

A STUDY OF ETHNIC PREJUDICE AMONG  
CONVICTED FELONS

by

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A THESIS

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A STUDY OF ETHNIC PREJUDICE AMONG  
CONVICTED FELONS

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A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Institute of Contemporary  
Corrections and Behavioral Science  
Sam Houston State University

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In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

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by

Emmett Solomon

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## ABSTRACT

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### Purpose

The purpose of this study was to determine the amount of ethnic prejudice evident among convicted felons when each was tested individually.

### Method

The data for this study were collected by testing a random sample of 200 inmates incarcerated at the Eastham Unit of the Texas Department of Corrections. After each man tested divulged demographic data and completed Milton Rokeach's Dogmatism Questionnaire, he was shown a series of forty-five slides, each containing the "mug shot" of three inmates. Each "mug shot" was that of an inmate from a different ethnic group, Anglo-American, Afro-American and Mexican-American. As each viewer watched a slide, he heard a brief description of a crime. He was then asked to select one of the three men from the slide whom he thought committed the crime.

## Findings

From the analysis of the data in this study the following conclusions were drawn.

1. When individually tested, perception of criminality is not primarily a function of ethnic background of the perceiver among convicted felons. The men from all three ethnic groups responded quite similar to the perception test.

2. The highly dogmatic person did not tend to pick criminals from his own ethnic group any more or less than did others. No significant connection was evident between dogmatism and perception of criminality.

3. Clear patterns of ethnic stereotyping were evident in the type of crimes attributed to each group. Forgery, fraud, D.W.I., robbery and receiving stolen property were attributed primarily to Anglo-Americans. Possession of narcotics was attributed primarily to Mexican-Americans. Aggravated Assault and theft were thought to be primarily Afro-American crimes.

Approved:

Supervising Professor



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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### The Problem

With the national awareness focused on the problem of law and order as never before, further research about the nature of those people who inhabit our correctional institutions is indicated. Since most efforts at corrections have met with marginal success, perhaps the nature of the social offender needs to be re-examined. With better concepts about the nature of these individuals, perhaps new designs in treatment can be brought forward.

Based upon simple observations, many things can be learned about the social offender. However, in this age of scientific research, more sophisticated methods need to be employed. For, as most have experienced at one time or another, personal observations and ensuing conclusions often prove faulty. Pre-conceptions often color both what is seen as well as the conclusions which are reached.

A considerable amount can be learned about an individual by noticing how he perceives the world around him. Perhaps in an



unsuspecting moment one may notice the way in which a friend perceives an object or person. In that moment a great lesson is learned about the internal nature of that person. It would seem evident, then, that an empirical study of one's perceptions is a method of obtaining significant information about his pre-conceptions.

Because of such observations, many people who would try to understand the internal workings of the human mind have focused upon perception. Perhaps none has done a more thorough job of developing a theory of perception than the Harvard psychologist, Gordon Allport. In Chapter II an examination of his and others' theories of perception will be made.

One of the overriding social issues of our day is society's treatment of minority groups. The social offender very often is a member of a minority ethnic group, as well as a minority social group or subculture known variously as "character," "hoodlum," "criminal," or "deviant." To gain a glimpse at how persons from such backgrounds perceive criminality is to increase one's knowledge of such persons.

The particular problem in this study is to construct a situation in which the perception of social offenders can be measured. At once it becomes clear that uniform stimuli must be introduced to each subject and a method of measuring the reaction be employed. Since perception is being measured, visual stimuli may

well be employed, for perceiving is often thought of in connection with "seeing."

Stimuli which will truly be measurable, should be of the type to arouse a strong response. Since this particular study population is incarcerated following conviction for felonies, it is theorized that little could uniformly arouse as strong reaction as that caused by confronting them with photographs of other felons along with descriptions of crimes. The strong emotional content of the stimuli should cause measurable reaction. It is proposed that through this method, perception will be measured.

### The Purpose

The over-all purpose of this study is to add to the body of literature concerning the underlying attitudes and motivations of those who inhabit our correctional facilities. Many people ask, speaking of those who have committed felonies, "What makes a man do such an irrational act?" To understand more about a population's perception is to understand more about the concepts upon which his actions are based. When one's perception of people is measured, that should create very significant information because people are highly significant to each other and the drive for acceptance among our fellow human beings is one of the primary drives within people. If not only perception of human beings but perception of human

beings very much like oneself is measured, something about one's own concept of self should be learned also. This is a description of the general purpose of this study.

This study proposes to glean data about perception of criminality among convicted felons of each of the three dominant ethnic groups in Texas Department of Corrections and compare that data.

The more specific purpose of this study is to make an objective analysis of how convicted felons perceive other convicted felons. Just as any person comes to feel that he knows and understands his siblings and peers, so does the convicted felon feel about others of his group. In the analysis of a population's perception of one another, much should be learned about the population. In this analysis the purpose is to learn whether or not perceptions of criminality are correlated in any manner with background factors such as age, crime committed, race, area of longest residence, occupation, marital status, religion, father's occupation, stability of home and age of first arrest. It is also the purpose of this study to determine any implication some factors involved in a convicted felon's self-image or self-concept. This is an attempt to arrive at underlying attitudes by evaluating a population's perceptions. Of interest also will be an examination of the relationship between dogmatism within the personality and ethnic prejudice.

A particular goal of this study is to determine how perceived criminality among convicted felons is related to ethnic background. An effort will be made to determine to what extent existing criminal stereotypes exist within an adult correctional facility.

### Statement of the Hypothesis

The following hypotheses were made in this study:

1. Convicted felons will demonstrate prejudice toward other ethnic groups.
2. The more dogmatic an individual, the more likely he is to show prejudice toward other ethnic groups.
3. Stereotypes concerning the type of crime attributed to each ethnic group will be noticeable.

### Definitions of Terms Used

Study Population. -For the purpose of this study, study population will be defined as those people who were inmates at the Eastham Unit of the Texas Department of Corrections at the time of the study. These inmates are convicted adult male felons. Those who are assigned to the Eastham Unit are largely multiple recidivists or those who have had previous experience as patients of mental hospitals.

Random Sample. -By use of a mathematically prepared random number table, a sample was drawn from the entire population of Eastham Unit. Each resident of the institution was assigned a number. The random table was then applied to the list of numbers and the two hundred inmates were selected for the testing procedure. They should be an accurate sample of the entire study population because each person had the same mathematical possibility of being selected.

Felon. -<sup>1</sup> Any person convicted of a crime for which the punishment by law may be death or confinement in the penitentiary is a convicted felon. To be convicted means to be declared guilty by the verdict of a court. The criminal code in Texas makes it necessary for a male to be an adult before he can be charged with a felony.

Perception. - For the purpose of this study, perception will be defined as "the integration of sensory impressions of events in the external world by a person as a function of nonconscious expectations derived from past experience."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Lawyers Cooperative, Texas Jurisprudence, Second ed. (San Francisco: Bancroft-Whitney Co., 1960), Vol. 16, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup>Horace B. English and Ava Champney English, A Comprehensive Dictionary of Psychological and Psychoanalytical Terms (New York: David McKay Co., 1958).

The approach of this study is to seek to understand behavior by making observations from the point of view of the behavior himself. It attempts to understand the behavior of the individual in terms of how things "seem" to him. This is the perceptual frame of reference.

Self-image/self-concept. - In this study, self-image/self-concept is what a person believes about himself. It is the map which each person consults in order to understand himself.

Social factors. - For the purpose of this study, social factors shall be defined as being background information of the convicted felon such as age, race, stability of childhood home, type of childhood community, educational level, religion, age of first arrest, marital status, occupation, times spent incarcerated and type of crime committed.

#### Organization of the Remainder of the Thesis

Chapter II will offer a review of the literature. A review of the psychological concepts of perception and prejudice will be made. But, as will be seen, only brief review may be made of literature concerned with perception of criminality for little writing has been done which will directly relate to this subject.

Chapter III will give descriptions of the materials used in implementing the study and descriptions of the sample selections.

Chapter IV will deal with the analysis of the data in detail.

Chapter V summarizes the study and presents the conclusions.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

#### Perception

Many volumes have been written about perception and the theories of perception. To deal with all the theories extensively would likely be more confusing than helpful. However, an effort will be made to illustrate how one's perception is colored by his preconceived ideas, his environment and the opinion of others. Some of the theories of perception will also be summarized.

#### Perception Introduced

At first glance it would seem that perception would be a purely individual phenomenon. Light would impinge on one's eye and would be registered much the same as does a camera. If this process does take place, the brain must interpret what is registered. Perception is the combination of these two activities, the individual's present feelings and circumstances and his learned ability to perceive.

Perception and cognitive dispositions. - Perception refers to those events which are occurring and objects which are present



in the immediate environment. Yet, since World War II, the concept of perception has been broadened by most users to include identification of objects. The physical energy impinging on the receptor must contribute to the perceived meaning of an event, but it is obvious that there is no one-to-one relationship between variations in the physical stimulus and in perceived meaning. Words having almost identical physical characteristics may mean entirely different things in different contexts.

Let us consider two of the most significant accomplishments of perceptual processes. (1) Much screening out of potential information is done in the building of a precept. Much information is screened out in any given act of perceiving. Organisms can only use a tiny fraction of the potential information (the physical signals) reaching the eyes, ears and epidermis. Even if we could take in more information, there would have to be a selection of that which is relevant for prospective action or for resolving pressing uncertainties. Learning plays an important role in the development of meaningful and adaptive selection habits. The more or less random selection of information that characterizes the infant gives way to an adaptive selectivity of the more reliable and useful cues as it matures. Information that falls within the range of well-established categories is more quickly perceived than information that does not fit nicely into an individual's cognitive structure; therefore a

broader range of past experiences tends to increase the perception of more stimuli in the person.

(2) The second significant accomplishment of cognitive processes is the addition of information by perceiver to that provided by the environment. Object identification involves the application of a learned structure, a model to be matched more or less precisely with stimulus input. When our glance reveals a thin rectangular object on the table in front of us, we decide in an immediate, unreflective act of perceptual categorization that it is a book. In making this decision we are really engaged in predicting a series of attributes that are not available to the distance receptors--our eyes, ears and nose. Our identification predicts pages filled with words arranged in certain combinations that have communicative value. The object also has mass and weight. Its value in keeping the papers it rests on from blowing away is also part of its meaning, and so is the color of the cover, which may or may not blend in an attractive way with the decor of the room. Our percept, book, is like a promissory note: we go from cues to category and back through prediction to other cues, which can only be checked by more detailed inspection. This going beyond the information given is a vital aspect of cognition, one that inevitably links the activities of perceiving and inferring. Of course predictions may be

in error and we can be tricked by the environment.<sup>1</sup> Considerable evidence has accumulated which indicates that social factors must be considered if the phenomena of sense perception are properly to be understood.

