

SELF-ESTEEM OF OFFENDERS SENTENCED TO
THE UNITED STATES ARMY RETRAINING BRIGADE

by

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A THESIS

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TO THE UNITED STATES ARMY RETRAINING BRIGADE

A Thesis

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ABSTRACT

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Purpose

The objective of this study was to determine the relationship of the self-esteem of military offenders and (1) the offenses committed by the offenders which were artificially separated into three categories of military status offenses (offenses unique to personnel subject to the Uniform Code of Military Justice), military criminal offenses (offenses generally considered criminal throughout this society), and military combination offenses (those which consisted of two or more offenses at least one of which was a status offense and one a criminal offense), and (2) the ethnic affiliation of the offenders which was either black, white, or other-ethnic group.

Methods

The methods utilized in this study were: (1) a review of the literature of the symbolic interaction theory of behavior and pertinent research literature relevant to the

variables investigated; (2) the administration of a ten-item self-esteem measuring instrument devised by Morris Rosenberg to 151 military offenders sentenced to the United States Army Retraining Brigade, Fort Riley, Kansas; (3) conducting an analysis of the data to determine existing relationships using the chi-square test of significance; and (4) considering all results with a probability of .05 or less as significant.

Findings

1. The self-esteem of military status offenders was not significantly higher than the self-esteem of military criminal offenders.

2. The self-esteem of white military status offenders was not significantly higher than the self-esteem of white military criminal offenders.

3. The self-esteem of non-white military status offenders was not significantly higher than the self-esteem of non-white military criminal offenders.

4. The self-esteem of military offenders who committed a combination of military status and military criminal offenses was not significantly lower than the self-esteem of either military status offenders or military criminal offenders.

5. The self-esteem of white military offenders who committed a combination of military status and military criminal offenses was not significantly lower than the self-esteem of either white military status offenders or military criminal offenders.

6. The self-esteem of non-white military offenders who committed a combination of military status and military criminal offenses was not significantly lower than the self-esteem of either non-white military status offenders or non-white military criminal offenders.

7. There was not a significant difference in self-esteem between white military offenders and non-white military offenders.

8. There was not a significant difference in self-esteem between white military status offenders and non-white military status offenders.

9. There was not a significant difference in self-esteem between white military criminal offenders and non-white military criminal offenders.

10. There was not a significant difference in self-esteem between white military combination offenders and non-white military combination offenders.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

One of the paramount concerns in our present culture is crime. The general population is reflecting a serious fear of criminality and criminals, especially violent crimes against persons. In reaction to this popular fear, governmental agencies and the academic world have focused a great deal of attention and resources toward this problem area during the past decade. Notwithstanding an avalanche of research and experimentation, conjecture, and philosophical outpourings, criminologists and penologists are still uncertain as how best to cope with this gnawing problem of preventing crime and changing the deviant behavior of criminals. Classical criminological thought emphasizing the free-will concept of criminality, has been replaced with the positivist philosophy of determinism. Today, this latter stance is eroding due to increased concern with the efficacy of the rehabilitation model of penology.

Another approach to understanding criminality is to examine the broader field of the symbolic interaction theory. This theory is an attempt to explain behavior, not just deviant behavior or "normal behavior," but all non-pathological

behavior. The main strength of symbolic interaction theory is that it provides a framework for examining individuals as unique entities, but at the same time it allows the observer to gather his data within the broader context of the society in which the individual is functioning. This theory promotes an individualistic view of man with a unique blend of values, morals, beliefs and attitudes, not solely as a biologic organism, but as a member of a group which is located in the larger society. As such he receives inputs from his heredity, the physical environment, parents, friends, acquaintances, and enemies. These factors, coupled with his accomplishments, his failures, and his aspirations form the "reality" of the universe for the man. Reality is an interpretation and integration of all these factors and it is a unique product of each individual. It is within this sphere of reference that the individual acts and reacts: behaves properly or behaves in an unacceptable manner and is considered to be a deviant.

Self-conception is of central importance in the symbolic interaction theory. Briefly, self-conception is a person's evaluation of his position, value, worth, and esteem in relation to all of the other people he interacts with. The evaluation of self has been shown to have a definite relationship to how one behaves.¹ For this reason, an understanding

of self-concept and its relationship to deviant behavior or criminality is important as it may provide some of the answers in helping to solve the crime problem.

Numerous studies have concluded that there exists an inverse correlation between self-concept and delinquency. This relationship is more thoroughly explored in the next chapter. However, such knowledge is of limited value in the penological field as it is unknown whether the self-concept is causal in the individual decision to participate in deviant behavior; and if it is, to what extent does it influence the adaptation of criminality. Naturally, even an affirmative answer to the above question will not necessarily indicate an operational course of action to prevent crime or to reform criminals.

Some clues to the relationship between self-concept and deviant behavior may be gleaned from the study of a particular group of convicted offenders. This group consists of military offenders. United States military offenders are subject to a unique set of laws. Military personnel are subject to the laws and regulations of the jurisdiction in which they are living as are members of the civilian population. Notable exceptions of military personnel liability for local, state and federal laws include service connected activities in

foreign countries. Even then, existing Status of Forces Agreements may or may not preclude local prosecution for host nation offenses. Within the United States, jurisdiction for offenses committed by military personnel is dependent upon the type of offense, the location of the offense, and the service connection of the offense, if any. As a general rule, local prosecution, conviction and sentences to incarceration result in discharge of the servicemember.

In addition to regular civil and criminal liability shared with all members of the society, military personnel are subject to a totally independent body of law. This law is the Uniform Code of Military Justice, promulgated by Congressional action. The interesting aspect of military law is that it proscribes behavior which is considered criminal universally in our society, for example, larceny, assault, and fraud, and it also proscribes behavior which is defined as criminal only in the military context, for example, disrespect to a superior commissioned officer, failure to obey a regulation, or absence without leave (AWOL). Only active duty military personnel (with some minor exceptions) are legally subject to the provisions of the Code.

The UCMJ contains a total of fifty-eight punitive articles or laws which, if broken, subject the offender to

possible formal disciplinary action. Of this total number, twenty-four of the punitive articles are uniquely military, or military status offenses; twenty-six of the punitive articles proscribe behavior or actions generally prohibited throughout our society; and eight punitive articles may be posted in either category, depending on the specific offense committed or charged. An example of an overlapping article, Article 92, failure to obey an order or regulation, may include a violation of an Army-wide or local command regulation prohibiting the use of marijuana, a criminal offense. On the other hand, this article may also be used to prosecute a soldier who refuses to get his hair cut as ordered by a commissioned officer, a military status offense. Because of the artificiality of the separation of the types of offenses for this study, particular care must be exercised in analyzing the offense(s) of a given subject to insure proper categorization of offense and offender.

Violations of the Uniform Code of Military Justice may be disposed of in several ways. Reprimands and non-judicial punishment are usually sufficient and are the preferred method of disposing of minor violations. However, any violation may result in trial by court-martial. Although there are several different levels of courts-martial (the level

determined by a combination of the severity of the offense and the wishes of the responsible commanding officers) with varying types and amounts of criminal sanctions, suffice it to note that a finding of guilt by court-martial does constitute a federal conviction. Conviction may invoke a sentence of incarceration, among other penalties.²

Current Department of the Army policy dictates that all offenders convicted by a court-martial and sentenced to confinement for a period of six months or less and not sentenced to receive a punitive discharge, will serve their sentence at the U.S. Army Retraining Brigade (USARB), a correctional facility. Those prisoners sentenced to incarceration for periods in excess of six months and/or who are sentenced to a punitive discharge are transferred to the United States Disciplinary Barracks (USDB), an interservice facility similar to a federal penitentiary.

At this time, only one Retraining Brigade is in operation, the United States Army Retraining Brigade, Fort Riley, Kansas. Thus, the inmate or trainee population at the USARB consists of a unique blend of prisoners convicted of status offenses, criminal offenses, or a combination of the two. The population is relatively homogeneous relative to the seriousness of the offense(s) committed as all prisoners are

liable for a period of incarceration of six months or less.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship of self-concept, as measured by the level of self-esteem, and deviant or criminal behavior. Specifically, it was designed to provide a comparative analysis of the measured self-esteem of the U.S. Army offenders sentenced to the U.S. Army Retraining Brigade who have been convicted of military status offenses to those who have been convicted of criminal offenses.

The comparison provided information about the relationship between self-esteem and the type of offense for which the prisoner was convicted. An analysis of the data provided an insight into the differences between the three categories of offenders, military status offenders, military criminal offenders, and military combination offenders.

