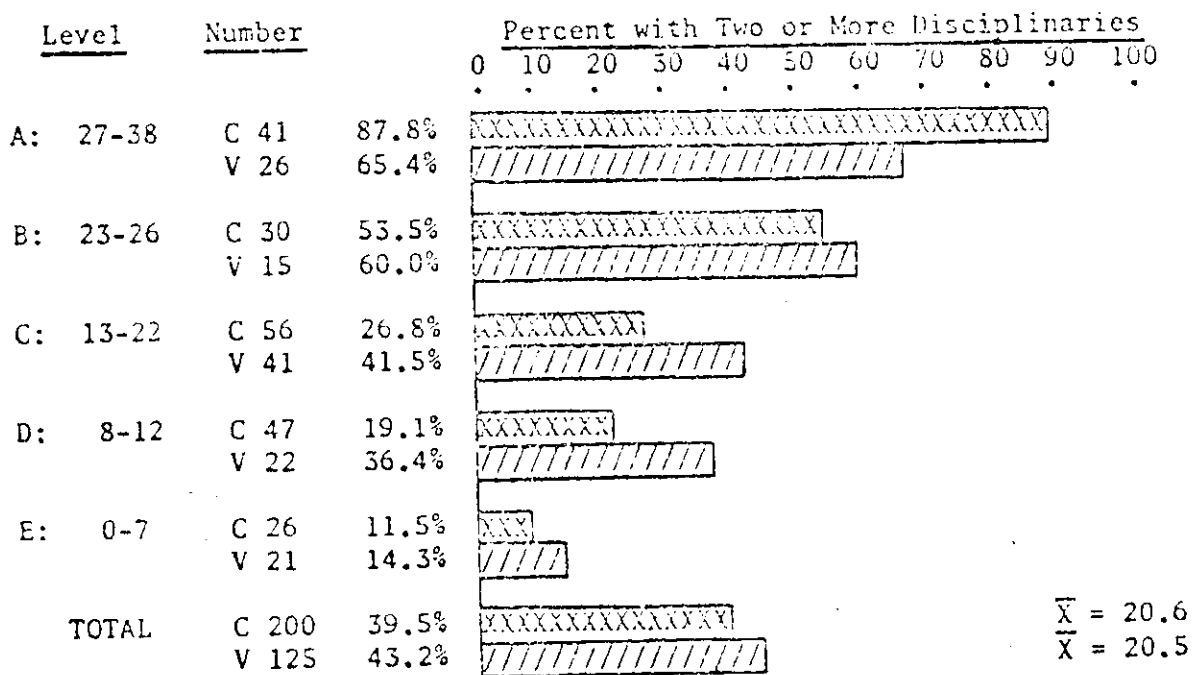
One of the recommendations growing out of the 1965 report was that a "violence participation proneness scale" be developed. The statistical problems inherent in predicting the rare event have already been mentioned. Rather than attempt the near impossible task of predicting violent behavior, two subsequent reports dealing with approaches to predicting institutional disciplinary difficulties were undertaken. First, MMPI test scores were used (Jaman, 1969). No scale scores were sufficiently precise to be of value. Using item analysis, a three-item scale was derived from the MMPI that was significantly related ($r_b = .53$) to two or more disciplinaries (40 percent of this sample; 19 percent had four or more disciplinary reports within the first year). However, the scale failed to be useful for predictive purposes in that, when applied to a validation sample, the

relationship between the scale and disciplinaries was non-significant.

A second effort, using background characteristics, fared somewhat better. A six-item scale resulted in statistically significant relationships for both the construction and validation sample ($r_b=.68$; $r_b=.42$) with the shrinkage in correlation coefficient being expected. The two items carrying the greatest weights were a history of juvenile commitments and age 29 or younger at time of admission. The scale was able to predict group percentages in that the percentage of those who incurred two or more disciplinaries within the first year did increase as scores increased (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

Disciplinary Prediction Scale I for New Admissions
By Construction and Validation Samples



It would appear that of those scoring above 23 on the scale (the 35 percent or so of the most disruptive), some 65 percent are likely to become involved in two or more disciplinary difficulties.

For readmission inmates, no predictors of significant stability could be found, either in terms of MMPI scores or in terms of background characteristics.