Perception and learned associations. - We see, hear, and otherwise perceive pretty much what we have been trained to perceive by parents, siblings, and others. Perception is the synthesis of present sensation and past experience or meaning. The apperceptive mass or meaning is determined by personal, social and cultural learning. Emotions and feelings color our perceptions, especially in the formative years. It is in this period of early childhood, in fact, that fantastic associations, with their emotional accompaniments, are most easily formed. This early learning is the foundation of our adult belief system. In short, all perception is affected by individual differences in sensation, by the situation in which it occurs, by emotional factors and by the residues of past experience.

However, memory of past experiences is not an accurate photographic reproduction of perceptions and actions. It is affected by other images, other perceptions and emotional states, and by the

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<sup>1</sup>Leonard W. Dobb, Social Psychology (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), pp. 131-140.

lapse of time. The process of forgetting and recalling is as dynamic as perception or any other anticipatory response. Not only do we find in memory transposition of items in time and space, condensation, typification, secondary elaboration and dramatization, but in the very process of communication of memories from person to person these alterations are enhanced. The will to believe may be so strong that outright fiction is accepted as fact.

Malinowski<sup>2</sup> gives an interesting example. Among the Trobrianders, the idea of resemblance between relatives is controlled by strict social norms. It is expected for the child to resemble the father. Such similarity is always to exist. Any comment to the contrary is considered a social offense. A Trobriander would consider it an insult if it were suggested that he resembled his mother. In this example it is difficult to know with certainty whether perception has actually been interfered with, or whether they are merely unwilling to acknowledge such a resemblance even when they do see it. It is probable, however, on the basis of our knowledge of the degree to which we see what we are looking for, that the Trobrianders fail to note any resemblance to the mother because they do not want or expect to find it.

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<sup>2</sup>B. Malinowski, Sex and Repression in Savage Society, 1927, p. 203.

A significant experiment on the effect of social factors on visual experience has been carried out by Sherif.<sup>3</sup> The study was undertaken to test the importance of social norms or standards which serve as means of judging the experience in question, or placing it in a proper framework. He was interested in determining what would happen in a visual experience without a frame of reference. He displayed a single point of light in an otherwise completely dark room. The light was seen to move by all, probably as the result of physiological factors. The distance it moved varied considerably from person to person. When Sherif tested the three subjects together, there was a strong tendency for their reports to converge. The effect may be explained by suggestion. The words first spoken by any one subject usually influenced the others. A social norm was set up under these conditions. When retested individually the social norms continued to be effective. This result parallels the effect of cultural patterning on the sense perception of the individual.

In a more complex experiment, Zillig<sup>4</sup> demonstrated the extent to which social attitudes may determine what one sees. A

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<sup>3</sup>M. Sherif, The Psychology of Social Norms, 1936, p. 208.

<sup>4</sup>M. Zillig, "Einstellung and Aussage," (Ztschr F. Psychol. 1928 Otto Klienbergl, Social Psychology (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1940), p. 206.

survey of friendships in a classroom indicated that certain children were almost universally liked. Another group was almost universally disliked. She took an equal number of pupils from each group, had them stand before the class and follow her in performing calisthenic exercises. She had privately instructed the "liked" group to make mistakes. She also had privately practiced with the "disliked" group so that their performance would be perfect. At the end of the experiment, she asked the class to indicate which group had done the exercises correctly. The majority of votes went to the popular group. It seems unlikely that the children designated the favored group as superior even though they saw them make the errors; Zillig believes on the basis of conversation with them that they actually "saw" the difference as they reported them. This experiment raises in a significant manner the whole problem of the relation of prejudice to sense perception.

Howowitz<sup>5</sup> showed to southern children a picture of a fine home. Later the children were questioned about the picture, and many of them "saw" a Negro woman engaged in some sort of housework, even though no person was in the picture. Here the stereotype of the Negro and of his place in the socio-economic scale determined the perception.

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<sup>5</sup>Otto Klienbergl, op. cit., pp. 203-214.

Perception and stereotypes. - Goring showed that because of the popular belief that intelligent people have high foreheads, those who were judged intelligent were also "seen" to have high brows. Actual measurements showed the reverse relationship to be true.<sup>6</sup>

Stuart A. Rice<sup>7</sup> made a classic study in 1926 of the effect of stereotype on perception and judgment. He found that people were identified with social roles primarily according to dress and personal grooming. This study along with other studies made later show that stereotypes are not necessarily or entirely foolish. They grow up on the basis of certain common-sense experience with people and events. Their inadequacy or falseness arises from generalizations made from one or two cases.

Perception involves the question of selectivity. No one can see or hear everything in his environment; therefore, he must pick and choose what he will notice. These choices are dependent on his previous training and acquired powers of observation. Individual differences may be determined by occupational or other interests. A college professor, an antique dealer and a prospective

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 214.

<sup>7</sup>Kimball Young, Social Psychology (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc.), p. 201.

bride may "see" entirely different things in the same show window. These various instances combine to demonstrate the importance of social factors in perception.<sup>8</sup>

Freeman expresses it this way:

In a very literal sense, we tend to observe more after the manner of our own nature than photographically after the properties of the external world. This fact . . . explains . . . why individuals . . . cannot think, feel, and believe alike, or why in principle they can not even perceive alike.<sup>9</sup>

Perception according to age. - The small child in our society perceives his role and status quite differently than does the adolescent. The adolescent often sees himself in terms of his peer group and as in conflict with his parents. The parents, in turn, may regard the adolescent as still a child. So, too, in old age people take a different view of the aged than they did in their middle years. Clearly the expectations of one's roles and statuses will vary in terms of particular age groups.

Perception according to sex. - Sex typing also induces certain changes in perception. The cultural training of the sexes in their respective roles is an illustration of this. Little girls

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<sup>8</sup>Klienberg, op. cit., pp. 203-214.

<sup>9</sup>Theodore M. Newcomb, Ralph H. Turner and Phillip E. Converse, Social Psychology (New York: Hold, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965), pp. 157-184.



are supposed to wear dresses, to play with dolls, and to engage in activities which more or less take on the character of domestic and feminine activity. On the other hand, little boys are trained to handle mechanical toys, to dress differently from girls and to anticipate and build up roles associated with masculine activities in our society.<sup>10</sup>

Perception and assimilation. - The process of assimilation is fundamental to the formation of stereotypes in judgment and perception. The stereotype is a categorical judgment that is relatively oversimplified and resistant to change. Assimilation to the "typical instance" should be especially marked when the object being judged is highly complex and there is uncertainty concerning many of its attributes. Most stereotypes are formed to come to terms with such complex objects.<sup>11</sup>

### Perceiving of a Person

How is perception influenced by the fact that the object is a human being rather than a thing? This question presupposes that human beings have certain properties that are either absent of relatively inconspicuous in other objects. The following is a list

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<sup>10</sup>Young, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

<sup>11</sup>Dobb, op. cit., pp. 229-240.

of some person-properties which influence perception.

1. The perceived person is himself a perceiver. This quality creates a situation for interaction, for at the same time he may also be perceiving. This interaction makes the perception of another human different to other types.

2. The perceived person has motives and attitudes. These must be determined by one's perception of that person.

3. The perceived person has other dispositional properties. In interacting with other people, one wants to understand their participation in the interaction, and such understanding is facilitated by making assumptions about their disposition.

4. The perceived person attributes all the above properties to the perceiver. Not only is the perceiver assuming that the other person feels a certain way, but the perceived person makes assumptions about the perceiver, such as what kind of mood he is in or what kind of disposition he has.

### Perception and Psychological Processes of the Perceiver

The problem of the perceiver. - When one really notices another person, he is confronted with a problem. The interesting things about a person, in the long run, are his ways of behaving, and the behaviors of any individual are variable from time to time.

One's perception of a person thus includes the search for constancies in that person. Those constancies are what we call his disposition.

Characteristics that affect observer's selection. - It would be quite impossible to note and to make use of all the information-yielding cues that one person presents to another, even in an encounter that is very brief. One is necessarily selective in noticing the cues that are available. We should therefore not overlook some of the principles that govern such selectivity.

One of these principles is primacy. Information about a person that is obtained early in one's experience with him is particularly likely to be noticed thereafter.

Perceptual selection is often influenced by vividness. Any cues that are striking or conspicuous are apt to be noticed, and to serve as bases for attributing properties to the persons who present the cues.

Frequency is another common basis for the selection of cues. It is well known that an individual's sensitivity to certain kinds of perceptual cues varies with temporary psychological states.

The perceiver's selection of cues is often influenced also by his own well-established attitudes. Most people have preconceptions to the effect that certain personal characteristics belong together. We tend to organize them into category traits of

personality. We then assume that the whole group of traits is present if one of the group of traits is observed. Many kinds of relatively persistent personality characteristics on the part of the perceiver have been shown to affect his selection among cues presented by other persons. He tends to see himself in others.<sup>12</sup>

## Prejudice

### Prejudice in Naming

We have all noticed at one time or another that people do not perceive certain food combinations as "belonging together." Their perception of what belongs together depends upon processes of naming and labeling. It is thought that "condiments" such as mustard and pickles do not go with "deserts" such as ice cream and cake. The same thing occurs in classifying objects which bring about rejections and acceptances, taboos and preferences, in areas other than that of food taste.

During World War II, nude and seminude Melanesian women were often within sight of American fighting men. Yet, for the most part, the soldiers were not tempted to make sexual advances. As one G.I. explained, "they didn't look attractive to us,

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<sup>12</sup>Aline H. Kidd, Jeanne L. Rivoire, Perceptual Development in Children (New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1966), pp. 57-77.

they weren't 'white' enough in color or features." A Southern student expressed much the same view when she refused to believe it possible for a white person actually to fall in love with a Negro.

Artistic judgments and art criticism are often also made in the same fashion. A new work is judged in relation to what men in the past did. Especially those artists who were called "great."

Gould<sup>13</sup> shows that people can be induced by group pressure to make inaccurate judgments concerning events in the physical world. Also social status is related to the ability of people to make inter-personal perceptions. A person's behavior will more likely be judged more favorably as the person is known to be positively oriented toward the goals of a group. The perceptions of people made as members of groups are not always accurate.

If one were predicting the behavior of an individual and he were expected to deviate, his behavior would more than likely be perceived as deviant, in keeping with the tendency of people to perceive behavior in accordance with what they anticipate they will see.

The Adorno group<sup>14</sup> found younger people tend to be less conservative and less ethnocentric than their elders. They also

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<sup>13</sup>Leroy C. Gould, Social Perception of Deviant Behavior (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms Inc., 1964), pp. 8-9.