Importance of the Study

The importance of this study lies in the nature of the population being studied. Criminality for this group is potentially far broader than that of the civilian population. Activity which is acceptable in the civilian community ceases

to be acceptable following induction into the Armed Forces. Because of this unique enlargement of behavioral rules, more types of activity are defined as criminal. Thus, analysis of the categories of offenders enables more insight into the problem of deviance in general. Further, it provides greater knowledge of the nature of military offenders and is of significance in military penological decision making.

Assumptions

The following assumptions were necessary to complete this investigation:

1. It is assumed that the self-esteem motive, or the desire to think favorably of one's self in relation to the rest of society, is a universal motive in the American culture.
2. It is assumed that each individual has a basic concept of himself which is either "good" or "bad" and that this concept has an impact on behavior.
3. It is assumed that one's self concept, while not immutable, is relatively stable and is not drastically altered by one event, such as the conviction of an offense.
4. It is assumed that the level of self-esteem measured by the test instrument is indicative of and positively related to the subjects' total self concept.

Questions

This study was designed to answer the following questions:

1. What is the difference, if any, between the self-esteem of military status offenders and military criminal offenders?
2. What is the difference, if any, between the self-esteem of military offenders relative to the ethnic origin of the offenders?
3. Is there a difference in the quality of deviance, as reflected by measurement of self-esteem, when it involves a military status offense as opposed to a military criminal offense?

Hypotheses

This study was designed to investigate the following hypotheses:

1. The self-esteem of military status offenders will be significantly higher than the self-esteem of military criminal offenders.
2. The self-esteem of white military status offenders will be significantly higher than the self-esteem of white

military criminal offenders.

3. The self-esteem of non-white military status offenders will be significantly higher than the self-esteem of non-white military criminal offenders.

4. The self-esteem of military offenders who commit a combination of military status offenses and military criminal offenses will be significantly lower than the self-esteem of either military status offenders or military criminal offenders.

5. The self-esteem of white military offenders who commit a combination of military status offenses and military criminal offenses will be significantly lower than the self-esteem of either white military status offenders or white military criminal offenders.

6. The self-esteem of non-white military offenders who commit a combination of military status offenses and military criminal offenses will be significantly lower than the self-esteem of either non-white military status offenders or non-white military criminal offenders.

7. There will be significant difference in self-esteem between white military offenders and non-white military offenders.

8. There will be a significant difference in self-

esteem between white military status offenders and non-white military status offenders.

9. There will be a significant difference in self-esteem between white military criminal offenders and non-white military criminal offenders.

10. There will be a significant difference in self-esteem between white military combination offenders and non-white military combination offenders.

Definitions

Several terms used throughout this research project require operational definitions for the purpose of clarity. Some terms listed below are unique to the military services, especially the United States Army, and may be unfamiliar to the civilian reader. Sources of definitions have been included where appropriate.

1. Confinement in the military setting is very similar to the term "incarceration" used in civilian penology. Confinement is the involuntary holding of a convicted military offender for a period specified in the sentence levied by a court-martial. Confinement may be ordered to several types of facilities including area and installation confinement facilities, a United States Army Retraining Brigade, a

United States Disciplinary Barracks, or a federal institution.

2. A correctional facility is an institution providing correctional treatment to military offenders. The treatment program is designed to motivate and retrain offenders for return to military duty or for discharge to civilian life following confinement. This term is applied only to Retraining Brigades and Disciplinary Barracks. Other military facilities used to hold prisoners prior to trial by court-martial or pending transfer to a correctional facility are designated as confinement facilities (Department of the Army Regulation 190-47, 1975, p. A-1).

3. A court-martial is a military trial court composed of service officers, and occasionally senior enlisted personnel as well, who determine the guilt or innocence of an accused member of that service for violations of the Uniform Code of Military Justice in an adversary trial process. Members of the court-martial assess punishment in those cases when a verdict of guilt is determined. There are three levels of court-martial which may be convened, each composed of different members and having varying maximum punishment authority. In descending order of power, the three levels of courts-martial are (1) general court-martial, (2) special court-martial, and (3) summary court-martial. An increasingly popular option

exercised by the accused is his election to have his case heard by military judge alone. In this instance the military judge decides facts of law, guilt or innocence, and sentences guilty offenders.

4. The highest enlisted rank held refers to the highest enlisted (as opposed to warrant or commissioned officer) grade of rank achieved by the soldier. This information is desirable when dealing with sentenced military prisoners as all sentenced offenders revert to the lowest rank (E-1) when they enter confinement following conviction.

5. A military combination offender (abbreviated combination in tables and figures) refers to a member of the United States Army who has been convicted by court-martial of two or more offenses of the UCMJ which are a combination of both military status offenses and military criminal offenses. An example of this type of offender would be the soldier who has been convicted of absence without leave (Article 86) and assault (Article 128). It is important to note that the UCMJ does not differentiate between status and criminal offenses; this dichotomy has been artificially introduced by the author for the purposes of this research project.

6. The term military criminal offender (abbreviated MCO in tables and figures) has been devised by this author

for the purposes of this study. The military criminal offender has been convicted of violations of the Uniform Code of Military Justice which are universally considered criminal offenses in our society. Had the same violations occurred in a civilian setting by a person not subject to the UCMJ, those acts would still have been liable for prosecution by some level of the criminal justice system. For example, a violation of Article 128, UCMJ, assault, is a criminal offense throughout our society. A complete listing of offenses contained in the UCMJ which, upon conviction, result in the designation of military criminal offender, is found in Appendix A.

7. The term military status offender (abbreviated MSO in tables and figures) has been devised by this author for the purposes of this study. The military status offender has been convicted of a violation of the Uniform Code of Military Justice which is a uniquely military offense. Had the same behavior occurred in a civilian setting by someone not subject to the UCMJ, no criminal act would have occurred, nor would the perpetrator have been liable for criminal prosecution. A complete listing of offenses contained in the UCMJ which, upon conviction, result in the designation of military status offender, is found in Appendix A.

8. Punitive Articles are numbered articles of the Uniform Code of Military Justice for which criminal liability is incurred as a result of violation of the articles by personnel subject to the Code. There are fifty-eight specific articles which proscribe various types of behavior. A complete listing of the punitive articles is found in Appendix A. Actions by personnel subject to the Code which are not proscribed in the punitive articles can not result in a trial by court-martial.

9. A punitive discharge is either a bad conduct discharge or a dishonorable discharge from the Army. Other types of discharges which are not punitive in nature include the honorable discharge and general discharge. It should be noted that punitive discharges tend to incur civil disabilities for the holder such as certain types of employment disqualifications and loss of some or all veteran benefits.

10. Self or self-concept is defined in the following quotation:

Self represents the continuing cognitive-affective organization and reorganization of the experienced past, experiencing of the present, and anticipated future of the organism so structured as to be symbolic of the organism's perception of its being at any point in time. Actually, self is a process by means of which the organism derives and constructs self-products which, taken together, represent the organism's interpretation and meaning of itself. In

this relationship the organism is the entity and self is the process that evolves representations of its own entity and its related mental and behavioral activities. Operationally, defining and describing one's self is a continuously evolving product of learning, structured in the form of interacting emotional and cognitive elements. Thus, self is the means by which the organism is aware of and understands itself as a corporate being with a past history and a probable or possible future (Horrocks and Jackson, 1972, pp. 7-8).

A greater explanation of self-concept to include the components and development processes involved is found in Chapter II.

11. Self-esteem and self-esteem motive "... is defined as the need of the person to maximize the experience of positive self-attitudes or self-feelings and to minimize the experience of negative self-attitudes or self-feelings" (Kaplan, 1975, p. 10).

12. A trainee, for the purposes of this project, refers to

... an individual undergoing correctional treatment and training at the U.S. Army Retraining Brigade. This term applies to prisoners as well as to those individuals whose sentences to confinement has expired, been suspended, or remitted at the retraining brigade (Department of the Army Regulation 190-47, 1975, p. A-3).

13. The Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ) was originally enacted as part of the act of May 5, 1950. It was thereafter revised, codified, and enacted into law by the

Congress of the United States. It appears as part of Title 10, United States Code, by the act of August 10, 1956. Further revisions of the Uniform Code of Military Justice have occurred periodically. The current edition is the Military Justice Act of 1968. The UCMJ encompasses general provisions of the Code, apprehension and restraint procedures, nonjudicial punishment procedures, court-martial jurisdiction, composition of courts-martial, pre-trial procedure, trial procedure, sentencing, review of courts-martial and the punitive articles. This document is the basic source of military legal authority.

14. The United States Army Retraining Brigade (USARB)

... provides an intensive motivational and retraining program to prisoners whose sentences include no punitive discharge or a suspended punitive discharge and six months or less confinement. ... The program is designed to prepare prisoners for return to honorable military service or to rapidly identify and eliminate from military service through administrative or legal actions those prisoners who have not the desire or ability to serve honorably (Department of the Army Regulation 190-47, 1975, p. A-3).