Institution Violence and Parole Outcome

While the focus of this review is upon the causes of violence in the institution, it seems acceptable to touch briefly upon how such behavior relates to subsequent adjustment on parole. Two efforts have addressed this issue, among others. Continuing the analysis of the behavior during the first year of incarceration, it was found from a study of 325 new admissions that neither the number of disciplinary actions nor any violence displayed during that first year has any bearing on parole outcome (Jaman, 1972). A second study involved some of the same subjects but examined their entire institutional adjustment, relating this adjustment to length of incarceration and to subsequent parole outcome. The presence or absence of disciplinary actions was found, not too surprisingly, to be related to time served in the institution for a sample of inmates convicted for First Degree Robbery and for Second Degree Burglary. However, this variable was related to parole outcome only in the case of

the armed robbery group. A similar pattern was found for a history of institution violence; such a history was related to parole outcome for armed robbers; not related to parole outcome for the burglars. (Jaman, Dickover and Bennett, 1972.)

A review of Parole Work Unit Reports (a California parole program designed to assess the effectiveness of assignment of parolees to caseloads related to the amount of supervision effort required) for those released to parole 1968 through the first half of 1972 revealed very little differences between those with a history of aggressive behavior and those with lessor patterns in terms of subsequent aggression on parole--defined as murder, manslaughter, assault, rape and kidnapping. Differences were statistically significant at the two year parole outcome level however, with the more aggressive parolees revealing roughly twice the potential for subsequent involvement. The consequence of the finding loses impact when closer examination reveals that less than two percent of those with a history of major aggressive acts become reinvolved in violence--the overall average for the total release cohort seldom exceeds one percent. Since the historical accumulation takes into account any and all aggressive acts, it can be seen that institution violence can account for only a small portion of those characterized as having an aggressive history. Thus, by indirection, it seems fairly safe to conclude that institution violence is not strongly related to subsequent aggressive offenses during the parole period.

The Department of Finance Study

In an attempt to move from strict financial analyses toward a more programmatic review, a team from the California Department of Finance volunteered to undertake studies considered by the Department of Corrections as being of crucial significance. The two areas addressed were classification and violence. The classification study, needed to develop uniform definitions to allow for budgetary descriptions of the total population, soon was abandoned as the fascination of prison violence gripped the investigators. Initial efforts grew out of a statistical model (Duncan, Haller and Portes, 1971) of social motivation which soon became ensnarled in the tangled realities of information limitations and operational constraints. However, out of this effort emerged an interactional model that may well serve to move research toward improved understanding of the problem (Cohen, et al., 1975).

First, characteristics of institutions were considered as well as the kinds of individuals involved in disruptive behavior. Using such indices as might be revealed by the study of the characteristics of those involved in prison violence, institutions were measured as to their potential for explosiveness. Such items as the percentage of individuals under age 25, the percentage of inmates of Mexican ethnic background, the percentage of inmates whose most serious commitment offense was of an aggressive nature all combined to provide a measure that could be related

to periods marked by a high level of turbulent behavior. Preliminary assessment suggested a positive potential.

A secondary set of findings grew out of an attempt to assess the extent to which an individual inmate's expectations for self-development were fulfilled or thwarted by the programs offered or by the classification process. Again time constraints and informational limitations caused a shift in emphasis with the result that a quasi-predictor of aggressive potential was postulated. The resulting set of characteristics was viewed as being valuable to the counseling staff in indicating which inmates might require special attention. It was postulated, and some support for this view was provided, that the extent that positive and negative "strokes" were applied would play a central role in whether the potential for obstreperous action would gain behavioral expression. The number of disciplinary reports would, of course, fall into the negative category. Laudatory chronological entries in the case history would be on the positive side as would high grades in a school or training program or the earning of a certificate. Transfers from tight custody institutions to more minimum settings would be a plus while a transfer, other than for administrative reasons, toward a more controlled setting would be a negative stroke. The implications of these preliminary findings will be discussed in terms of further research to be undertaken as well as potential applications in the operational area.

Some Recent Ongoing Efforts

While not designated as a formal research project, the problem of violence engages one in a constant examination of possible clues (Bennett, 1974). The accumulation of data and speculation as to acceptable explanatory principles are seen as laying the groundwork for future research activities of a more comprehensive, directed nature. It is in this vein that the characteristics of identified aggressors have been studied over the period of 1960 to the present (see Exhibit 4).