<sup>14</sup>T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, D. J. Levinson, R. N. Sanford, The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), pp. 171-178.

found a close tie between conservatism and ethnocentrism. These may be explained by certain underlying themes in both.

Support of the prevailing politico-economic ideology and authority is, apparently, often a part of the generalized ethnocentric tendency to submit to accepted authority in all areas of social life. Similarly, ethnocentric rejection of outgroups is expressed in the politico-economic sphere by resistance to social change and by the tendency to subsume progressive political ideologies under the general heading of 'foreign' outgroups and ideas (threats to ingroup authority).<sup>15</sup>

According to study done by Sheikh,<sup>16</sup> it appears that although an individual may have private stereotypes about an ethnic group, these stereotypes will not be sufficiently strong to influence his perception of members of that group.

An individual's stereotype which is shared by most members of his group is strengthened because it is frequently reinforced by them, while private stereotypes are generally not reinforced and consequently remain less strong.<sup>17</sup>

### Prejudice and its Basis

The term "prejudice" is sometimes used to refer to pre-judgment. We shall use the term, however, in the most limited

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>16</sup>Anees A. Sheikh, "Stereotype in International Perception and Intercorrelation Between Some Attitude Measures," The Journal of Social Psychology, December, 1968.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

sense of "prejudice against." It is thus an unfavorable attitude, and may be thought of as a predisposition to perceive, think, and act in ways that are "against" or "away from" rather than "for" or "toward" other persons. This pertains especially to members of groups.

We can safely generalize one statement about "human nature." That is that normal human beings are capable of learning from their environment. What kind of learning will take place is an environmental matter. Whether a person learns tolerance or prejudice toward a group of persons depends on a variety of circumstances. Even a hostile person "learns" to direct his hostility toward certain groups.

To support this idea, it can be shown that young children the world over play indiscriminately with children of other ethnic groups. Prejudice comes with further learning opportunities as they grow older. It should be expected that we could find a fairly systematic teaching process at work in groups where prejudice is common. One aspect of learning to be prejudiced, in many societies, is a direct consequence of observing socially enforced differences between groups.

Probably one of the most effective methods of bringing distinctions forcibly to the attention of children is through the application of a double standard in determining what constitutes

proper behavior toward others. Where outsiders are perceived as a potential threat to one's own group, such prejudicial behavior often comes to be defended as a means of self-protection.

Prejudice is usually learned during interaction with members of one's own group. Thus acting out toward a particular group as a "fair target" is actually only the internalizing of the social norms of one's own group.

Bayton<sup>18</sup> found that Negro college students possessed stereotypes concerning Negroes that were surprisingly similar to those found among white students. This indicates that there exists in America a set of widely distributed group norms that result in highly similar responses. For instance, the Negro college students had picked up stereotypes about themselves that were believed by the society at large. Hence cultural stereotyping had effected their opinions of themselves.

Lindzey and Rogolsky<sup>19</sup> found that if a person is prejudiced against Jews, he is likely also to be prejudiced against Catholics and Negroes. In understanding prejudice we should place more emphasis on the characteristics of prejudiced persons and less on

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<sup>18</sup>Theodore Newcomb, Ralph Turner, Philip Converse, Social Psychology (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965), pp. 430-44.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 37.



the behavior of minority groups.

Adorno<sup>20</sup> provided a good deal of support for the hypothesis that a person with an authoritarian personality predisposes him toward prejudice. Thus the two factors of norm-sharing and of authoritarianism together account rather well for the observed facts of ethnic prejudice.

The behaviorist, Arnold Buss<sup>21</sup> believes that in the vast majority of cases prejudice is caused by habit strength. He feels that prejudice in the normal individual is learned like any other response. It is acquired early in one's life and receives strong, repeated reinforcement. A normal child acquires prejudiced behavior from those around him.

Buss feels, however, that habit strength does not explain the vitriolic prejudice of the "lunatic fringe." For such people prejudice is a part of their maladjustment. Their prejudice might better be explained by the "scapegoat hypothesis." Their prejudice offers them the possibility of living out their neurotic conflicts concerning aggression and hatred, displacing from the original target to members of minority groups.

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<sup>20</sup>Adorno, op. cit., p. 175.

<sup>21</sup>Arnold H. Buss, The Psychology of Aggression (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1961), pp. 263-265.

Sherif<sup>22</sup> believes that all groups, whether in-groups or reference groups, develop a way of living with characteristic codes and beliefs, standards and "enemies" to suit their own adaptive needs.

As a logical extension of these studies, this study should reveal that perception of criminality is primarily a function of background factors. A man's ethnic background should color his perceptions of criminality. Highly dogmatic personalities should prove to be more racially biased than those who rate low on dogmatism. Stereotypes concerning crime should be evident in all but should differ with each ethnic group.

### Summary

This survey of perception reveals that people are inclined to see what they expect to see. These studies indicate that our early environment teaches us what to expect. Therefore one's ethnic background should effect his perception of criminality.

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<sup>22</sup>Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1954), pp. 39-40.

## CHAPTER III

### STUDY METHOD AND STUDY POPULATION

#### Description of the Sample

The study sample was taken from the Eastham Unit of the Texas Department of Corrections. The inmates classified to that unit are adult male felons and are usually multiple recidivists, or have previously been patients in mental hospitals. By use of a random sample table, two hundred and fifty men were selected. Two hundred of these men completed the test. A few of those chosen were unavailable because of special work assignment or because of illness, hence fifty excess men were selected.

The study sample was composed of men representing three ethnic groups; 53.5% Anglo, 21% Afro-American and 25.5% Mexican-American.

In an attempt to ascertain information about the stability of their childhood family, three questions were asked. The first question concerned the father's occupation. More of the respondents considered their father's occupation to be what could be called a "skilled trade" than any other category. That turned out to be a

TABLE 1  
ETHNIC BACKGROUND

Code	Frequency	Percentage
Anglo-American	107	53.5
Afro-American	42	21.0
Mexican-American	<u>51</u>	<u>25.5</u>
Total	200	100.0

very ambiguous term referring to anything from farmer to machinist. The second highest occupation was listed as laborer.

It is interesting to note that one-tenth of the men did not know their father's occupation. This fact may be indicative of the general lack of contact between them and their father.

TABLE 2  
FATHER'S OCCUPATION

Code	Frequency	Percentage
Unknown	21	10.5
Laborer	49	24.5
Office Work	10	5.0
Sales	6	3.0
Military Service	8	4.0
Civil Service	7	3.5
Skilled Trade	68	34.0
Driver	25	12.5
Warehouseman	3	1.5
Seaman	<u>3</u>	<u>1.5</u>
Total	200	100.0

A majority (55%) indicated that they were living with both their natural father and mother at the age of twelve, leaving 45% living either with only one parent or neither parent.

Each respondent was asked to indicate the number of times he had moved prior to twelve years of age. The data indicated that over one-third had moved no more than once, about one-fourth had moved two or three times, another third had moved four or more times prior to twelve years of age. This includes sixteen respondents who had moved more than nine times. The mean of the number of times moved before twelve years of age was three moves. This indicates a relatively mobile group.

TABLE 3  
NUMBER OF MOVES PRIOR TO 12 YEARS

Code	Frequency	Percentage
0 Moves	39	19.5
1 Move	35	17.5
2 Moves	27	13.5
3 Moves	27	13.5
4 Moves	21	10.5
5 Moves	17	8.5
6 Moves	11	5.5
7 Moves	4	2.0
8 Moves	3	1.5
9 Moves	<u>16</u>	<u>8.0</u>
Total	200	100.0

Most of the sample group came from the Southern or Western United States (89.5%) with about one-tenth from the Mid-western United States.

To determine some aspect of their community or neighborhood life, a question was asked about the size of the city in which they had spent the most time. The respondents indicated that one-third came from communities of less than 50,000 population, about one-fifth came from cities in excess of 50,000 population but less than 250,000 population and about half came from cities of more than 250,000 population. This information indicates that almost one-half come from large cities.

TABLE 4  
COMMUNITY SIZE

Code	Frequency	Percentage
10,000 or less	33	16.5
10,000 or over	41	20.5
50,000 or over	35	17.5
250,000 or over	<u>91</u>	<u>45.5</u>
Total	200	100.0

The bulk of the respondents had achieved between five and twelve years of school. Only five percent had less than four years and ten percent had been enrolled in college. The largest group (41%) had achieved from the fifth to the eighth year in school.

TABLE 5  
EDUCATION LEVEL

Code	Frequency	Percentage
0 - 4 Grade	11	5.5
5 - 8 Grade	82	41.0
9 - 12 Grade	68	34.0
High School Equivalency Certificate	18	9.0
Entered College	20	10.0
Completed College	<u>1</u>	<u>.5</u>
Total	200	100.0

Almost one-half of the respondents listed Baptist as their family's religion. One-fourth of the respondents were Catholics. The remaining fourth was divided among the numerous other religious groups, such as Methodist (8.5%), Church of Christ (8.5%) and Pentecostal (6.5%).

TABLE 6  
RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

Code	Frequency	Percentage
Baptist	84	42.0
Catholic	53	26.5
Methodist	17	8.5
Presbyterian	1	.5
Pentecostal	13	6.5
Church of Christ	17	8.5
Other	5	2.5
None	<u>10</u>	<u>5.0</u>
Total	200	100.0

To determine something about the length of their anti-social activity, a question was asked about the age of their first arrest. Slightly more than one-tenth were first arrested when they were less than ten years old. About one-third had been first arrested between the ages of eleven and fourteen, four out of ten between the ages of fifteen and eighteen, one-sixth between nineteen and twenty-five. Only four per cent were first arrested after the age of twenty-five. This means that about 6 out of 10 had juvenile arrests. Eighty-two per cent had been arrested by age eighteen. The mean age for the first arrest was at age fourteen.

TABLE 7  
AGE OF FIRST ARREST

Code	Frequency	Percentage
Under 10 years	23	11.5
11 - 12 years	29	14.5
13 - 14 years	32	16.0
15 - 16 years	41	20.5
17 - 18 years	39	19.5
19 - 20 years	15	7.5
21 - 25 years	13	6.5
26 - 30 years	3	1.5
31 - 35 years	4	2.0
Over 35 years	<u>1</u>	<u>.5</u>
Total	200	100.0

Of the respondents, one-half considered themselves single, one-fifth married and one-fourth divorced.



To determine something of the function of the man in his community each was asked his occupation. About one-third considered themselves laborers and about one-fourth considered themselves as skilled laborers. The third largest group, about one-tenth, felt they had no identifiable occupation.