Only one USARB is in operation, the United States Army Retraining Brigade located at Fort Riley, Kansas. During fiscal year 1976 (1 July 1975 - 30 June 1976), the last fiscal year for which complete figures are available, a total of 2,601 trainees were assigned to the USARB. Of this total

input, 37.2 per cent were reassigned to military units upon successful completion of training; the remaining 72.8 per cent received discharges or other unfavorable dispositions.³

15. The United States Disciplinary Barracks (USDB)

is an interservice correctional facility which

... provides a place of confinement for prisoners with punitive discharges or those with a sentence in excess of six months confinement and no punitive discharges. Provides an extensive vocational and academic training program to improve prisoner attitudes and motivation for either return to duty or release to civilian life as useful citizens (Department of the Army Regulation 190-47, 1975, p. A-3).

The USDB is currently located at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

"Who am I?" "What am I?" These two questions have intrigued and frustrated human thought no doubt since man became man. The idea of the individual as a unique being, a self, has distant historic origins - perhaps extending back into the void of prehistory. Diggory (1966) notes that at least as early as the Homeric writings, man concerned himself with the distinction between his physical body and some non-physical dimension of being which has been variously translated as "soul," "spirit," or "psyche" (p. 1). The answer to the original two questions is found in the "self."

Perhaps the most concise definition of self in modern usage was postulated by Horrocks and Jackson (1972):

Self represents the continuing cognitive-affective organization and reorganization of the experienced past, experiencing of the present, and anticipated future of the organism so structured as to be symbolic of its being at any point in time (p. 7).

Some contemporary authors continue to ascribe metaphysical properties to the self and defy the efficacy of analyzing and studying it. Moustakas (1956) suggests that "the self is not definable in words. Any verbal analysis tends to categorize or segment the self into communicable

aspects or parts. The self can only be experienced" (p. 11). While this analysis may be true in an absolute sense, such a course of action would remove the concept of self from the realm of scientific inquiry and deposit it in a philosophical sphere. Fortunately, Gergen (1971) solves this dilemma by explaining that the self is not a thing but is a hypothetical construct. This definition is in keeping with scientific thought and allows the abstraction and testing of hypotheses relevant to the self.

The concept of self is the keystone of symbolic interaction theory. In this light, the self is viewed as a dual concept: self is both process and structure.

On the former level we shall be concerned with that process by which the person conceptualizes (or categorizes) his behavior - both his external conduct and his internal states. On the structural level, our concern is with the system of concepts available to the person in attempting to define himself (Gergen, 1971, pp. 22-23, emphasis in the original).

This chapter will first examine the historic genesis of the symbolic interaction theory as propounded by William James, John Dewey, James Baldwin, Charles Horton Cooley, William Isaac Thomas, and George Herbert Mead. The current state of this theory of sociological inquiry and several derivatives of it will also be discussed. Next, the development of the self-concept will be examined as well as the

process by which the self defends itself or maintains consistency in daily living. The relationship of self-concept and behavior, both conforming and deviant behavior, will be explored to include a survey of the correlates of self-concept. Finally, criminological theories which have a basis in symbolic interaction will be discussed.

Early Symbolic Interactionists

Martindale (1960) observed that the symbolic interaction theory is primarily an American theoretical development. The early social scientists who first placed a great deal of emphasis on self and personality as the focus of sociological inquiry were originally pragmatists. It was not until after the writings of the scholars noted below that symbolic interaction was acknowledged to be a distinct theoretical development.

William James (1842-1910)

Most academicians begin the history of symbolic interaction theory with an acknowledgement of the contributions of William James. He was one of the first to recognize self as a significant theoretical factor in social interaction. One of his early works, Principles of Psychology (1902) contains

this definition and explanation of self: "In its widest possible sense, however, a man's Self is the sum total of all he can call his ..." (Vol. I, p. 219, emphasis in the original). This very wide definition exceeds the meaning of self by including an individual's property, immediate family, and even his bank account. James further clarifies self by subdividing it into the four categories of material self, social self, spiritual self, and the pure ego (Vol. I, p. 292). These constituents of self are important factors as they give rise to "self-feelings" as a result of feelings and emotions they evoke and the actions they prompt or instigate which the author refers to as "Self-seeking" and "Self-preservation activities."

James postulated the interdependence of social self and the social acquaintances of a given individual by stating that the social self "... is the recognition which he gets from his mates ..." (1902, Vol. I, p. 293). He expanded this principle by noting the multiplicity of social selves available to an individual:

Properly speaking, a man has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize him and carry an image of him in their mind. To wound any of these his images is to wound him. But as individuals who carry the images fall naturally into classes we may practically say that he has as many different social selves as there are distinct groups of persons about

whose opinion he cares. He generally shows a different side of himself to each of these different groups (James, 1902, Vol. I, p. 294, emphasis in original).

James also formulated the famous equation of self-esteem (1902, Vol. I, p. 310):

$$\text{Self-esteem} = \frac{\text{Success}}{\text{Pretensions}} .$$

And he observed that self-esteem could as easily be increased by reducing pretensions (aspirations) as well as by increasing the success experienced by the individual.

Nor did the mutability of reality escape James' ken. "In this sense, whatever excites and stimulates our interest is real ..." (James, 1902, Vol. II, p. 295). In essence, he believed that man had to recognize or take into account inputs from his environment, physical or social, before these factors had an impact on him. Those inputs which were ignored or not acted upon were unreal.

Thus, James was one of the earliest social psychologists to emphasize that the individual and his personality are closely allied to the society in which he lives and interacts.

John Dewey (1859-1952)

Dewey's principle contribution to symbolic interaction was his denigration of the popular concept that social customs or social "habit" were the result or composite of individual

habits. Dewey emphasized the supremacy of societal influence on the development of the individual's habits. "The activities of the group are already there, and some assimilation of his own acts to their pattern is a prerequisite of a share therein ..." (Dewey, 1922, p. 58). The individual commences the assimilation of societal habits as an infant by virtue of being associated with people who have likewise acquired the habits of society.

James Mark Baldwin (1861-1934)

That individual personality is formulated in an interaction between the young infant and other people, principally other family members or a nurse, is the main contribution of Baldwin to symbolic interaction. Baldwin conceptualized personality development as occurring in three stages: the "projective" stage, the "subjective" stage, and the "ejective" stage (Baldwin, 1911, pp. 24-25). In the first stage the child distinguishes that people are different from other objects. The second stage is one of imitation of others' actions and behaviors for the child. Lastly, in the ejective stage the infant comes to realize the similarity between his own feelings and those of other people with whom he is associated. "For Baldwin, then, personality development was also in good

part a product of self-other relationships" (Stryker, 1964, p. 128).

Charles Horton Cooley (1864-1929)

In a basic sense ... Cooley applied to society the kind of approach that James had applied to the self. ... Cooley's conception of the self corresponds very closely to what James called the social self (Martindale, 1960, p. 344).

For Cooley (1964), the "solid facts" of society were found "... in the imagination which people have of one another ..." (p. 121). "It is worth noting that there is no separation between real and imaginary persons; indeed, to be imagined is to become real, in a social sense ..." (p. 95).

The crux of Cooley's theme of imaginations of people is found in his often quoted "looking glass self:"

Each to each a looking-glass
Reflects the other that doth pass
(1964, p. 184).

The structure of the looking glass self for Cooley (1964) is composed of three principle elements: "... the imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of his judgement of that appearance, and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification" (p. 184).

The individual mind was simply not divisible from that which Cooley referred to as the social mind. He

envisioned the individual as an intimate part of society, as the following excerpt clearly shows:

Mind is an organic whole made up of cooperating individualities, in somewhat the same way that the music of an orchestra is made of divergent but related sounds. No one would think it necessary or reasonable to divide music into two kinds, that made by the whole and that of the particular instruments, and no more are there two kinds of mind, the social mind and the individual mind (Cooley, 1929, p. 3).

Perhaps the most significant contribution of Cooley was his recognition of the existence and importance of the primary group in formulating the individual's social orientation and even his ideas. Martindale (1960) has analyzed five characteristics of Cooley's primary group: "(1) face-to-face association, (2) unspecified nature of associations, (3) relative permanence, (4) a small number of persons involved, and (5) relative intimacy of participants" (p. 345).

Cooley also separated the self from the materialistic body. The self or the "I" "... refers chiefly to opinions, purposes, desires, claims, and the like, concerning matters that involve no thought of the body" (1964, p. 176).

In summary, Cooley emphasized and formalized at least three of the basic tenets of symbolic interaction theory. He stressed the unity of the individual and society, the reality of and the importance of imaginations, and he further defined

the self as a primary factor in social interaction.