Some stabilized patterns emerge. The Mexican/American Chicano group has rather consistently been over-represented among the aggressors as contrasted with the total population from which they are drawn. Violent behavior seems to be related to youthfulness. In more recent years, aggressive attacks have been carried out by individuals who in many instances have entered the system with a commitment offense that could be characterized as violent. An example of this phenomenon is the shifting pattern of homicide offenders. In the early 1960's, this group was minimally represented in those identified as attackers; in 1973, they were over-represented among the violent aggressors. Inasmuch as the characteristics of all the various offense groups are changing over time (Dickover, 1974), it seems probable that those entering the system convicted of the offense of homicide also have changed in terms of extent of involvement in criminality and past assaultive behavior. Further, exploration of this possibility is currently being conducted (Bluestein, 1975).

Exhibit 4

CHARACTERISTICS OF MALE FELON AGGRESSORS IN STABBING INCIDENTS

1960-1974

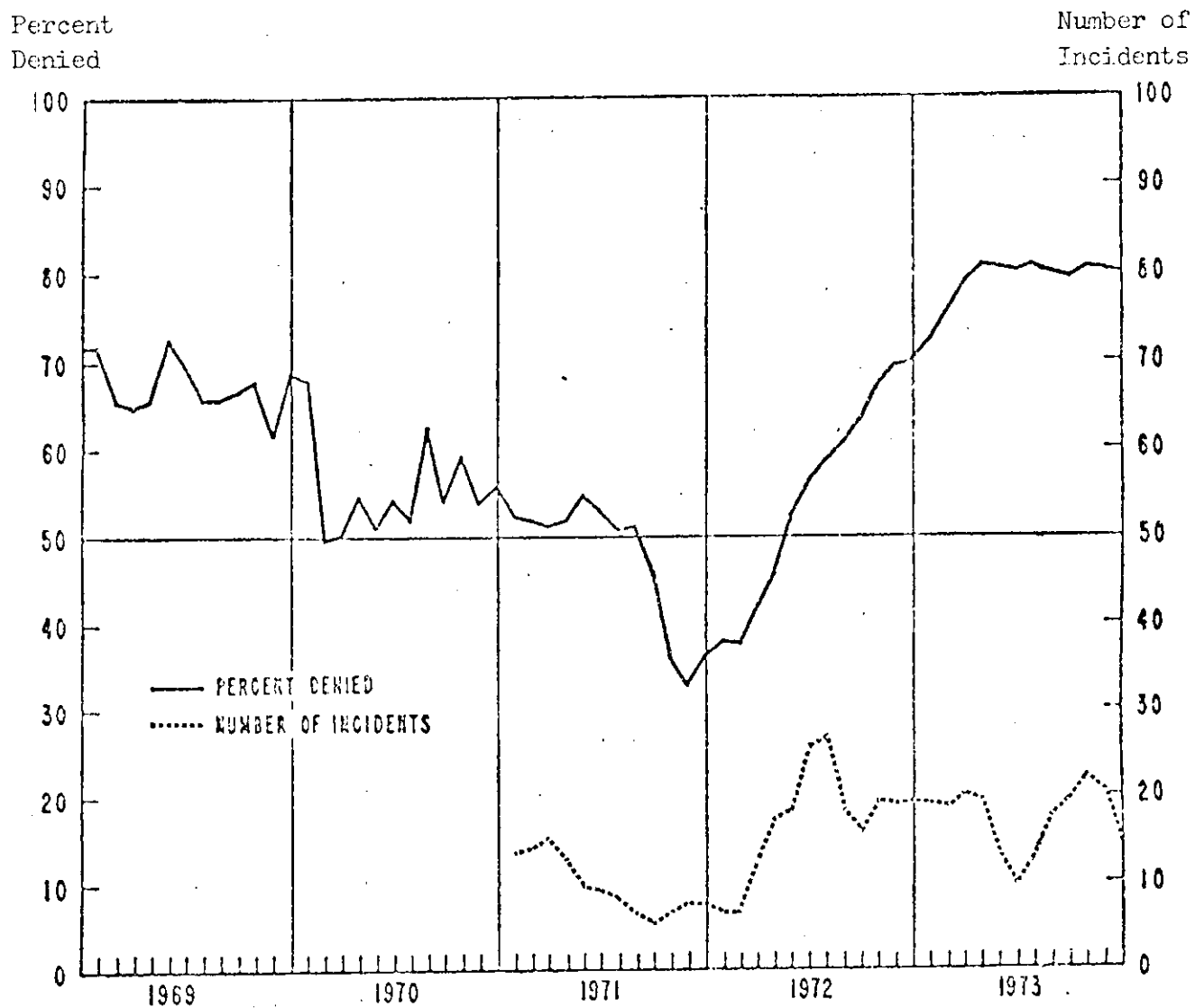
	1960 (N=27)	1965 (N=44)	1970 (N=73)	1972 (N=117)	1973 (N=202)	1974 (N=197)
<u>Offense of Assault</u>						
Designated aggressors	7.4	9.0	20.5	15.4	15.3	13.4
Institution population ^a	3.7	5.0	7.2	7.3	7.3	7.5
<u>Offense of Homicide</u>						
Designated aggressors	11.1	11.4	19.2	21.4	22.8	18.4
Institution population	7.0	8.6	11.9	14.7	14.5	14.8
<u>Ethnic Background</u>						
<u>White:</u>						
Designated aggressors	51.9	40.9	34.3	35.9	35.6	36.3
Institution population	57.5	55.0	52.6	49.8	48.5	47.2
<u>Mexican (Chicano):</u>						
Designated aggressors	22.2	29.5	30.1	48.7	32.6	37.4
Institution population	17.1	16.4	16.6	16.7	17.6	18.1
<u>Black:</u>						
Designated aggressors	25.9	27.3	32.9	13.7	31.1	24.0
Institution population	23.1	26.9	29.8	32.0	32.3	33.0
<u>Percentage Under Age of 25</u>						
Designated aggressors	24.0	45.5	56.2	45.3	46.5	52.5
Institution population	18.5	19.2	20.6	21.9	20.2	20.5
<u>Prior Jail or Juvenile Commitments Only--No Prior Prison</u>						
Designated aggressors	51.9	61.4	72.7	73.5	71.8	73.7
Institution population	40.7	43.7	44.0	48.2	49.1	49.8