TABLE 8  
PREVIOUS OCCUPATION

Code	Frequency	Percentage
None	21	10.5
Laborer	75	37.5
Office Work	2	1.0
Sales	3	1.5
Military	8	4.0
Civil Service	2	1.0
Skilled Trade	57	28.5
Driver	19	9.5
Warehouseman	9	4.5
Seaman	4	2.0
Total	200	100.0

To determine something about the effect of living in an institution, the sample was asked to tell how many years they had been incarcerated. Of the respondents, slightly more than one-third had been incarcerated one year or less. One-fourth had been incarcerated two or three years. One-tenth for seven or more years. The mean for the years incarcerated is three (3.07) years. Thirty-five percent had been locked up one year or less.

Twenty-eight per cent had been incarcerated five years or more.

TABLE 9  
EXTENT OF INCARCERATION

Code	Frequency	Percentage
Less than 1 Year	35	17.5
1 Year	34	17.0
2 Years	27	13.5
3 Years	23	11.5
4 Years	24	12.0
5 Years	14	7.0
6 Years	21	10.5
7 Years	10	5.0
8 Years	3	1.5
9 Years or More	8	4.0
Total	200	100.0

Of the respondents, almost two-thirds had been to a juvenile correction institution, one-fourth had been in a reformatory one or two times and one-tenth had been to a juvenile facility three or more times.

For about half of the respondents, this is the first time in an adult correctional facility. Almost one-third are on their second sentence, nearly one-fifth are serving their third sentence and only one-fourth have been incarcerated three or more times even though the study population is considered a recidivist group.

To obtain an idea about a respondent's ideology, each was asked to label himself liberal or conservative. Forty-eight per cent

TABLE 10  
TIMES IN PRISON

Code	Frequency	Percentage
First Time	91	45.5
Second Time	59	29.5
Third Time	36	18.0
Fourth Time	10	5.0
Fifth Time	<u>4</u>	<u>2.0</u>
Total	200	100.0

considered themselves liberal and thirty-two percent conservative.

Twenty per cent were not sophisticated enough to know what the words meant.

TABLE 11  
AGE OF RESPONDENTS

Code	Frequency	Percentage
17 - 19 Years	13	6.5
20 - 22 Years	39	19.5
23 - 25 Years	47	23.5
25 - 30 Years	47	23.5
31 - 35 Years	21	10.5
36 - 40 Years	19	9.5
41 - 45 Years	5	2.5
46 - 50 Years	5	2.5
Over 50 Years	<u>4</u>	<u>2.0</u>
Total	200	100.0

Forty-three per cent of the study population were convicted for theft or burglary, 20% for robbery, 12% for forgery and fraud, 8% for murder, 4.5% for rape, 4% for narcotics, 3.5% for sex crimes, 4% for assault, and one per cent for driving while intoxicated. Seventy-five per cent of the respondents were convicted for economic crimes.

TABLE 12  
CRIME OF CONVICTION

Code	Frequency	Percentage
D. W. I.	22	1.0
Murder	16	8.0
Rape	9	4.5
Assault	8	4.0
Robbery	40	20.0
Theft or Burglary	86	43.0
Sex crime	7	3.5
Forgery	24	12.0
Narcotics	8	4.0
	200	100.0

#### Method Used

This study is an attempt to measure convicted felons' perception of criminality with special reference to racial or ethnic background. That is, an effort is being made to measure who a convicted felon thinks commits crime and what crime he thinks different ethnic groups commit. To accomplish this purpose some

empirical instrument must be devised to measure convicted felons' perceptual responses, in particular, their responses regarding criminality. An attempt was made to measure their perception of each other in regards to ethnic stereotyping.

### Phase I

Development of the Testing Instrument. - In order to measure prejudice within the study population, an instrument had to be designed for that purpose. It was reasoned that little could as uniformly arouse the feelings of the men being tested as the discussion of crime and who commits it. In order to measure racial or ethnic prejudice, a slide consisting of pictures of three men were flashed before the study sample, each from one of three ethnic backgrounds (Anglo-American, Afro-American, and Mexican-American).

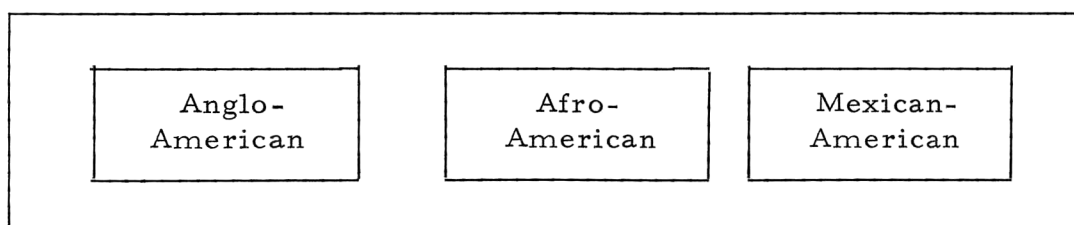


Fig. 1. -- Example of Slide

In order to provide visual stimuli, induction photographs, sometimes called "mug shots" were obtained from the Texas Department of Corrections. Ninety photographs were furnished by

the Department of Corrections, consisting of one-third Anglo-American, one-third Mexican-American and one-third Afro-American.

The photographs were all taken from the same angle, a front view bust picture. All the subjects were wearing short hair-cuts and each had his prison number displayed in the photograph. All the photographs were made with the same lighting except for the necessity to increase the light for the same effect when photographing a darker complected subject. The subject was the same distance from the camera in each photograph.

Step 1. - So that the men pictured on the slide might be as similar as possible in appearance, each photograph was rated as to physical morphology. In order to accomplish the rating, the photo was flashed on a screen before a group of disinterested persons, which in this case happened to be seventy-eight college students. They rated each photograph according to the estimated age of the inmate, the body type of the inmate (small, medium, or large) and the personality type of the inmate (very passive, passive, aggressive or very aggressive).<sup>1</sup>

Mean ratings were then tabulated and each photograph was assigned a description. For example, the inmate in one photograph

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<sup>1</sup>Refer to Appendix A.

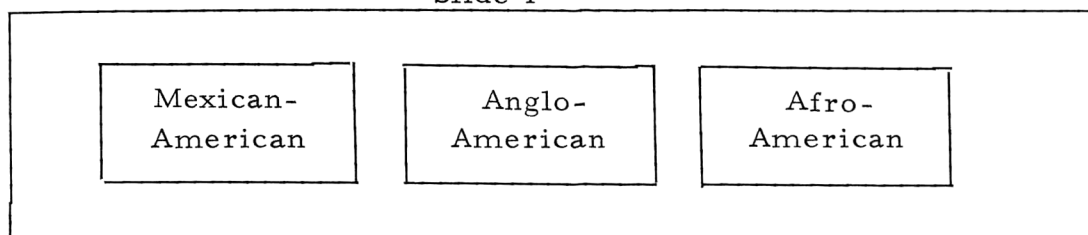
was rated in the following manner: Age, 24; body type, small; personality type, passive.

Mug shots from each of the three ethnic groups were matched according to the description assigned by the impartial rating group. The photographs were then used to make slides which were to be flashed on a screen by means of an opaque projector. Each slide was made up of one subject from each of the three ethnic groups. All three subjects had been rated similarly with respect to age, body type and aggressive appearance. The most significant difference in the three subjects who were displayed at one time, therefore, should have been their ethnic type.

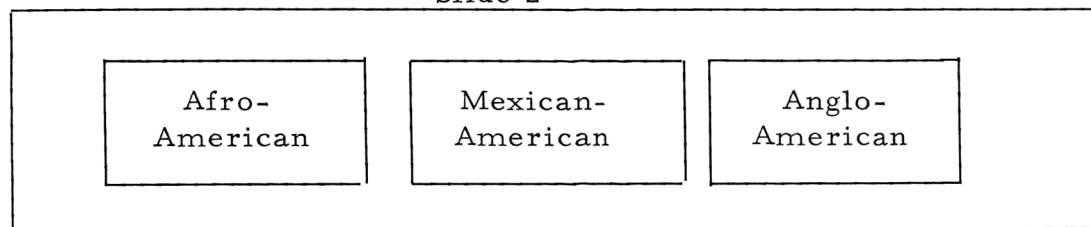
Step 2. - Each slide was designed to be shown three times counterbalancing the relative order of position on the slide. (See Figure 2)

A list of crimes for which convicted felons are serving sentences in the Texas Department of Corrections was obtained. The list was combined and reduced until it consisted of only fifteen types of crimes. For instance, there are several types of assault (aggravated assault, assault with a deadly weapon, assault with intent to murder, etc.). All were included under one listing called "aggravated assault."

Slide 1



Slide 2



Slide 3

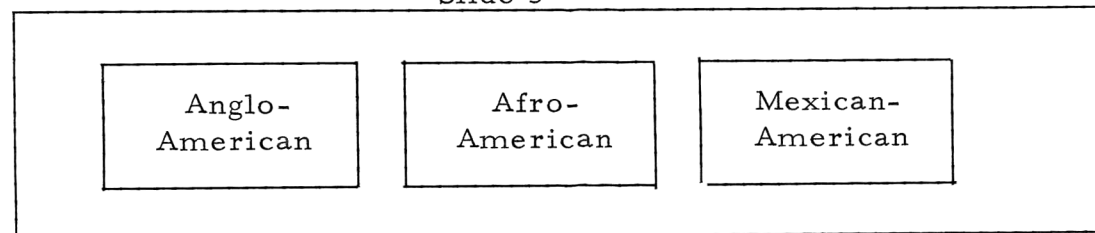


Fig. 2. --Order of Slides

TABLE 13  
OFFENSE CATEGORIES<sup>2</sup>

01 Murder with malice	09 Forgery
02 Murder without malice	10 Fraud
03 Rape	11 Receiving Stolen Property
04 Aggravated Assault with a Weapon	12 Carrying Prohibited Weapon
05 Robbery	13 Homosexual
06 Theft over \$50	14 Possession of Narcotics
07 Burglary	15 Driving while Intoxicated
08 Auto Theft	

<sup>2</sup>See Appendix B.



Three brief stories of a crime were then constructed for each of the fifteen offense categories. Each crime description was then matched with a slide containing three photographs. Upon seeing the picture, the test subjects would be asked to select the one inmate from the three which they believe committed the crime which was described to them by the test administrator. For example, one crime description was as follows:

One of these inmates and a friend entered a closed grocery store by a side window and took a small amount of cash and many cartons of cigarettes. He was later convicted of burglary.<sup>3</sup>

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

With the photo slides properly assembled and crime descriptions readied, two steps in the development of the test instrument were thus completed.

Step 3. - Another portion of the test instrument consisted of each of the forty-five photographs being mounted on separate slides. They were to be shown individually while each person being tested had in hand the list of fifteen crimes (See Table 13). He was to select from the list, the crime he felt was probably the crime committed by the inmate in the slide.