William Isaac Thomas (1863-1947)

Thomas' major impact on the development of symbolic interaction theory was his emphasis on the subjective element of human perception. Human behavior, both individual and group, can not be fully understood unless three separate but interrelated factors are considered. According to Stryker (1964), Thomas stressed that behavior is influenced by the objective conditions, the situation, and the subjective adjustive processes of the individual(s). The subjective appraisal of the more concrete objective conditions and the situation is a process of "defining the situation."

An adjustive effort of any kind is preceded by a decision to act or not act along a given line, and the decision is itself preceded by a definition of the situation, that is to say, an interpretation or point of view, and eventually a policy and a behavior pattern. In this way quick judgments and decisions are made at every point in everyday life. Thus when approached by a man or beast in a lonely spot we first define the situation, make a judgment, as to whether the object is dangerous or harmless, and then decide ('make up our mind') what we are going to do about it (Thomas, 1937, p. 87, emphasis in original).

The significance of the subjective element in behavior was formulated by Thomas into a popular postulate of behavior. "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (Thomas and Thomas, 1928, p. 572).

Thomas arrived at this conclusion after examining the case of a man who killed strangers when he believed that they were talking silently to themselves about him. Thus, behavior is a phenomenon which transcends objectivity and requires a subjective evaluation.

Thomas also acknowledged the influences of society on individual behavior. Societal influence begins at birth when the child becomes a part of a group which has developed or informally codified certain common definitions or situations. Thus, "... moral codes are the products of 'successive definitions of the situation'" (Stryker, 1964, p. 131).

George Herbert Mead (1863-1931)

More than any other individual, Mead is largely responsible for the synthesis and expansion of the preceding theorists' ideas into a codified or formalized theory of behavior. This accomplishment is particularly awesome in view of the fact that Mead never published a systematic version of his theoretical concepts. Meltzer (1967) noted that "all four of the books bearing his authorship are posthumously collected and edited works" (p. 5). The source material consisted primarily of student lecture notes, Mead's notes, and tentative drafts of essays.

In fact, Mead did not consider himself an interactionist, a term which arose somewhat later. His philosophy was based on what he referred to as "social behaviorism."

By this term Mead means to refer to the description of behavior at the distinctly human level. Thus, for social behaviorism, the basic datum is the social act. ... The study of social acts entails concern with the covert aspects of behavior. Further, the concept of the 'social act' implies that human conduct and experience have a fundamental social dimension in that the social context is an inescapable element in distinctly human actions (Meltzer, 1967, p. 6).

For Mead, social behaviorism entailed a study of the interrelationships of four components: society, self, mind, and the act.⁴

1. Society. According to Mead, group life or society is a matter of cooperative behavior which occurs as a result of gestures, significant symbols, role taking, and an understanding of the generalized other. "The gesture is an aspect of action that is taken as a sign of the course of action" (Martindale, 1960, p. 356). Mead (1934) explains the relationship of the gesture and other factors of his theory as follows:

Gestures become significant symbols when they implicitly arouse in an individual making them the same responses which they explicitly arouse ... in other individuals, the individuals to whom they are addressed; and in all conversations of gestures within the social process, whether external (between different

individuals) or internal (between a given individual and himself), the individual's consciousness of the content and flow of meaning involved depends on his thus taking the attitude of the other toward his own gestures (p. 47).

Strauss (1964, p. xii) noted that the generalized other is Mead's way of expressing what is now referred to as reference group affiliation. It is through the generalized other that social control is maintained.

Each perceives, thinks, forms judgments and controls himself according to the frame of reference of the group in which he is participating. Since he defines objects, other people, the world, and himself from the perspective that he shares with others, he can visualize his proposed line of action from this generalized standpoint, anticipate the reactions of others, inhibit undesirable impulses, and thus guide his conduct. The socialized person is a society in miniature... (Shibutani, 1955, p. 564).

2. Self. Mead (1934) very clearly distinguished between the self and the physical organism or body. The characteristic which chiefly distinguished the self from the body, or for that matter from other objects, is that the self "... is an object to itself..." (p. 136). The self operates, according to Mead in two distinct but interacting phases: the "I" and the "me." The "I" is that element of self which reacts to the "me." In Mead's words, "the 'I' is the response of the organism to the attitudes of the others, and the 'me' is the organized set of attitudes of others which one himself

assumes" (p. 175). Stryker (1964) explains these concepts in more current usage.

The 'me' is the equivalent of the social roles, the organized attitudes of others which one incorporates into his self. The 'I' which Mead used in accounting for spontaneity, creativity, and change in social experience, represents the response of the organism to those organized attitudes of others (p. 132).

Mead theorized that the self, which is not present at birth, develops in three stages during early childhood. Mead's "preparatory stage" is essentially one of imitation of other people's behavior which is similar to Baldwin's "projective stage." During the second stage, the "play stage," the child experiments with taking various roles. In the third and final stage, the "game stage," the child assumes various roles and reacts to them; in this way a conceptualization of the generalized other is formed and a self has arisen. Miller (1973) critiqued the three stage process by noting that "self-awareness involves awareness of the other. Both emerge at the same time" (p. 9).

3. Mind. "Mind is seen as a process, which manifests itself whenever the individual is interacting with himself by using significant symbols" (Meltzer, 1967, p. 13). Minded behavior arises in the problem solving situation. The self interacts with itself in visualizing the results of various

courses of action prior to actually engaging in behavior. It is this ability of humans to display minded behavior in response to a problem which Mead emphasized as the principle distinction between human and animal behavior.

4. Act.

For Mead, the unit of study is 'the act,' which comprises both overt and covert aspects of human action. ... Attention, perception, imagination, reasoning, emotion, and so forth, are seen as parts of the act -- rather than as more or less extrinsic influences upon it. Human behavior presents itself in the form of acts, rather than of concatenations of minute responses (Meltzer, 1967, p. 17).

The theoretical developments espoused by Mead arrived at a propitious time according to Strauss (1964). His ideas were seized upon by sociologists to counter a gaining popularity of biological determinism and Freudian explanations of behavior.

Symbolic Interaction Theory Today

Although there is still a basic difference of opinion among sociologists as to the relative importance and influence of the individual and society in human society, the symbolic interactionists continue to stress the primacy of society in shaping the personality of the individual (Manis and Meltzer, 1967, p. 2). A better understanding of the term symbolic

interaction was supplied by Blumer (1962):

The term 'symbolic interaction' refers, of course, to the peculiar and distinctive character of interactions as it takes place between human beings. The peculiarity consists of the fact that human beings interpret or 'define' each other's actions instead of merely reacting to each other's actions. Their 'response' is not made directly to the actions of one another but instead is based on the meaning which they attach to such actions. Thus, human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols, by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions. This mediation is equivalent to inserting a process of interpretation between stimulus and response in the case of human behavior (p. 180).

The primary ingredient of this theory, in addition to the society - more specifically, the group or subculture - then, is the individual. The importance of the individual arises from the nature of the self. Perhaps the interrelationship of self and society is more clearly understood if these two factors are considered to be "twin born." Young (1972) spoke of three ways of viewing the simultaneous genesis of self and society: " ... once in the emergence of self through socialization process within primary groups (and) again in the presentation of self in every day society" (p. 6). Thirdly, the self is comprised of a specific set of social identities.

A Formalized Theory of Symbolic Interaction

Kinch (1963) reduced symbolic interaction theory in

three basic postulates and the interaction of four variables.

The three postulates of the theory are:

1. The individual's self-concept is based on his perception of the way others are responding to him.
2. The individual's self-concept functions to direct his behavior.
3. The individual's perception of the responses of others toward him reflects the actual responses of others toward him (p. 482).

The four basic variables of Kinch's symbolic interaction theory are:

1. The individual's self-concept (S).
2. His perception of the responses of others toward him (P).
3. The actual responses of others toward him (A).
4. His behavior (B).

The interrelationship of the four variables can be stated as follows:

The actual responses of others to the individual will be important in determining how the individual will perceive himself; this perception will influence his self-conception which, in turn, will guide his behavior (p. 482).

Since, to a large degree, the original behavior of the individual influences other's responses to him, the relationship becomes cyclic in nature. A graphic representation of the theory is shown in Figure 1.

The formal symbolic interaction theory stated in verbal

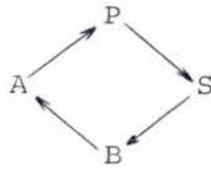


Figure 1. Symbolic Representation of the Symbolic Interaction Theory (Kinch, 1963, p. 483).

terms is somewhat more complex than Kinch's formula would indicate. The major concepts of the theory are based upon numerous assumptions which are outlined below. It is important to note that these assumptions, while necessary for theoretical conceptualization, have not necessarily been empirically demonstrated.