^a Population characteristics are measured as of December 31 of the year under study.

Another aspect being reviewed is the relationship between violent, disruptive behavior and whether or not the individual has an established release date. Time constraints prohibit any extended discussion of the value and meaning of the indeterminate sentence. Suffice it to say that one aspect propounded by some is that the requirement to demonstrate readiness for release raises the level of anxiety in a group of people believed to be sociopathically oriented and thus anxiety free. Such anxiety arousal is believed necessary for positive changes to occur. In our most recent exploratory venture, the hypothesis was that not only is anxiety aroused that could be used for self-improvement but also it leads to frustration. When high levels of frustration occur in individuals who have high levels of aggressive potential, the crowded situation of most institutions creates an environment where minor encounters, which ordinarily might be brushed aside, get escalated into major confrontations (Holt, 1974). In Figure 2, the pattern of incident reports and parole board denials tend to parallel each other for quite a period (Bennett, 1974). As this period was the first examined, hopes ran high that a major causative factor had been uncovered. However, the clarity dissipated when a longer time period was considered. Such a finding does not mean necessarily that the relationship observed earlier was spurious; rather, it must be accepted that the relationship, if it exists, did not hold up over time.

Figure 2

INMATE ASSAULT INCIDENTS RELATED TO PERCENT
OF RELEASE DATES DENIED BY ADULT AUTHORITY



A constant monitoring is maintained of the kinds of incidents occurring, their location and an attempt is made to categorize the basis for assaults. As might be expected from earlier presentations, a high percentage during any period of review--month, quarter or year--are related to gang or clique affiliations. The separation of activities attributable to allegiance to an organization and those related to strife between ethnic groups is often difficult inasmuch as some organizations are related, in part, to ethnic background. Kinds of weapons are also classified with the continued hope that they will become less and less lethal and move toward the more ineffective, makeshift type.