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<sup>3</sup>See Appendix B.

Step 4. - In order to determine whether or not prejudice is related to open or closed mindness, Milton Rokeach's dogmatism scale was administered to the subjects. More specifically, this portion was used to determine if those scoring open-minded, or closed-minded would differ in their frequency of racial stereotyping as measured by the crimes they associated with the inmate photographs.

The written portions of the test were then placed together into test booklets which were coded so that the information contained therein could be easily transferred on to computer punch cards. The booklets were assembled with the information sheet on top, followed by the Rokeach dogmatism scale. Next came the forty-five crime descriptions followed by an answer sheet for the forty-five individual pictured slides.<sup>4</sup>

## Phase II

With all four sections of the test instrument completed, the testing procedure was initiated. Two hundred convicted adult male felons were randomly selected from the Eastham Unit of the Texas Department of Corrections. They were assembled in groups ranging from nine in number to as many as forty-seven. They

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<sup>4</sup>See Appendix B.

completed the written portion of the instrument dealing with their personal history and were shown the slides of photographs as the instructor read the matching description of a crime. The slides were viewed by the respondents for a period of approximately ten seconds. They were then asked to choose one of the pictured inmates as the perpetrator of the described crime. The respondents then made their choice and indicated it in the test booklet. The same procedure was used three times. The possibility existed that each photograph could be matched with a crime description, for there existed an equal number of "mug shots" and crime descriptions.

After the above portion of the test was completed each respondent was given the printed list of fifteen crime categories. As a single photograph was flashed before him, he was instructed to select the crime from the list which he thought the pictured inmate committed. The test was concluded at the close of this exercise. The two hundred test booklets were scored and then the scores were punched on to computer cards for analysis.

## CHAPTER IV

### ANALYSIS OF DATA

#### Purpose

The purpose of this study is to determine the relationship between racial or ethnic prejudice and racial background. It is theorized that one's racial or ethnic background should determine to a great extent one's opinions about who commits crime and what kind of crimes different groups commit. The purpose is to determine if Anglo-Americans think they commit more or less crimes than Afro-Americans and Mexican-Americans and vice versa. Some light should be shed concerning racial prejudice. Does one group think most of the crime is committed by another group? If so, to what degree is racial prejudice evident? These are questions to be answered in the analysis of the data of this study. This study is also an attempt to determine to what extent factors such as age, educational achievement and place of residence have upon one's perception of criminality. Since categorizing and stereotyping is a common practice, an attempt will be made to isolate some primary ethnic stereotypes among convicted felons.

The first phase of data analysis involved a t Test on the performance of the Ethnic Choice Test. That test involved the selecting of a felon from one of the three men pictured on a slide, Anglo versus Afro versus Mexican.

TABLE 14

T RATIO ON TOTAL PERFORMANCE  
ON ETHNIC CHOICE TEST

Race	N		Race	N	T	P
Anglo-American	107	vs.	Afro-American	42	0.0	1.000
Anglo-American	107	vs.	Mexican-American	51	0.0	1.000
Afro-American	42	vs.	Mexican-American	51	0.0	1.000

That analysis indicates that there is no significant difference in the performance of the three ethnic groups. Or to phrase it another way, Anglo inmates selected no more Anglo pictures than Afro-American or Mexican-American inmates.

This result could verify Bayton's<sup>1</sup> idea that there exists a set of widely distributed group norms in America that result in highly similar responses. In his study, Negro college students had picked up stereotypes about themselves that were believed by the society at large. The similarity in performance on this test could indicate a widely distributed group norm was at work.

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<sup>1</sup>Theodore Newcomb, op. cit., p. 440.

Since all of the respondents more or less belonged to the criminal subculture, possibly their similarity in responses indicate a pervasive influence by that group, rather than the ethnic groups.

Perhaps with all of the emphasis which has been placed upon the social equality of ethnic groups during the past twenty years, the youth today display little or no ethnic bias. The mean age of the study sample was 25 years, indicating that the majority of the respondents should have been rather strongly influenced by the social struggle of the last twenty years.

Some investigators, such as Sherif,<sup>2</sup> suggest that racial prejudice has always been more group than personal in nature. Perhaps, since the responses were strictly individual and would not have to be defended before a group, the less prejudiced personal evaluation was in sway, thereby indicating less variation among the ethnic groups. The frequency distributions quickly indicated that some crimes are thought to be committed predominantly by certain ethnic groups. The data for each offense was pooled and analyzed.

### Crime and Race

In order to determine whether the inmates' choices were significantly different a chi square ( $x^2$ ) analysis was run on the

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<sup>2</sup>Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1945), pp. 39-40.

choices of race in each crime category. It would be expected that one-third would choose Anglo-American, one-third choose Afro-American and one-third choose Mexican-American. In most cases there was significant variation from that formula. When the probability of arriving at the distribution by chance are less than .05 it is considered to be a significant variation. Each of the following distributions is significant by that standard.

Murder. - Murder is perceived by the study population to be a crime committed less by the Anglo-Americans than by Afro-Americans and Mexican-American. It was adjudged so by all three ethnic groups. The Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans felt the Afro-Americans most likely to commit murder; however, Afro-Americans felt the Mexican-Americans a bit more likely to do so. Each ethnic group showed a slight ethnic bias.

TABLE 15

## PERCEIVED MURDER WITH RESPECT TO RACE

Code	Frequency	Percentage
Anglo-American	140	23.3
Mexican-American	227	37.8
Afro-American	233	38.8

$$\chi^2 = 58.745$$

$$pr = .0001$$

Murder Without Malice. - No clear pattern shows here. The Anglo-American and Mexican-Americans are rated slightly more likely to engage in this crime than Afro-Americans. A rather significant discrepancy is shown by the Afro-Americans who rate themselves very unlikely to commit this offense while they felt Mexican-Americans were very likely to do so.

TABLE 16  
PERCEIVED MURDER WITHOUT MALICE  
WITH RESPECT TO RACE

Code	Frequency	Percentage
Anglo-American	210	35.0
Mexican-American	202	33.7
Afro-American	188	31.3
$\chi^2 = 15.992$		
$pr = .0006$		

Rape. - Rape was attributed much more often to the Anglo-American by all three ethnic groups. The Afro-American was considered by all three groups to be least likely to commit the offense. Each group rated itself slightly less likely to commit the offense than the other groups rated them.

Aggravated Assault. - Aggravated assault with a weapon is an offense perceived by the study population more likely to be committed by the Afro-American. The Afro-American themselves



TABLE 17  
PERCEIVED RAPE WITH RESPECT TO RACE

Code	Frequency	Percentage
Anglo-American	256	42.7
Mexican-American	194	32.3
Afro-American	150	45.3
$\chi^2 = 36.871$		
$pr = .0001$		

felt they were twice as likely to commit the offense as either of the other groups. The Mexican-American were considered least likely to do so.

TABLE 18  
PERCEIVED AGGRAVATED ASSAULT WITH  
RESPECT TO RACE

Code	Frequency	Percentage
Anglo-American	182	30.3
Mexican-American	146	24.3
Afro-American	272	45.3
$\chi^2 = 59.582$		
$pr = .0001$		

Robbery. - Robbery is considered by the study population to be an Anglo-American crime and extremely unlikely among the Mexican-Americans. The Afro-Americans were rated slightly above average in their propensity, in this offense. The most

striking aspect of the perception of this offense was the almost total agreement that a Mexican-American is not likely to engage in this criminal activity.

TABLE 19

## PERCEIVED ROBBERY WITH RESPECT TO RACE

Code	Frequency	Percentage
Anglo-American	306	51.0
Mexican-American	72	12.0
Afro-American	222	37.0

$$\chi^2 = 238.058$$

$$pr = .0001$$

Theft over Fifty Dollars. - Theft over fifty dollars is an offense attributed most often to Afro-Americans; although the Mexican-Americans rated himself more likely to engage in it.

TABLE 20

PERCEIVED THEFT OVER FIFTY DOLLARS  
WITH RESPECT TO RACE

Code	Frequency	Percentage
Anglo-American	160	26.7
Mexican-American	186	32.0
Afro-American	254	42.3

$$\chi^2 = 75.704$$

$$pr = .0001$$

Burglary. - Burglary is considered a crime most likely to be engaged in by the Afro-Americans; however, the Mexican-Americans strongly disagree by rating themselves almost twice as likely to commit this offense as either other group. No clear trend was evident.

TABLE 21

## PERCEIVED BURGLARY WITH RESPECT TO RACE

Code	Frequency	Percentage
Anglo-American	176	29.3
Mexican-American	196	32.7
Afro-American	228	38.0

$$\chi^2 = 28.583$$

$$pr = .0001$$

Auto Theft. - Auto Theft is perceived to be committed slightly more often by Anglo-Americans and least likely among Mexican-Americans.

TABLE 22

## PERCEIVED AUTO THEFT WITH RESPECT TO RACE

Code	Frequency	Percentage
Anglo-American	262	43.7
Mexican-American	133	22.2
Afro-American	205	34.1

$$\chi^2 = 95.361$$

$$pr = .0001$$

Forgery. - Forgery is thought to be an Anglo-American crime. All groups considered it at least four times more likely for an Anglo-American to engage in that activity than either of the other groups. Mexican-Americans are thought to engage in the offense very, very little.

TABLE 23

## PERCEIVED FORGERY WITH RESPECT TO RACE

Code	Frequency	Percentage
Anglo-American	435	72.5
Mexican-American	74	12.3
Afro-American	91	15.2

$$\chi^2 = 668.100$$

$$pr = .0001$$

Fraud. - Fraud is also considered an Anglo-American crime, but somewhat less decisively than forgery.

TABLE 24

## PERCEIVED FRAUD WITH RESPECT TO RACE

Code	Frequency	Percentage
Anglo-American	342	57.0
Mexican-American	116	19.3
Afro-American	142	23.7

$$\chi^2 = 265.856$$

$$pr = .0001$$

Receiving Stolen Property. - Receiving stolen property is another Anglo-American crime; although a bit less decisively than fraud.

TABLE 25

PERCEIVED RECEIVING STOLEN PROPERTY  
WITH RESPECT TO RACE

Code	Frequency	Percentage
Anglo-American	293	48.9
Mexican-American	126	21.0
Afro-American	181	30.1
$\chi^2 = 236.366$		
$pr = .0001$		

Carrying a Prohibited Weapon. - Carrying a prohibited weapon demonstrates no significant bias.