Assumptions of the Symbolic Interaction Theory

Stryker (1964) has identified four assumptions of symbolic interaction theory. The first and basic assumption is that man must be studied "... on his own level" (p. 134). This means that human behavior is unique to the human organism. Studies of non-human behavior will not suffice to explain human actions. Secondly, human behavior is best analyzed through the study of the society in which the individual is found. This is a logical assumption in view of the aforementioned interrelationship of human behavior and other individuals. "The third assumption is that the human being is actor as well as

reactor" (p. 135). This theory presupposes that humans do not merely react to stimuli in the physical environment, but that they interpret and "define" the environment in a uniquely individual manner. Stryker's final assumption is that "the infant is presumed to be neither social nor antisocial, but a-social" (p. 135). Thus, human personality development is not biologically determined but results from the impact and influences of society on the new-born child. This assumption will be discussed at length in a subsequent section.

Rose (1962b) includes several additional assumptions.

These are:

1. Man lives in a symbolic environment as well as a physical environment and can be "stimulated" to act by symbols as well as by physical stimuli (p. 5, emphasis in original).

2. Through symbols, man has the capacity to stimulate others in ways other than those in which he is himself stimulated (p. 7, emphasis in original).

3. Through communication of symbols, man can learn huge numbers of meanings and values -- and hence ways of acting from other men (p. 9, emphasis in original).

Major Concepts of Contemporary Symbolic Interaction Theory⁵

The key or starting point of symbolic interaction

theory is the act or a finite bit of behavior which is initiated to cope with a problem or situation in the environment. Social acts differ from non-social acts only in that the former involves interaction with another individual. Through human interaction, gestures arise which are defined as symbols connoting future behavior and which, when mutually understood by the actors, become significant symbols.

The importance of significant symbols is that they allow humans to categorize objects and other people. The category is especially significant because generalizations can be made about categories. A category is expected to possess certain characteristics, act, and, most importantly, react, in certain ways to common stimuli. Through categorization, the human being is effectively removed from a purely physical environment and enters a symbolic environment.

Categorical characterization of individuals results in people being placed in positions. The position, being in effect a category, carries with it generalized expectations of behavior. These expectations of behavior are termed roles. Personal roles are learned and used in interpersonal relationships. Although a given individual will experiment with many different roles, he will eventually assume certain roles as his own. When this occurs and under certain circumstances

when the individual reacts to himself in his chosen role, he is exhibiting the self. "It is useful ... to define the self in terms of categories one applies to himself, as a set of self-identifications" (Stryker, 1967, p. 377).

Another symbolic interaction concept includes role-taking, or "taking the role of the other." Quite simply, role taking "... refers to anticipating the responses of others implicated with one in some social act" (Stryker, 1967, p. 377). The individual "puts himself in the other man's shoes" so to speak. In this way, the individual is able to view the situation from opposing perspectives and thus can logically predict the behavior of others.

Significant others is a term used to denote those other people with whom the individual interacts most frequently and whose perspectives he values more than others. Stryker (1967) simply stated that the significant other occupies "... high rank on an 'importance continuum' for a given individual" (p. 377).

The Presentation of Self

As has been stated above, the role held and displayed by the individual places him into a category about which generalizations form, in effect, a type of "social shorthand"

which enables the actors to determine how they should behave and what, generally, can be expected of the others. Erving Goffman has analyzed the role playing aspects of social interaction in depth. The routine of social intercourse in established settings allows one to deal with anticipated others without special attention or thought.

When a stranger comes into our presence, then, first appearances are likely to enable us to anticipate his category and attributes, his 'social identity' -- to use a term that is better than 'social status' because personal attributes such as 'honesty' are involved as well as structural ones, like 'occupation' (Goffman, 1963, p. 2).

Goffman (1959) contended that the role of the individual is communicated to others in two radically different ways: "... the expression that he gives, and the expression that he gives off" (p. 2, emphasis in original). The former category involves the relatively straightforward use of verbal or other symbolic communications designed to convey and reinforce the role being exhibited. The latter category of information is more subtle in nature and may be designed to solicit respect, or to intentionally mislead the audience, or to mask the true self from the observers.

It is in the best interests of the individual to control his presentation, according to Goffman. This control is achieved by manipulating the other's definition of the

situation. By participating in the giving and giving off of expressions, the audiences perceiving these signals voluntarily adjust their definition of the situation. Thus, the actor is able to convey the desired message with appropriate shadings of meaning to effectively communicate with the others and to convey "... an impression to others which is in his interests to convey" (Goffman, 1959, p. 4).

It should be stressed that the process of presenting the self is a routine accomplishment in all interpersonal interactions. McCall and Simmons (1966) noted that role performances are "... filtered through one's character or self-conception and are modified to blend with it" (p. 67). While the self-conception may be embellished with "fantasized herioc accomplishments," it is not confined only to exotic imagery, but its function is also "... encountered in people's thoughts of themselves in connection with their own mundane positions" (p. 68).

Not only must the actor present himself; it is equally important that the members of the audience supply role-support. Role-support consists of audience reactions and their own performances. "Role-support is centrally the implied confirmation of the specific contents of one's idealized and idiosyncratic imaginations of self" (McCall and Simmons, 1966, p. 73, emphasis in the original).

Although a given individual has learned numerous roles, it is essential to note that not all roles are equally accepted by the individual, nor are all roles equally important. The salience of a given role-identity in a given situation depends on five factors:

... (1) its prominence; (2) its need of support; the person's need or desire for the kinds and amounts of (3) intrinsic and (4) extrinsic gratification ordinarily gained through its performance; and (5) the perceived degree of opportunity for its profitable enactment in the present circumstances (McCall and Simmons, 1966, pp. 84-85).

Developments in the Symbolic Interaction Theory

Much research and theoretical development has occurred since the time of Mead. These developments do not seriously alter the basic theory, but are more in the nature of refinements of certain sections of the theory.

One of the most significant refinements involves the nature of the self. Young (1972) emphasized that the self does not exist in a phenomenological way except when a definition of the situation becomes necessary. Then the individual must put "... himself into a situational harness, turn on his psychobiological capacities to perform the role for which he is equipped, and begin to be an actor ..." (p. 7, emphasis in original). Gordon (1963) concurred in the periodic inactivity

of the self. When verbalization about the self is not occurring, then it can be said to be unconscious. At any given time a large portion of the self concept may be unconscious.

Kuhn (1967a) has further analyzed the concept of the significant other, a concept which he prefers to term the "orientational" other. The orientational other has four defining attributes:

(1) the term refers to the other to whom the individual is most fully, broadly and basically committed, emotionally and psychologically; (2) it refers to the others who have provided him with his general vocabulary, including his most basic and crucial concepts and categories; (3) it refers to the others who have provided and continue to provide him with categories of self and other and with the meaningful roles to which such assignments refer; (4) it refers to the others in communication with whom his self-conception is basically sustained and/or changed (p. 181).

Perhaps the greatest tribute to symbolic interaction theory is found in the proliferation of theories and sub-theories which have been derived from it. Kuhn (1967b) has identified seven distinct categories of subtheories, all based on symbolic interaction: role theory; reference group theory; social perception and person perception theory; the self theory; phenomenological theory; the interpersonal theory; and theories based on language and culture orientation.

Weaknesses of Symbolic Interaction Theory

It would be a disservice and an oversight to presume to discuss the symbolic interaction theory without indicating certain faults or flaws which have been noted. Rose (1962a) detected several such criticisms. He believed that symbolic interaction tends to neglect the biogenic and psychogenic influences on behavior. In some cases these factors are treated by researchers and theorists as non-existent. Also, he indicated that the unconscious processes which influence behavior are severely underemphasized because of the theoretical emphasis on minded behavior. His last criticism focussed on the general neglect of the power relationships which exist in society and which characterize many interpersonal relationships.

Manis and Meltzer (1967) leveled the following criticisms at symbolic interaction theory:

- (1) the indeterminism of many of its exponents,
- (2) the presumed inapplicability to broad social phenomena,
- (3) its neglect of the emotional dimension in human conduct,
- (4) its failure to come to grips with the unconscious, and
- (5) the limited researchability of some of its concepts (p. 495).

The Self Concept

In this portion of the chapter, three factors relevant to the self concept will be discussed: the development of the self concept, attacks against the self concept, and defense

or adjustment mechanisms used to maintain the self concept. As was stated above, self concept is a term "... that encompasses all of the attitudes, beliefs, and values about one-self in relation to the environment" (Petrofesa and Splete, 1975, p. 12). The environment consists of both the physical properties and objects perceived by the individual, and the rest of the people in society, especially the others with whom he interacts (a relatively small group) and most especially those who fulfill the requirements of significant others.