In December 1973, extreme operational controls were ordered in the major medium custody institutions of the California Department of Corrections. The clampdown was a reaction to a continued increase in inmate/inmate assault and attacks on staff. The latter occurrence was beginning to increase the level of apprehension on the part of staff. Administrators became concerned that such fears would lead to a total breakdown of communication between staff and inmates, further disrupting the smooth management of the institutions. A detailed statistical study (Bidna, 1975) of the first 11 months of the lockdown, based upon the routine data collected, revealed that no overall statistically significant reduction in violent incidents were in evidence. Most of the assaults became confined to two of the institutions and tended to occur more often in lockup units than

in general population situations. The interpretation of this latter finding is not at all clear. Some would contend that the assaults in the lockup units confirms that proper classification has been achieved; that the right (most assaultive) inmates were being separated from the rest of the inmate population. Those more inclined toward environmental explanations of behavior could just as easily explain the observed phenomenon on the basis that the obstreperous behavior occurred because they were in lockup, increasing tensions and frustrations.

Some Additional Efforts at Control and Management

Two special efforts are worthy of mention. The first has or will be discussed by George Sumner. By the use of selected inmate leaders, communication links are established between, among and within the various factions, gangs and organizations within the Management Control Unit at California Training Facility-North. No formal research has been attempted to unravel the effective mechanisms involved; the routine counts reveal that the number of incidents is far below that expected considering the youthful, volatile and aggressive inmates housed in the unit.

The second effort occurred at Deuel Vocational Institution earlier this year. Second only to San Quentin in terms of contribution to the growing number of assaults, the leaders felt something must be done. Conflict Resolution Training has been

provided for a limited number of staff by the U. S. Department of Justice under a special LEAA grant. The application of the learned skills had been attempted by small teams relating to staff morale problems. It was decided to test the mettle of the approach by applying the techniques to the problem of inter-group conflicts. Initial success was pronounced with rival gangs participating in mutual problem solving sessions. During this brief blissful period, assaults dropped off markedly. Subsequently one of the groups has broken off all negotiations and refused to participate. Violence seems, however, to be increasing but slowly. It is still early to tell if significant effects have been achieved.

Policy Implications

If one looks at this collection of research findings, there is little that suggests direct official action that will suddenly reduce violence. When one reads between the lines of the research findings, it soon becomes clear that the nature of assaultive behavior in California prisons has shifted from behavior arising out of individual to individual conflict toward a significant portion of the violence being related to quasi-political organizations that have many of the characteristics of the underworld gang. Thus, the individual motivational factors must still be taken into consideration but no one must jump to the conclusion that corrective measures developed to deal with such problems

will significantly impact the kinds of behavior dictated by gang membership. Near kamikaze attacks have been encountered with little or no effort made to avoid detection. No remorse or contrition is expressed, with the view that behavior in the name of the cause is legitimate and retaliatory, or restrictive measures are simple attempts at political repression.

Despite the many limitations of available research findings, there are some actions that can be contemplated. Some of these have already been initiated, others are in the planning stage, while others may be proved inapplicable when subjected to the test of feasibility.

I. First, it would appear that sufficient knowledge is available to attempt to control the mix of people with certain kinds of characteristics that reside in a given institution. The accumulation of too many youthful offenders with a history of violent behavior and assaultive offenses is likely to result in a high potential for explosive behavior. The application of this technique, however, is fraught with danger and must be attempted with caution for to change the composition of one population will modify the mix of characteristics at other prisons; often institutions that have been operating trouble-free because of the kinds of inmates housed there. The indices, previously mentioned, could be refined to provide an early alert system that might head off potential problems.

II. Inmate involvement in the development of rules and procedures may provide a mechanism for at least ameliorating some of the strong hostility generated by tight custodial controls. The work at CTF-North must be seen as pioneering; whether it is something that can be applied in other settings remains to be seen. However, from a variety of other research, the variable of involvement seems to underlie positive shifts of attitude (Grant, 1968; Adams, 1970). Further, research on the Watts riot suggests that a feeling of powerlessness is related to a willingness to loosen social controls (Ransford, 1970).

III. In terms of individual characteristics and subsequent adjustment, care must be taken not to rush into a predictive device for on the one hand such procedures assume immutability of the personality and adjustment, and on the other hand lead to preventative action likely to be inappropriately applied because of the large number of false positives inevitable when one attempts to predict the rare event (Wenk, Robison and Smith, 1972). However, it now seems possible to develop a device that reflects a changing potential as conditions shift or as frustrations accumulate. Such an instrument should provide a barometer that can signal the need for special counseling that might be of value in averting the anticipated disruption. Currently in the planning stage, a control group approach is being contemplated to ensure that the procedure actually results in fewer disciplinary reports and violent incidents.