TABLE 26

PERCEIVED CARRYING A PROHIBITED  
WEAPON WITH RESPECT TO RACE

Code	Frequency	Percentage
Anglo-American	185	30.8
Mexican-American	201	33.5
Afro-American	214	35.7
$\chi^2 = 6.338$		
$pr = .0411$		

Possession of Narcotics. - Possession of narcotics is the only offense to be distinctively Mexican-American. This offense was attributed to Mexican-Americans two to three times more often than to either other group. Afro-Americans are thought to participate in this activity very little.

TABLE 27

PERCEIVED POSSESSION OF NARCOTICS  
WITH RESPECT TO RACE

Code	Frequency	Percentage
Anglo-American	153	25.5
Mexican-American	376	62.7
Afro-American	71	11.8

$$\chi^2 = 449.551$$

$$pr = .0001$$

Homosexuality. - Homosexuality is considered to be more likely among Anglo-Americans than either of the other groups.

TABLE 28

PERCEIVED HOMOSEXUALITY WITH RESPECT TO RACE

Code	Frequency	Percentage
Anglo-American	273	45.5
Mexican-American	167	27.8
Afro-American	160	26.7

$$\chi^2 = 70.791$$

$$pr = .0001$$

Driving while Intoxicated. - Driving while intoxicated is perceived to be an Anglo-American crime. The Mexican-Americans are thought to participate in it very little.

TABLE 29  
PERCEIVED DRIVING WHILE INTOXICATED  
WITH RESPECT TO RACE

Code	Frequency	Percentage
Anglo-American	335	66.8
Mexican-American	85	14.2
Afro-American	180	30.0
$\chi^2 = 264.992$		
pr = .0001		

Five crimes; robbery, forgery, fraud, receiving stolen property and driving while intoxicated were clearly considered to be primarily Anglo-American crimes. This same belief was displayed by all three ethnic groups.

Only one type of crime was considered to be predominantly a Mexican-American crime, possession of narcotics. All three ethnic groups considered it so. The Mexican-Americans considered burglary also to be predominantly a Mexican-American crime, but the other two groups did not concur.

While the total sample did not consider any crime to be predominantly Afro-American, the Afro-Americans themselves

considered aggravated assault and theft over fifty dollars to be crimes committed predominantly by their group. The other two groups did not agree.

TABLE 30  
RANK ORDER OF PERCEIVED CRIMES  
WITH RESPECT TO RACE

Anglo-American	Mexican-American	Afro-American
1. Forgery	1. Narcotics	1. Assault
2. Fraud	2. Murder	2. Theft over \$50
3. D. W. I.	3. Murder w/o	3. Murder
4. Robbery	4. Carrying Weapon	4. Burglary
5. Stolen Property	5. Burglary	5. Robbery
6. Homosexual	6. Rape	6. Carrying Weapon
7. Auto Theft	7. Theft over \$50	7. Auto Theft
8. Rape	8. Homosexual	8. Murder w/o
9. Murder w/o	9. Assault	9. Stolen Property
10. Carrying Weapon	10. Auto Theft	10. D. W. I.
11. Assault	11. Stolen Property	11. Homosexual
12. Burglary	12. Fraud	12. Rape
13. Theft over \$50	13. D. W. I.	13. Fraud
14. Narcotics	14. Forgery	14. Forgery
15. Murder	15. Robbery	15. Narcotics

### Age

Analysis of the data according to social factors proved to yield little differentiation. The social factors of number of years in prison, number of times in prison and age seem to receive the same type of results. The only recognizable difference in performance was in a comparison made between the older quartile age



group and the younger quartile. The younger group tended to attribute slightly more violent crimes to the pictured inmates than did the older group. Violent crimes are those who do direct injury to persons such as murder, rape, aggravated assault and robbery.

### Summary

Afro-Americans and Anglo-Americans have general agreement about the Mexican-Americans. Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans have slightly less but general agreement about the Afro-Americans. Afro-Americans and Mexican-Americans have slightly less but still quite high agreement about the Anglo-Americans. There existed significantly greater disparity when an ethnic group was judging itself in comparison with the other two groups.

Each group tended to select subjects from its own group more than the others selected from it. But, the difference was not enough to be statistically significant.

The crimes listed on the following page are in the order that the study population perceived to be most characteristic of each ethnic group. The crimes listed first are perceived to be the most characteristic and those listed last are perceived to be the least characteristic. To arrive at the following rank order list, the frequencies were totaled for each crime category. For example, the number of times an Anglo-American was chosen for theft was

totaled. The same was true for the other ethnic groups. When this procedure was done for each crime a rank order was apparent. The crime at the top of the list indicates the crime for which that ethnic group was most often chosen.

TABLE 31  
PERCEIVED CRIME ACCORDING TO AGE

Type	Age 17 - 22		Age 36 and above	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Crimes				
Against Persons	22	42.3	12	36.3
Economic Crimes	16	30.8	9	27.4
Non-violent				
Crimes	14	26.9	12	36.3

An analysis of the mean scores on the final test assigning a crime to the pictured felon, indicate that the Afro-Americans were seen to be the most violent. The Mexican-Americans on the other hand were thought to participate in the less violent crimes. This may be explained by the strong stereotype concerning the Mexican-Americans use of drugs. That crime was grouped with the non-violent crimes and was attributed very often to the Mexican-Americans.

### Dogmatism

In order to determine if any significant correlation existed between the dogmatism score and racial choice, a chi-square ( $x^2$ ) analysis was performed. The racial choice of the fifty rating highest on the dogmatism scale were compared to the racial choices of the fifty people rating lowest on the dogmatism scale. The analysis showed no clear evidence that the person scoring high on the dogmatism scale tended to choose criminals from other ethnic groups any more than his own.

The following table indicates that when the performance of the respondents who rated highest on their dogmatism scale was measured against the performance of the fifty with the lowest dogmatism score no clear trend was evident. That is, no trend was evident in the choice of race when measured against dogmatism scores.

Table 32 indicates that only twelve of the forty-five items were statistically significant. That is, they were the only items in which the racial choices of the highly dogmatic group differed with the low dogmatism group. However, observation of the table indicates that the same choices were toward one's own racial group and some choices were away from it, serving to eliminate any trend.

To say it another way, no relationship between dogmatism and racial prejudice was evident.

TABLE 32

SIGNIFICANT  $X^2$  ANALYSIS OF DOGMATISM  
AND RACIAL CHOICE

Item	Dogmatism Group	Frequency			X <sup>2</sup>	Probability Less Than:
		Anglo-Afro-Mexican				
Theft	Low	15	16	19	4.67	.05
	High	10	14	26		
Forgery	Low	38	5	7	10.7116	.005
	High	27	14	9		
Burglary	Low	25	7	18	6.222	.025
	High	18	14	18		
Fraud	Low	29	9	12	6.082	.025
	High	22	17	11		
Forgery	Low	42	3	5	6.132	.025
	High	34	8	8		
Murder w/o	Low	21	17	12	7.017	.025
	High	26	18	6		
Assault	Low	12	15	23	4.969	.05
	High	13	9	28		
Robbery	Low	16	9	25	7.4827	.025
	High	21	13	16		
Receiving Stolen Property	Low	20	7	23	8.946	.01
	High	23	13	14		
Fraud	Low	27	3	20	10.6717	.005
	High	29	13	17		
D. W. I.	Low	36	2	12	11.019	.005
	High	28	12	10		
Aggravated Assault	Low	19	10	21	5.507	.05
	High	12	11	27		

## CHAPTER V

### RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study is to make an analysis of how convicted felons perceive other convicted felons. It is also the purpose of this study to determine by implication some factors involved in a convicted felon's self-image. This is an attempt to arrive at underlying attitudes by evaluating a population's perceptions.

#### Method Restated

A testing instrument was constructed to measure perception of criminality. It consisted of three sections. Section number one (1) was Milton Rokeach's Dogmatism Scale. Section number two (2) was made up of slides consisting of mug shots of convicted felons, three pictures to a slide, as well as brief crime descriptions to go with each picture. Section number three (3) consisted of slides with one felon's picture on each and a list of fifteen crimes from which to choose. The data were analyzed to determine if (1) racial or ethnic prejudice was evident, (2) if dogmatism is related to racial or ethnic prejudice, and (3) if stereotypes about race and crime are evident.

## Results

The first hypothesis was not supported. The hypothesis was stated, "The convicted felon will pick felons from another ethnic group more often than from his own ethnic group thereby laying blame on others." The analysis showed no significant difference, or it showed that perception of criminality is not a function of ethnic background. If any tendency was evident, it was a slight preference in choosing felons from one's own group. This might be explained by the fact that most crime witnessed by any individual is crime committed by his own group. Therefore, he would tend to choose in line with his previous experiences.

Bayton's<sup>1</sup> idea that there exists a set of widely distributed group norms in America that result in highly similar responses, may be verified here.

Sherif's<sup>2</sup> idea that racial prejudice has always been more group than personal in nature may explain why none appeared here. Since the responses were strictly individual and would not have to be defended before a group, the less prejudiced personal evaluation was in sway.

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<sup>1</sup>Theodore Newcomb, Ralph Turner, Philip Converse, op. cit., pp. 430-444.

<sup>2</sup>Gordon W. Allport, op. cit., pp. 39-40.

The second hypothesis was not supported. No trend was evident when the performance of the highly dogmatic was compared with those who rated low on the dogmatism scale.

The third hypothesis was supported. Clear patterns of ethnic stereotyping were evident in the type of crimes attributed to each group. Forgery, fraud, D.W.I., robbery and receiving stolen property were attributed primarily to Anglo-Americans. Possession of narcotics was attributed primarily to Mexican-Americans. Aggravated assault and theft were thought to be primarily Afro-American crimes.

An analysis of the mean scores on the final test indicated a tendency of the study sample to attribute violent crimes more often to the Afro-American group than the others. This fits in with the Afro-American tendency to attribute aggravated assault to themselves as their most typical crime.

The crimes that a group attributes to itself or that it thinks is most typical, tells something about the self-image or self-concept of that group. There existed general agreement among the ethnic groups about which was the "typical" crime of that group.

Five crimes were attributed primarily to the Anglo group both by themselves as well as the other groups. Forgery, fraud and receiving stolen property are types of "white collar" crimes

and the cultural stereotype of a white collar worker comes into play. It is more difficult to determine the reason for robbery being attributed to the Anglo. Perhaps it is because the male Anglo is thought of as more aggressive than the males of the minority groups; therefore, he is considered more likely to engage in this aggressive economic crime. Driving while intoxicated was perceived to be an Anglo crime, the reasons do not seem clear, unless it is thought that the law enforcement apparatus is more tolerant of Anglos driving while intoxicated, thus setting up the situation where they can arrive at the third conviction and hence be a felon.