As was professed by Mead, the individual has attitudes (feelings, meanings, prejudices) toward other objects and toward himself -- the "me." Rosenberg (1968) noted that attitudes are not immutable but vary relative to content, direction, intensity, importance, salience, consistency, stability, and clarity. Nor, is an individual's self-concept an immutable and everpresent entity. According to Horrocks and Jackson (1972), the self consists of all of the "... permutations and integrations of a person's experiences and potentials" (p. 191). Because of the multitude of these concepts an individual is unable to perceive and evaluate the entirety of self at any given point in time. To assume the ability of man to accomplish such a simultaneous integration of all that he is "... is more than

an anomaly: it is an impossibility" (p. 191).

The Components of Self Concept

There appears to be little general agreement among scholars as to the exact composition of self concept. Various components are included or deleted depending upon the author's operational definition and the purposes motivating his research. In a general manner, the self can be said to consist of the real self, the self as seen by the self, the self as seen by others, and the ideal self.

The real self, according to Petrofesa and Splete (1975) is "... who the individual truly is" (p. 12). They, however, caution that the discovery of the real self is exceedingly difficult because any self definition is necessarily tainted and distorted by personal biases and interpretations of reality.

The self as seen by introspection is basically the crux of self concept. It is this aspect of self which is developed through social interaction.

If one has been loved, the self will be lovable, if a boy has been taught he is worthless, he will see himself as worthless. This becomes an important development since the self concept is self-perpetuating (Petrofesa and Splete, 1975, p. 12).

The self as seen by others is an individual's

evaluation of himself as developed through interpretation of others' performances in response to him. The person tries to live up to the social expectations of his role-identity but "inner conflict results when a discrepancy exists between the self as seen by self and the self as seen by others" (Petrofesa and Splete, 1975, p. 13).

The ideal self is what one would like to be. The ideal self is largely a product of cultural or social definitions but is tempered by the personal aspirations and potential of the individual as was explained by James (1902).

The ideas which characterize the culture include generally agreed upon standards of behavior which ... are organized into role prescriptions. An individual's conceptualization of these role prescriptions as they have been interpreted to him by the significant figures in his environment, and particularly through his identifications with such figures, is referred to as his ideal self or ego self (Gordon, 1963, p. 374).

Hawkins and Tiedman (1975) limit the components of identity to only two facets. The self-image consists of how the individual defines himself: he is either conventional or deviant. The second component, self-esteem, is the individual's feeling or evaluation of the self-image.

Fitts and Hamner (1969) consider five facets of the self concept which are empirically measurable using the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS). Components include the

physical self, the moral-ethical self, the personal self (which includes self-worth and psychological traits and characteristics), the family self (which includes the primary social group, family and also close friends), and the social self (this is the relationship of self to secondary social groups) (p. 3).

Kohn (1969) identified a greatly expanded set of concepts of self and social attitudes. He cautioned that these factors, while analytically separable, are not necessarily empirically independent. These factors were:

... authoritarianism; obiesance to authority; trustfulness; four distinct components of alienation -- power, conceptions of morality, idea-conformity, and purposefulness; dogmatism; receptiveness to responsibility; happiness/depression; and compulsiveness (p. 365).

The Development of Self

Cooley (1929) speculated that the self concept of an individual is absent at birth but develops rapidly through social interaction, primarily within the immediate family, soon after birth. Bain (1936) was one of the first to scientifically test this theoretical construct. He concluded that Cooley's observations were essentially correct, and affirmed the position that self is absent at birth; perception at birth is limited to purely biological functioning. The self is

wholly social in origin and arises as an integration of responses to objects and other people. He noted that self " ... appears very early in a vague, undifferentiated way, develops rapidly and observably from five months on, and begins to be verbalized after about one year" (p. 775).

The process of child socialization and subsequent self development is predicated on several assumptions, according to Rose (1962a). The first assumption is that society, which is a network of interacting individuals with an existing culture, "... precedes any existing individual" (p.13).

Rose's second assumption was that the socialization process occurs in three stages. The first stage is primarily a period of trial and error conditioning which results in a "habituated" child who has learned responses to certain events. The second stage is marked by the formation of symbols which receive their meaning from the responses of socialized others to the gestures of the infant. The final stage occurs when the infant acquires numerous symbols or meanings and "... uses them to designate to others as well as himself what is in his mind" (p. 15-16).

The third assumption proposed by Rose (1962b) is that "the socialization is not only into the general culture but

also into various subcultures" (p. 16, emphasis in original).

The final assumption offered by Rose was as follows:

While 'old' groups, cultural expectations, and personal meanings and values may be dropped, in the sense that they become markedly lower on the reference relationship scale, they are not lost or forgotten (p. 16, emphasis in original).

Stryker (1967) provided an excellent summary of how the self develops.

The human organism as an object takes on meaning through the behavior of those who respond to that organism. We come to know what we are through others' responses to us. Others supply us with a name, and they provide the meaning attached to the symbol. They categorize us in particular ways On the basis of such categorizations, they expect particular behaviors from us; on the basis of these expectations, they act toward us. The manner in which they act toward us defines our "self" we come to categorize ourselves as they categorize us, and we act in ways appropriate to their expectations (p. 379).

Influences on the Development of Self Conception

In the most general terms, Kaplan (1975) has identified three categories of variables which impact most directly on the development of self-attitudes:

... the subject's history of self-perceptions and self-evaluations of his own attributes and behaviors; the subject's history of perceptions of being an object of particular attitudes expressed by others in his environment; and the subject's ability to respond to self-perceptions and self-evaluations and to the expressed attitudes of others in such

a way that the subject will maximize the experiences of positive self-feelings (p. 32).

Coopersmith (1967) analyzed the responses of subjects as to which factors promoted the development of self-valuation and feelings of worth. His conclusion was that parental warmth, clearly defined limits, and respectful treatment of children were largely responsible as positive influences. He also concluded that the most promising ways of altering self-esteem in a more favorable direction included successes, inculcation of ideas, encouragement of the individual's aspirations, and help in building defenses against onslaughts against self perception.

Fitts, Adams, Radford, Richard, Thomas, Thomas and Thompson (1971) concluded that the self concept is most strikingly affected by the following:

1. Experiences, especially interpersonal experiences, which generate positive feelings and a sense of value and worth.
2. Competence in areas that are valued by the individual and others.
3. Self-actualization, or the implementation and realization of one's true personal potentialities -- whatever they may be (p. 38, emphasis in original).

While the self concept is sensitive to evaluations and changes in evaluations by others, it is not constantly in the process of adjusting to these changes according to

Webster and Sobieszek (1974). In their opinion a semi-permanent structure arises. This structure, once formulated, is responsible in part for the perception and effect of subsequent influences. They concluded that one who possesses a high self-evaluation has received a large number of positive evaluations. Conversely, a low self-evaluation results from a large quantity of negative evaluations.

Factors Which Impact Negatively on Self Concept

A non-social determinant of poor self-evaluation which is frequently overlooked is that of physical brain damage and mental illness. Fitts (1972a) observed that both of these factors have a negative impact not only on individual self concept, but also on behavior. Admittedly, this source of negative influence falls outside of the theoretical constructs of symbolic interaction. Nevertheless, it is a variable which must be recognized and considered. Psychotics "... have very disturbed, deviant self concepts" (p. 43) and "neurotics, in general, tend to have low self-esteem..." (p. 60). Whereas both temporary and permanent brain damage can be "... quite devastating to self-image and self-esteem" (p. 22).

Gergen (1971) has identified three major sources of

self-alienation, to use his term. These factors which adversely impact on self concept include: behavior which is inconsistent with self conception; situations in which exhibited behavior violates self or identity aspirations; and situations in which behavior is "... unrelated to the person's most salient ways of viewing himself" (p. 88, emphasis in original).

Guilt, which Gordon (1963) defines as fear of punishment, causes negative impact on the self concept. However, this factor is less significant than might be expected because the individual tends to exclude self-punishment from his self concept. This defensive mechanism and others are discussed below.

Maintenance of Self Concept

The self concept is subject to frequent devaluing experiences as has been shown in the preceding section. To preclude or limit the devastation of self, individuals engage in various conscious and unconscious processes to thwart, or at least blunt, the attack.