Enhancing the opportunities for each inmate to express his individuality is seen as a worthwhile attempt to reduce discontent. The Committee to Implement Recommendations of the Task Force on Violence has made a number of valuable suggestions along this line. Supplying paint of different colors and allowing inmates to paint their own cells in a color of their own choosing might well make life more meaningful for some inmates. It should be noted that there is no naive assumption that such a measure will induce a disruptive inmate to become a model prisoner but such efforts might reduce the number of essentially conforming inmates who inadvertently find their way into difficulties through frustration, discontent, and a sense of hopelessness.

Offering a life style as challenging as inmate organizational activity represents a real stumbling block to administration. The opportunity to attend school or learn a trade pales considerably when compared to the prestige of being a captain of enforcers in a well organized group.

Future Research Needs and Plans

As can be seen, it has been only recently that there has been a shift away from the emphasis upon the individual as the source of motivation for violence toward looking at aspects of the social, psychological and physical environment that impinges upon that individual.

An examination of the effectiveness of a changing status indicator has been mentioned. While the assumption is that the potential for violence rests with the individual, there is a recognition that the inmate is involved in an interaction system; that what happens to him affects how he views himself and how he reacts to the world around himself. It seems likely that further experience with such an instrument will lead to additional refinements, markedly enhancing its usefulness.

Among identified aggressors, the Chicano group has been over-represented as compared to the general departmental population in each study examined from 1960 to the present. While clinical observers would insist that the nature of their involvement has changed over the extended span of time, the fact of their over-involvement cannot be avoided. Considerable efforts have been expended to ameliorate the situation but have proved to be ineffective thus far. Correctional programs of the past have reflected the prevailing cultural standard that anyone whose native tongue is different from English should immediately give up their natural mode of communication and "speak American" and adopt the folkways of the Anglo group. More recently, attempts have been made to understand the Macho and Machismo needs of the Mexican male. Special cultural self-study groups have been formed and more recognition has been given to the cultural heritage of the Chicano. Menu preparation has taken into account the taste preferences of different cultural groups. However, our knowledge

is far from complete in this area. Thus, one likely area of future research might be a cultural anthropological study of the Chicano in prison with the aim of improved understanding and the development of accommodation maneuvers to minimize the need for members of this group to express their frustrations through violent behavior.

The longer range research efforts must be directed toward the development of a complex interactive model. Involved in such a model would be a combination of individual predispositions and institutional stresses, cross-laced with situational intrusions. The research model for an approach of this nature has been developed by Ellis, Grasnick and Gilman (1975). By a series of correctional coefficients arranged in a directional fashion, some sense of causality can be deduced. The results of such efforts might well increase understanding of violent behavior in the correctional institution but may even lead to practical guides for action. For example, a configural analyses might result that would provide a rough probability guide to decision makers that would include the kinds of variables mentioned. A Chicano, under age 25, might have a seven percent probability of being involved in assaultive behavior, no matter into what institution he is placed. However, if placed in California Training Facility at Soledad or in Deuel Vocational Institution at Tracy, the probability of involvement might rise to 10 or 12 percent; if, on the other hand, he is placed in a forestry camp or in California

Institution for Men at Chino, the likelihood of his becoming
involved in disruptive behavior might drop down to around two
percent. Placement in the trade training of his choice might
also reduce his aggressivity quotient by say another two percent.
The probabilities are fictional but there appears to be a suf-
ficient accumulation of findings and an adequate availability
of data to make the development of such a system within the
realm of possibility.

A natural experiment is already under way. Earlier the notion was explored that not knowing the date of release to parole might be viewed as frustrating by a prisoner. Recent changes in procedures by the Adult Authority, the parole board in California, have resulted in a high percentage of release dates set at each hearing. By February of next year, between 80 and 90 percent of all inmates in the various institutions will know the expected date of their release whether in the near or distant future (as contrasted to the 12 to 15 percent during late 1974 and early 1975). If earlier speculation has any relationship to reality, there should be a steady reduction of assaultive behavior over the next few months with a most peaceful climate in existence by March or April of 1976. The plan is to eventually determine the length of institutional stay very early in the inmate's career, perhaps at the end of reception center processing.