Only one type of crime was considered to predominantly Mexican-American. That is the possession of narcotics. The long standing use of marijuana in the Mexican culture and the ties that many Mexican-Americans have with people in foreign countries sets up the easy stereotype that illegal use of drugs is primarily a Mexican-American crime. Hardly any stereotype came out in this study so strongly as this one. The Mexican-Americans believe it almost as strongly as do the other groups. The Mexican-Americans also felt that they were more likely to participate in burglary than the other groups. The two other groups did not agree. The Mexican-Americans see their predominant crimes to be narcotics abuse and burglary. Also crimes involving knives were attributed to the



Mexican-American stemming from the stereotypes about the use of that weapon in their culture. The other groups tend to see them as more open and straight forward, but they see themselves to be a bit sneaky and low on aggressiveness.

The Afro-Americans perceive their dominant crime to be aggravated assault. This indicates that they see themselves acting out their disagreements in what might be called grade school fashion. They also see theft as a crime typical of their group. This may also indicate a grade school type of crime that is picking up loose articles lying around more than breaking into places for the item. This may well indicate that they think of their culture as more immature or "grade-schoolish."

### Conclusions

Not as many positive conclusions came from this study as might be desired; however, some definite statements can be made.

1. Perception of criminality does not show to be a function of ethnic background of the perceiver among convicted felons.
2. Stereotypes about crime and criminals do exist in the study population. They vary only a very little from one ethnic group to another. White-collar and aggressive crimes are largely perceived as Anglo crimes. Narcotic abuse is perceived to be an offense typical of Mexican-American.

Afro-Americans think of themselves as unruly but express it largely among themselves. They are not seen in that light by the other groups.

3. No significant correlation was noted between the ethnic choice test and the scores on the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale.

# APPENDIX A PHOTOGRAPH RATING SHEET

Column  
Number

1-9 \_\_\_\_\_ Student Number.

10-11 \_\_\_\_\_ Estimated age of inmate.

12	_____ Body Type	1. Small 2. Medium 3. Large
13	_____ Personality	1. Very Passive 2. Passive 3. Aggressive 4. Very Aggressive

---

14-15 \_\_\_\_\_ Estimated age of inmate.

16	_____ Body Type	1. Small 2. Medium 3. Large
17	_____ Personality	1. Very Passive 2. Passive 3. Aggressive 4. Very Aggressive

---

18-19 \_\_\_\_\_ Estimated age of inmate

20	_____ Body Type	1. Small 2. Medium 3. Large
21.	_____ Personality	1. Very Passive 2. Passive 3. Aggressive 4. Very Aggressive

---

## APPENDIX B

### PERCEIVED CRIMINALITY TEST BOOKLET

Column  
Number

- (1--3) Test Booklet Number
- ( 4) Family background (circle one) 1. Anglo 2. Negro  
3. Latin American
- ( 5) Father's occupation (circle one) 1. Laborer 2. Office  
work 3. Sales 4. Military Service 5. Civil Service  
6. Skilled trade 7. Driver (truck, bus, cab etc.)  
8. Warehouseman 9. Seaman 10. Unknown
- ( 6) When you were 12 years old were you living with your  
natural (real) father and mother? 1. Yes 2. No
- ( 7) How many times did you move before you were 12? \_\_\_\_\_
- ( 8) In what region of the U. S. have you spent the most time?  
(circle one) 1. Northwest 2. South 3. Midwest 4. West
- ( 9) In what size city have you spent the most time? (circle one)  
1. Less than 10,000 people 2. Over 10,000 3. Over  
50,000 4. Over 250,000 people.
- ( 10) Educational Level. How many years of school have you  
completed? (circle one) 1. 0-4 yrs. 2. 5-8 3. 9-12  
4. G. E. D. 5. Entered college 6. Completed college.
- ( 11) Your Family's Religion (circle one) 1. Baptist 2. Catholic  
3. Methodist 4. Presbyterian 5. Episcopalian 6. Pente-  
costal 7. Church of Christ 8. Other 9. None.
- ( 12) Age of First Arrest. (circle one) 1. Under 10 yrs.  
2. 11-12 3. 13-14 4. 15-16 5. 17-18 6. 19-20  
7. 21-25 8. 26-30 9. 31-35 10. Over 35 years old.

- ( 13) Marital Status. (Circle one) 1. Single 2. Married  
3. Separated 4. Widowed 5. Divorced.
- ( 14) Occupation in the free-world. (Please circle the one you  
held longest) 1. Laborer 2. Office work 3. Sales  
4. Military service 5. Civil service 6. Skilled trade  
7. Driver (truck, cab, bus, etc.) 8. Warehouseman  
9. Seaman 10. None.
- ( 15) How many flat years have you been loced up? \_\_\_\_\_
- ( 16) How many times have you been in reform school? \_\_\_\_\_
- ( 17) How many times have you been in prison? \_\_\_\_\_
- ( 18) How do you consider yourself? 1. Liberal 2. Conserva-  
tive.
- ( 19) Age. (Circle one) 1. 17-19 2. 20-22 3. 23-25 4. 25-30  
5. 31-35 6. 36-40 7. 41-45 8. 46-50 9. 51 or over.
- ( 20) For which type crime were you convicted? (Circle one)  
1. Murder 2. Rape 3. Assault 4. Robbery 5. Theft  
6. Sexual Crime 7. Forgery or Fraud 8. Receiving  
Stolen Property 9. Narcotics 10. Driving while Intoxi-  
cated.

The following is a study of what the general public thinks and feels about a number of important social and personal questions. The best answer to each statement below is your personal opinion. We have tried to cover many different and opposing points of view; you may find yourself agreeing strongly with some of the statements, disagreeing just as strongly with others, and perhaps uncertain about others; whether you agree or disagree with any statement, you can be sure that many people feel the same as you do.

Mark each statement in the left margin according to how much you agree or disagree with it. Please mark every one.

Write +1, +2, +3, or -1, -2, -3, depending on how you feel in each case.

+1: I AGREE A LITTLE

-1: I DISAGREE A LITTLE

+2: I AGREE ON THE WHOLE

-2: I DISAGREE ON THE WHOLE

+3: I AGREE VERY MUCH

-3: I DISAGREE VERY MUCH

Column No.

- (21 - 22) \_\_\_\_\_ 1. The United States and Russia have just about nothing in common.
- (23 - 24) \_\_\_\_\_ 2. The highest form of government is a democracy and the highest form of democracy is a government run by those who are most intelligent.
- (25 - 26) \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Even though freedom of speech for all groups is a worthwhile goal, it is unfortunately necessary to restrict the freedom of certain political groups.
- (27 - 28) \_\_\_\_\_ 4. It is only natural that a person would have a much better acquaintance with ideas he believes in than with ideas he opposes.
- (29 - 30) \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Man on his own is a helpless and miserable creature.
- (31 - 32) \_\_\_\_\_ 6. Fundamentally, the world we live in is a pretty lonesome place.

- (33 - 34) \_\_\_\_\_ 7. Most people just don't give a "damn" for others.
- (35 - 36) \_\_\_\_\_ 8. I'd like it if I could find someone who would tell me how to solve my personal problems.
- (37 - 38) \_\_\_\_\_ 9. It is only natural for a person to be rather fearful of the future.
- (39 - 40) \_\_\_\_\_ 10. There is so much to be done and so little time to do it in.
- (41 - 42) \_\_\_\_\_ 11. Once I get wound up in a heated discussion I just can't stop.
- (43 - 44) \_\_\_\_\_ 12. In a discussion I often find it necessary to repeat myself several times to make sure I am being understood.
- (45 - 46) \_\_\_\_\_ 13. In a heated discussion I generally become so absorbed in what I am going to say that I forget to listen to what the others are saying.
- (47 - 48) \_\_\_\_\_ 14. It is better to be a dead hero than to be a live coward.
- (49 - 50) \_\_\_\_\_ 15. While I don't like to admit this even to myself, my secret ambition is to become a great man, like Einstein, or Beethoven, or Shakespeare.
- (51 - 52) \_\_\_\_\_ 16. The main thing in life is for a person to want to do something important.
- (53 - 54) \_\_\_\_\_ 17. If given the chance I would do something of great benefit to the world.
- (55 - 56) \_\_\_\_\_ 18. In the history of mankind there have probably been just a handful of really great thinkers.
- (57 - 58) \_\_\_\_\_ 19. There are a number of people I have come to hate because of the things they stand for.
- (59 - 60) \_\_\_\_\_ 20. A man who does not believe in some great cause has not really lived.

- (61 - 62) \_\_\_\_\_ 21. It is only when a person devotes himself to an ideal or cause that life becomes meaningful.
- (63 - 64) \_\_\_\_\_ 22. Of all the different philosophies which exist in this world there is probably only one which is correct.
- (65 - 66) \_\_\_\_\_ 23. A person who gets enthusiastic about too many causes is likely to be a pretty "wishy-washy" sort of person.
- (67 - 68) \_\_\_\_\_ 24. To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side.
- (69 - 70) \_\_\_\_\_ 25. When it comes to differences of opinion in religion we must be careful not to compromise with those who believe differently from the way we do.
- (71 - 72) \_\_\_\_\_ 26. In times like these, a person must be pretty selfish if he considers primarily his own happiness.
- (73 - 74) \_\_\_\_\_ 27. The worst crime a person could commit is to attack publicly the people who believe in the same thing he does.
- (75 - 76) \_\_\_\_\_ 28. In times like these it is often necessary to be more on guard against ideas put out by people or groups in one's own camp than by those in the opposing camp.
- (77 - 78) \_\_\_\_\_ 29. A group which tolerates too much differences of opinion among its own members cannot exist for long.
- ( 80)   1   Card No.
- ( 1 - 3) \_\_\_\_\_ Test Booklet No.
- ( 4 - 5) \_\_\_\_\_ 30. There are two kinds of people in this world: Those who are for the truth and those who are against the truth.



- ( 6 - 7) \_\_\_\_ 31. My blood boils whenever a person stubbornly refuses to admit he's wrong.
- ( 8 - 9) \_\_\_\_ 32. A person who thinks primarily of his own happiness is beneath contempt.
- (10 - 11) \_\_\_\_ 33. Most of the ideas which get printed nowadays aren't worth the paper they are printed on.
- (12 - 13) \_\_\_\_ 34. In this complicated world of ours the only way we can know what's going on is to rely on leaders or experts who can be trusted.
- (14 - 15) \_\_\_\_ 35. It is often desirable to reserve judgment about what's going on until one has had a chance to hear the opinions of those one respects.
- (16 - 17) \_\_\_\_ 36. In the long run the best way to live is to pick friends and associates whose tastes and beliefs are the same as one's own.
- (18 - 19) \_\_\_\_ 37. The present is all too often full of unhappiness. It is only the future that counts.
- (20 - 21) \_\_\_\_ 38. If a man is to accomplish his mission in life it is sometimes necessary to gamble "all or nothing at all."
- (22 - 23) \_\_\_\_ 39. Unfortunately, a good many people with whom I have discussed important social and moral problems don't really understand what's going on.
- (24 - 25) \_\_\_\_ 40. Most people just don't know what's good for them.
- (26 - 29) \_\_\_\_ Total Score
- ( 80) 2 Card No.