McCall and Simmons (1966) list several categories of what they refer to as "legitimizing mechanisms" designed to sustain a favorable self concept. The first mechanism is not truly a mechanism, but rather is the observation that it is

not necessary to perfectly reconcile all discrepancies which arise between the ideal self and other categories of self. In the second place, individuals selectively perceive their actions and actions of others which most favorably support their self concept. The third process involves the selective interpretation of audience response to the individual's behavior; this is possible because most audience response is sufficiently equivocal and, further, social custom demands a certain amount of tact. The fourth mechanism is simply the voluntary withdrawal of the individual from the interaction. A fifth mechanism involves the use of alternate role-identities which will hopefully receive a more desirable response. In the sixth place, the individual may rationalize away any discrepancies, or, seven, resort to scapegoating. The eighth mechanism, primarily used to negate gross discrepancy, is disavowal. And, ninth, the individual may reject or depreciate his audience. The authors noted that many of these mechanisms may be employed prior to a performance as well as after the fact.

Goffman (1959) acknowledged the individual-initiated practices employed to sustain a self concept which he termed "defensive practices." He also, very significantly, pointed out that the audience must support the presentation of others. This is accomplished through audience "protective practices"

or "tact." While the individual defensive practices are relatively obvious, "... we are less ready perhaps to see that few impressions could survive if those who received the impressions did not exert tact in their reception of it" (p. 14).

Sykes and Matza (1957) described what they termed "neutralization techniques." Again, the function of these techniques is to protect the individual's self concept. However, they expanded the protective function and proposed that these techniques are, in fact, antecedents of delinquency. "... There is reason to believe that they precede deviant behavior and make deviant behavior possible" (p. 66). The five neutralization techniques include denial of responsibility; denial of injury; denial of the victim; condemnation of the condemners; and the appeal to higher loyalties (pp. 667-669).

Defensive mechanisms were divided into two distinct categories by Kaplan (1975). The first category involves those mechanisms which result in a distortion of reality. The second group of mechanisms involves the changing of formerly held evaluations. The latter category includes (1) reevaluations of attitudes and behavior; (2) revising downward the value he places on those behaviors which are causing negative

impact on self-esteem; (3) increasing the value he places on those who evaluate him positively; and (4) negatively valuing those who are negatively evaluating him (pp. 42-43).

Regardless of the defensive mechanisms employed, Rosenberg (1968) has cautioned that there are limitations on the value of the various mechanisms. Basically, "... there are certain conditions of human experience which are structured and which are characterized by a narrow range of options" (p. 345). Further, "... men are largely bound by social role definitions and social group norms" (p. 345). And many self values are "... acquired long before the opportunity to test them adequately is at hand, and cannot easily be discarded later" (p. 345). In Rosenberg's opinion, the most significant limitation on personal selectivity is "... that at the time of life especially important for self-esteem formation -- from about the age of four on -- the range of interpersonal and situational options is most severely restricted" (p. 345).

The Self Concept and Behavior

"A rose by any other name may smell as sweet, but a person by another name will act according to that other name" (Foote, 1951, p. 17). This brief quotation aptly captures the essence of the symbolic interaction theory and how it

views human behavior. This section deals with the relationship between individual behavior and individual self concept. In formal terms the basic hypothesis concerning behavior is "... that the more optimal the self concept the more optimal the behavior will be" (Fitts, 1972b, p. 23, emphasis in original).

Self Concept as a Determiner of Action

Gordon (1963) provided a concise summary of how behavior arises in the context of the symbolic interaction theory.

... When a stimulus situation is presented to a person, some aspects of the event serve as cues which elicit from the behavioral potential certain responses, among the first of which are those which label or symbolize the event. At this stage of the perceptual process, selectivity in terms of the responses which are available to the person operates to bias the perception, making it less than completely perfect. Those stimuli are ignored which do not serve as cues, because they are irrelevant to the perceiver's hierarchy of available responses (p. 379).

As was stated by Hamachek (1971), this theory "... strongly suggests that a person will 'act like' the sort of individual he conceives himself to be" (p. 67). New experiences and situations encountered are interpreted in light of the perceived self concept and evaluated for compatibility with that self concept. Selectivity of perception and response

function to avoid incongruity and thus reduce conflict for the self.

Both Foote (1951) and Schrag (1961) have stressed the requirements for the individual to evaluate himself accurately and confidently if effective interpersonal relations are to be achieved. Schrag stated that the accuracy of a person's self-evaluation "... is believed largely to determine the efficacy with which he can function in his interpersonal relations" (p. 327). Foote noted that when doubt of identity or less than complete commitment to that identity "... creeps in, action is paralyzed" (p. 350). Doubtful identity limits or totally removes the meanings associated with behavior.

The self concept is viewed as "supramoderator of ... functioning" (Fitts, et al, 1971, p. 2). Fitts and his colleagues have expressed the opinion, which is also one of the basic assumptions of symbolic interaction theory, that if one were able to perceive a situation from the viewpoint or perspective of the actor, then it would be possible to understand his behavior in a meaningful way. They noted that a "... person's environment is constantly shifting and changing but the self concept is relatively stable" (p. 3). It is this stable self concept which provides a frame of reference "... through which the individual interacts with his world" (p. 3).

McCall and Simmons (1966) have emphasized that a given individual may employ several role-identities in interpersonal relations. Naturally, there may well arise conflicts in performances demanded by two or more identities. When such a conflict arises, the dilemma is resolved by resorting to the performance or behavior prescribed by the more prominent identity in the individual's personal hierarchy. "In this way, the ideal self, or hierarchy of prominence, aids one in choosing among diverse prospects of action" (p. 83). Thus, not only the self concept but also the ideal self are tapped in the individual's quest to determine appropriate courses of action in a given situation.

Becker (1953), in an interesting analysis of marijuana users, noted that behaviors derive their meaning from the others in society and more specifically, from those comprising primary and secondary reference groups. It is others who provide the actor with the necessary "conceptual organization" to appreciate and apply meaning to a given behavior. He concluded that those who are denied the social meaning of the behavior "... are unable to engage in the given behavior and turn off in the direction of some other relationship to the object or activity" (p. 242).

It is essential to realize that behavior is a reaction

to a specific and individually perceived situation. Blumer (1962) has postulated that all behavior is "... formed in the light of the situation in which it takes place" (p. 187). And a second requisite is that the situation must be defined by the individual actor or actors. He concluded that "group life consists of acting units developing acts to meet situations in which they are placed" (p. 187).

The Self-Esteem Motive

A prevalent theme throughout the symbolic interaction theory is that people have an inherent desire to think well of themselves. This reduces to the hypothesis that individual behavior is designed to enhance self-esteem. Horrocks and Jackson (1972) have provided a definition of self-esteem in the form of a question: "Once a person acquires a system of values and builds an integrated set of reality tested self-concepts, what value does he place upon the self he conceptualizes?" (p. 123). Kaplan (1975) proposed a theory of behavior which is based upon what he terms the self-esteem motive. He envisions this motive to be a universal attribute within our society.

The self-esteem motive is defined as the need of the person to maximize the experience of positive self-attitudes or self-feelings and to minimize the experience of negative self-attitudes or self-feelings (Kaplan, 1975, p. 10).

Kaplan (1975) has attributed the development of the self-esteem motive to a sequential growth pattern beginning soon after birth. In his opinion, the motive arises first of all from the infant's basic and total dependency upon adults for the satisfaction of his biological needs, for example, his hunger.

From the base of biological dependency the person is said to pass through the stages of learning to need other people, to need the expression of positive attitudes toward oneself from others, and finally, to need the expression of positive self-attitudes (p. 11).

Kaplan (1975) proposed four categories of evidence to support the self-esteem motive which he based on empirical observations by himself and others:

... the tendency of people to describe themselves in positive terms and to avoid negative self-descriptions; the tendency of people with low self-esteem and people in self-threatening circumstances to respond with behavior serving self-defensive or self-enhancing functions; the tendency for people with low self-esteem to manifest subjective distress; and the tendency for subjects with positive self-attitudes to maintain this quality of their self-attitudes while people with negative self-attitudes tend to change their attitudes toward themselves in a more positive direction (p. 27).

The self-esteem motive has far from universal support among social scientists. Webster and Sobieszek (1974) have termed the self-esteem motive the "Maximization Myth." Their analysis of empirical data caused them to reach the conclusion

that "... there exists no convincing empirical support for the intuitively appealing idea that individuals attempt to maximize their levels of self evaluations" (p. 153).

The Self Concept and Deviancy

This portion of the review of the literature is concerned with deviancy and how it affects the self concept and how the self concept is affected by an individual being designated as a deviant. Topics of interest include the nature of deviancy, how society reacts to the deviant and how the individual is affected by this reaction.

The Nature of Deviance

Becker (1963) defined deviance as "... the infraction of some agreed-upon rule..." (p. 8). However, he cautioned the avoidance of considering all deviants as a homogeneous group simply because they have all broken rules. Such an assessment is in error for the fundamental reason that deviance "... is created by society" (p. 8). By defining the rules, society lays the foundation for both conformity and the failure to conform, or deviance. Since behavior is socially mandated relative to the identity of the actor or his social role, "... one can say, then, that identity norms breed deviations

as well as conformance" (Goffman, 1963, p. 129).