While these future research plans look somewhat sketchy, especially considering the gravity of the problem being confronted, the major effort, the second one mentioned above, should provide major findings of significance to the field. The project as outlined will require extensive expenditure of manpower, a comprehensive planning program and considerable mathematical, statistical analytic power to bring it to completion. The third element, we believe, has been identified. The first two then become a matter of time and muscle to move forward. The culmination of such a project should lead to valuable insights and pave the way for further progress toward viable solutions.

REFERENCES

1. Adams, Stuart, The San Quentin Prison College Project: Final Report, School of Criminology, University of California, Berkeley, 1968.
2. Bennett, Lawrence A., "Brief Analysis of Characteristics of Male Felon Inmates Designated as Aggressors in Stabbing Incidents," Mimeo. Report, Research Division, California Department of Corrections, Sacramento, 1974.
3. Bidna, Howard, "Effects of Increased Security on Prison Violence," submitted for publication, Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1974.
4. Bluestein, Victor, "Homicide Offenders and Stabbing Incidents," study proposal submitted to Departmental Research Advisory Council, Research Division, California Department of Corrections, Sacramento, 1975.
5. Cohn, Burt, Rich Gould, Leroy Bell, John Broussard and Curtin Rogers, "A Study of Violence," California Department of Finance, Sacramento, 1975.
6. Conrad, John P., "The Nature and Treatment of the Violent Offender: A Typology of Violence," Appendix II in Carol Spencer, A Typology of Violent Offenders, Research Report No. 23, Research Division, California Department of Corrections, Sacramento, 1966.

7. Dickover, Robert M., "A Study of Trends Among Newly Admitted Male Felons - 1960-1973," Mimeo. Report, Research Division, California Department of Corrections, Sacramento, 1974.
8. Dudley, Otis D., Archibald O. Haller and Alejandro Portes, "Peer Influences on Aspirations: A Reinterpretation," in H. M. Blaylock, Jr., Ed., Causal Models in the Social Sciences, Chicago: Aldine, 1971, pp. 219-244.
9. Ellis, Desmond, Harold G. Grasnick and Bernard Gilman, "Violence in Prisons: A Sociological Analysis," American Journal of Sociology, 80, 1974, pp. 16-43.
10. Grant, J. Douglas and Joan Grant, "Contagion as a Principle in Behavior Change," in Unique Programs in Behavior Readjustment, Elmsford, New York: Pergamon, 1970.
11. Holt, Norman E., Personal Communication, Research Division, California Department of Corrections, Sacramento, 1974.
12. Jaman, Dorothy R., Patricia Coburn, Jackie Goddard and Paul F. C. Mueller, Characteristics of Violent Prisoners (San Quentin - 1960), Research Report No. 22, Research Division, California Department of Corrections, Sacramento, 1966.

13. Jaman, Dorothy R., Behavior During the First Year in Prison, Report I - Description, Research Report No. 32, Research Division, California Department of Corrections, Sacramento, 1968.
14. Jaman, Dorothy R., Behavior During the First Year in Prison, Report II - MMPI Scales and Behavior, Research Report No. 34, Research Division, California Department of Corrections, Sacramento, 1969.
15. Jaman, Dorothy R., Behavior During the First Year in Prison, Report IV, As Related to Parole Outcome, Research Report No. 44, Research Division, California Department of Corrections, Sacramento, 1971.
16. Jaman, Dorothy R., Behavior During the First Year in Prison, Report III, Background Characteristics, Research Report No. 43, Research Division, California Department of Corrections, Sacramento, 1972.
17. Jaman, Dorothy R., Robert M. Dickover and Lawrence A. Bennett, "Parole Outcome as a Function of Time Served," British Journal of Corrections, 1972.

18. Ransford, H. Edward, "Isolation, Powerlessness, and Violence: A Study of Attitudes and Participation in the Watts Riot," in Edwin I. Megargee and Jack E. Hokanson (Eds.), The Dynamics of Aggression, New York: Harper and Row, 1970, pp. 145-159.
19. Wenk, Ernst A., James O. Robison and Gerald W. Smith, "Can Violence be Predicted?" Crime and Delinquency, 1972, pp. 393-402.
20. Task Force to Study Violence in Prison - Report, California Department of Corrections, Sacramento, 1965.
21. Task Force to Study Violence - Report, California Department of Corrections, Sacramento, 1974.
22. Report of Task Force to Study Violence - Review of Recommendations, California Department of Corrections, Sacramento, 1974.