Column No.

(1 - 3)            Test Booklet No. \_\_\_\_\_

- ( 4) \_\_\_\_\_ 1. One of these individuals was convicted of Murder with Malice in connection with the shooting death of his wife in a family quarrel.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- ( 5) \_\_\_\_\_ 2. The subject noticed a riding type lawnmower sitting near a house as he came home, and later returned with a friend's truck and stole it. He was convicted of Theft.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- ( 6) \_\_\_\_\_ 3. One of these men worked with a car theft ring in which he was paid to steal cars which would be transported to other states and sold. He was convicted of Auto Theft.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- ( 7) \_\_\_\_\_ 4. The subject cashed a series of checks on his former employer by forging his signature to them, and was convicted for Forgery.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- ( 8) \_\_\_\_\_ 5. One of these subjects was convicted of Murder without Malice after being attacked in a bar by a man with a knife, and having taken the knife from the man stabbed him to death.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- ( 9) \_\_\_\_\_ 6. One of these inmates while in a bar began to fight with another man over a woman. He then pulled a gun and pistol-whipped the man causing injury. He was convicted of aggravated assault with a weapon.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (10) \_\_\_\_\_ 7. One of these men was found to have in his possession, a sawed-off shotgun and was convicted of carrying a prohibited weapon.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (11) \_\_\_\_\_ 8. One of these inmates was convicted of being a heroin addict.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (12) \_\_\_\_\_ 9. The subject was convicted of Robbery after entering a finance company office armed with a pistol and robbing the manager of \$293. He had robbed the same manager of \$750 two weeks before.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (13) \_\_\_\_\_ 10. The subject was convicted of Rape after he and a friend had been out drinking with a woman. They later took her to a lover's lane and forceably raped her.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (14) \_\_\_\_\_ 11. One of these inmates and a friend entered a closed grocery store by a side window and took a small amount of cash and many cartons of cigarettes. He was later convicted of Burglary.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (15) \_\_\_\_\_ 12. One of these men was convicted of possessing property taken in several warehouse burglaries.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (16) \_\_\_\_\_ 13. One of these individuals was convicted of molesting an eight year old boy for purposes of homosexuality.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (17) \_\_\_\_ 14. One of these individuals was convicted of fraud in a case concerning the appropriation of funds for his own use without his employer's consent.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (18) \_\_\_\_ 15. One of these men is serving a sentence for driving while intoxicated.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (19) \_\_\_\_ 16. One of these persons was convicted of Murder with Malice in the case of a liquor store employee who was shot to death in a robbery attempt.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (20) \_\_\_\_ 17. The subject one of these inmates was convicted of Theft after stealing an engine from an irrigation well on a farm.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (21) \_\_\_\_ 18. The subject was convicted of auto theft after being caught stealing cars which he would take to his house, strip the parts, and sell what he could.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (22) \_\_\_\_ 19. One of these inmates was convicted of forgery after stealing a check protector from a trucking company and passing checks on that company.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (23) \_\_\_\_ 20. The subject while under the influence of "pills" was driving wrecklessly, and ran off the street, over a curbing and across a sidewalk striking and killing a four year old girl. He was later convicted of Murder without Malice.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (24) \_\_\_\_ 21. The subject while in an argument with his wife, pulled a small pocket knife and attempted to slit her throat, but quit before he killed her. He was convicted of Aggravated Assault with a weapon.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (25) \_\_\_\_ 22. One of these men was convicted for carrying a prohibited weapon after he was found to be carrying an illegal knife.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (26) \_\_\_\_ 23. One of these men was convicted of possession of narcotics in connection with the sale of marijuana to high school students.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (27) \_\_\_\_ 24. The subject and four friends drove to a late-hour grocery store. They checked to see that there were no customers and then held a gun on the cashier while the subject took the money from the register. He was convicted of Robbery.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (28) \_\_\_\_ 25. One of these men was convicted of Rape after coming home very drunk and forcing his seven year old daughter into sexual intercourse.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (29) \_\_\_\_ 26. The subject was convicted of burglary after posing as a T. V. repairman and entering a house when no one was home to steal a color T. V.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (30) \_\_\_\_ 27. One of these individuals was convicted for receiving stolen property taken in the hijacking of a furniture company's delivery truck.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (31) \_\_\_\_ 28. One of these inmates was convicted of carrying on homosexual practices with another man.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (32) \_\_\_\_ 29. One of these inmates was convicted of fraudulently obtaining money through a loan operation in which he cheated old couples out of their savings.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (33) \_\_\_\_ 30. One of these inmates was convicted of driving while intoxicated after his third arrest for this offense.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (34) \_\_\_\_ 31. One of these men was convicted of Murder with Malice after stabbing another man to death whom he believed to be having an affair with his wife.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (35) \_\_\_\_ 32. The subject drove to a parking lot behind a service station, walked to the side of the station, took two tires from an open display rack and returned to his car. After being caught and tried, the subject was convicted of Theft.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (36) \_\_\_\_ 33. One of these inmates while walking home saw a new automobile, drove it home and was later convicted of Auto Theft.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (37) \_\_\_\_ 34. The subject obtained several credit cards which belonged to customers of a service station where he worked and used them to finance a cross-country trip. After being caught, he was convicted of Forgery.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (38) \_\_\_\_ 35. The subject was convicted with Murder without Malice in a case in which he returned home to find his wife in bed with another man. As the man tried to escape through the kitchen, the subject found a butcher knife and stabbed the man in the back, killing him.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (39) \_\_\_\_ 36. The subject was convicted of Aggravated Assault with a weapon after beating a hardware store proprietor, for whom he had worked, with a log-chain hook.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (40) \_\_\_\_ 37. One of these inmates was found to be carrying a pistol and was convicted of carrying a prohibited weapon.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (41) \_\_\_\_ 38. One of the individuals was apprehended while smuggling marijuana into the country and was convicted of possession of a narcotic drug.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (42) \_\_\_\_ 39. The subject was convicted of Robbery in a case in which he left his car running in front of a bank while he went in. After robbing the bank, he came outside and was shot in the leg by a police officer.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (43) \_\_\_\_ 40. The subject and two friends surprised a couple in the country. They tied the boy to a nearby tree and took turns forcing intercourse with the girl. He was later convicted of Rape.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (44) \_\_\_\_ 41. One of these men was convicted of burglary after he and another man entered a hardware store through an air conditioning vent. They took some cash, two rifles, a pistol and some ammunition.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (45) \_\_\_\_ 42. One of these inmates was convicted of receiving stolen property in the form of expensive jewelry which had been taken in burglaries of homes in wealthy neighborhoods.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (46) \_\_\_\_ 43. One of these men was convicted of soliciting a 21 year old college student to practice homosexual acts.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (47) \_\_\_\_ 44. One of these persons was convicted of embezzeling funds from a hardware company for which he worked.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (48) \_\_\_\_ 45. One of these men was convicted of driving while intoxicated after having a car wreck which injured several people in another automobile.

Circle your choice: 1    2    3

- (80)   3   Card No.



Column No.

( 1 - 3) \_\_\_\_\_ Test Booklet No.

( 4 - 5) \_\_\_\_\_ 1.

( 6 - 7) \_\_\_\_\_ 2.

( 8 - 9) \_\_\_\_\_ 3.

(10 - 11) \_\_\_\_\_ 4.

(12 - 13) \_\_\_\_\_ 5.

(14 - 15) \_\_\_\_\_ 6.

(16 - 17) \_\_\_\_\_ 7.

(18 - 19) \_\_\_\_\_ 8.

(20 - 21) \_\_\_\_\_ 9.

(22 - 23) \_\_\_\_\_ 10.

(24 - 25) \_\_\_\_\_ 11.

(26 - 27) \_\_\_\_\_ 12.

(28 - 29) \_\_\_\_\_ 13.

(30 - 31) \_\_\_\_\_ 14.

(32 - 33) \_\_\_\_\_ 15.

(34 - 35) \_\_\_\_\_ 16.

(36 - 37) \_\_\_\_\_ 17.

(38 - 39) \_\_\_\_\_ 18.

(40 - 41) \_\_\_\_\_ 19.

(42 - 43) \_\_\_\_\_ 20.

(44 - 45) \_\_\_\_\_ 21.

(46 - 47) \_\_\_\_\_ 22.

(48 - 49) \_\_\_\_\_ 23.

Column No.

(50 - 51) \_\_\_\_\_ 24.

(52 - 53) \_\_\_\_\_ 25.

(54 - 55) \_\_\_\_\_ 26.

(56 - 57) \_\_\_\_\_ 27.

(58 - 59) \_\_\_\_\_ 28.

(60 - 61) \_\_\_\_\_ 29.

(62 - 63) \_\_\_\_\_ 30.

(64 - 65) \_\_\_\_\_ 31.

(66 - 67) \_\_\_\_\_ 32.

(68 - 69) \_\_\_\_\_ 33.

(70 - 71) \_\_\_\_\_ 34.

(72 - 73) \_\_\_\_\_ 35.

(74 - 75) \_\_\_\_\_ 36.

(76 - 77) \_\_\_\_\_ 37.

(78 - 79) \_\_\_\_\_ 38.

( 80) 4 Card No.

( 1 - 3) \_\_\_\_\_ Test Booklet No.

( 4 - 5) \_\_\_\_\_ 39.

( 6 - 7) \_\_\_\_\_ 40.

( 8 - 9) \_\_\_\_\_ 41.

(10 - 11) \_\_\_\_\_ 42.

(12 - 13) \_\_\_\_\_ 43.

(14 - 15) \_\_\_\_\_ 44.

(16 - 17) \_\_\_\_\_ 45.

( 80) 5 Card No.

OFFENSE CATEGORIES

- |  |                               |
|--|-------------------------------|
| 01 Murder with Malice                  | 09 Forgery                    |
| 02 Murder without Malice               | 10 Fraud                      |
| 03 Rape                                | 11 Receiving Stolen Property  |
| 04 Aggravated Assault<br>with a Weapon | 12 Carrying Prohibited Weapon |
| 05 Robbery                             | 13 Homosexual                 |
| 06 Theft Over \$50                     | 14 Possession of Narcotics    |
| 07 Burglary                            | 15 Driving while Intoxicated  |
| 08 Auto Theft                          |                               |

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