Glaser (1971) has distinguished between two categories of deviance in regard to legal distinctions.

While deviance includes all acts for which people are classified as violating normative standards in a social system, crime refers only to those acts for which a court may lawfully impose punishment. Discrepancies exist between these two classifications of behavior and these discrepancies vary from time to time and from one legal jurisdiction to another (p. 4).

Glaser (1971) continued his discussion with the observation that deviance is "... a matter of predominant public consensus, and this changes only gradually ..." (p. 4). Judicial or legislative formalization of these consenses into law lags temporally and is only somewhat directly correlated with the public trends. He also identified seven categories of behavior relative to social and legal definitions of deviance. These include predation, deviant consumption, deviant selling, deviant performance, deviant belief, suicide, and deviant attributes (p. 36). The temporal and spatial limitations on deviance caused him to remark that "deviants in a given community are by definition conformists in any other community where they have the power to enforce their standards on others" (p. 3).

This discussion of deviance would do little to

operationally define the concept of deviance and crime without the following stipulation by Becker (1963):

... deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender.' The deviant is one to whom the label has successfully been applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label (p. 9).

Societal Reaction to Deviance

Garfinkel (1956) theorized that society reacts to deviance through "moral indignation" toward the deviant. This moral indignation results in a communicative process of denunciation of the deviant which he called a "status degradation ceremony." The ceremony functions in such a way that "... the public identity of an actor is transformed into something looked on as lower in the local scheme of social types..." (p. 420). He further stipulated eight conditions which are necessary for the effective denunciation of the offender. The basic paradigm of moral indignation is not peculiar to our society, but it is "... axiomatic that there is no society whose social structure does not provide ... conditions of identity degradation" (p. 420). Garfinkel concluded that the basic purpose of the degradation ceremony was not only to redefine the deviant through the literal destruction of his former identity and the construction of another one, but that such an activity

"... may reinforce group solidarity" (p. 421). The net result of the degradation ceremony as summarized by Garfinkel is that

... he is not changed, he is reconstituted. The former identity, at best, receives the accent of mere appearance. In the social calculus of reality representations and test, the former identity stands as accidental; the new identity is the 'basic reality.' What he is now is what, 'after all,' he was all along (pp. 421-422).

In relation to our own culture, Garfinkel (1956) concluded that "... the court and its officers have something like a fair monopoly over such (degradation) ceremonies, and there they have become an occupational routine" (p. 424). Glaser (1971) concurred in this function of the courts and added that they are "... deliberately designed to define a person as deviant in his own mind and in the minds of others" (p. 42). Matza (1969) noted that the ceremonial process reduced the deviant's ability to define the situation and

... for a brief moment at least, the apprehended subject may join society in confirming the unity of meaning regarding the gravity of his behavior. What he did is in all likelihood quite important; why else the production (p. 164).

Thus, the end result of official societal reaction to deviant behavior, and more specifically to crime, is the re-identification or labeling of the individual as a deviant. As Becker (1963) noted, labeling carries a number of connotations

specifying auxiliary traits characteristic of anyone so labeled. "Thus, apprehension for one deviant act exposes a person to the likelihood that he will be regarded as deviant or undesirable in other respects" (p. 33).

Individual Reaction to Societal Response

Glaser (1971) identified four possible responses of the individual to societal labeling as a deviant. He noted that the most common method of adjustment is to "... try to change one's behavior so as to avoid or lose a deviant reputation" (p. 43). In essence, the deviant is deterred from further behavior which would involve invoking adverse societal reaction. This method is most prevalent among non-professional criminals.

A second reaction to the deviant label is enhancement of deviance. Glaser (1971) proposed that this mechanism is "... characteristic of those who have a stake in nonconformity, or who acquire such a stake as a consequence of labeling" (p. 44, emphasis in original). He cited as examples "champions of deviant or political faiths" who desire and seek the publicity associated with public sanctions against deviants. Goffman (1963) also observed the propensity of some stigmatized individuals to use their "stigma" "... for 'secondary gains,' as

an excuse for ill success that has come his way for other reasons" (p. 10).

The third mode of reaction identified by Glaser (1971) is what he called "equivocation and counterlabeling." The mechanisms of such a reaction were posited by Sykes and Matza (1957), among others, and were discussed earlier in this chapter.

A fourth reaction to the deviant labeling, according to Glaser, is continued or secondary deviance. Becker (1963) explained how continued deviance could eventually lead to the labeled individual acquiring a deviant "master status" and membership in an "organized deviant group" or deviant subculture. This mobilization serves the purposes of solidifying the deviant identity, furthering rationalization in support of the deviancy, establishment of a "self-justifying ideology," and further education in and facilitation of his deviant behavior (pp. 38-39).

Cohen (1955) had earlier noted that deviant groups result from "... effective interaction with one another, of a number of actors with similar problems of adjustment" (p. 59). One of the primary advantages of the formation of such a group was the initiation of new criteria for judging behavior and the establishment of new norms which rewarded the kinds of

behavior the deviants were capable of. Thus, the group served to provide a means of elevating flagging self concepts.

According to Schur (1971) labeling produced statuses which evolve in a process of "role engulfment" in which the master status achieves increased salience and eventually primacy of the self concept. He further noted that "... deviant roles generally seem to have a kind of built-in primacy, or master status, relative at least to certain other kinds of roles" (p. 70). Thus, labeling as a deviant frequently results in a deviant identity or self concept.

Lemert (1951) provided a detailed analysis of the process whereby an individual who commits some deviant act may eventually resort to secondary deviance.

The sequence of interaction leading to secondary deviation is roughly as follows: (1) primary deviation; (2) social penalties; (3) further primary deviation; (4) stronger penalties and rejections; (5) further deviation, perhaps with hostilities and resentment beginning to focus upon those doing the penalizing; (6) crisis reached in the tolerance quotient, expressed in formal action by the community stigmatizing of the deviant; (7) strengthening of the deviant conduct as a reaction to the stigmatizing and penalties; (8) ultimate acceptance of deviant social status and efforts at adjustment on the basis of associated role (p. 77).

Self Concept and Delinquency

Current research involving the relationships of self concept and delinquency is based upon two hypothetical propositions. Kaplan (1975) summarized these as follows:

The proposition states that group members who ... develop relatively stable negative self-attitudes are predisposed to adopt deviant patterns of behavior.

The second proposition asserts that the adoption of deviant response patterns by previously conforming persons will result in a decrease of self-rejecting, and an increase in self-accepting attitudes (pp. 51-52).

Kaplan (1975) further summarized that deviant response patterns facilitate the elevation of self-esteem by one or a combination of three categories of consequences. The first category consists of avoidance of the threatening situations. A second category involves symbolic or literal attacks on the normative group structure. The third category of actions is comprised of substitutions of group memberships or normative behavior patterns which allow self-enhancement to occur.

Fitts and Hamner (1969), following extensive research, concluded that:

... it is clear that the delinquent populations do differ markedly from non-delinquents in their self concepts. These self concepts are more negative, more uncertain, more variable, and more

conflicted. They are also less defensive, show strong acquiescent tendencies, imply much pathology and little personality integration. Delinquents are down on society and often in conflict with society, but it seems safe to conclude that they have the same difficulties with themselves (p. 20).

Hall's (1966) research led him to propose that self evaluations varied according to the amount of identification or orientation the individual had with a delinquent subculture or group. He established four combinations of these two variables which purports to explain his observation that "delinquents with strong degrees of identification tend to have high levels of self-evaluation and delinquents with weaker degrees of identification tend to have lower levels of self-evaluation" (p. 146). His categories were divided as shown in Figure 2.

Type I	High delinquency orientation - High Evaluation
II	High delinquency orientation - Low Evaluation
III	Low delinquency orientation - Low Evaluation
IV	Low delinquency orientation - High Evaluation

Figure 2. Delinquency Orientation by Self-Evaluation
(Hall, 1966, p. 156).

Hall's empirical data caused him to concede that both delinquents and non-delinquents can have high or low self-evaluations. This is possible because one's evaluations are directly related to the standards used to evaluate one's

behavior. "The difference, of course, is that non-delinquents judge themselves by conventional standards and delinquents by delinquent standards" (1966, p. 148).

Fitts (1972c) also observed this variation in self concept among delinquents. He agreed that "... the self concept is a significant discriminator of personality adjustment even within a deviant population" (p. 15). Further, he concluded that "... the data indicates that Ss at both ends of the self concept continuum are more likely to show deviant behavior..." (p. 37). He based his statement on his belief that the extreme positions exhibit more conformity to group pressures. Perhaps Jensen (1972) sums up this observed disparity with this concise conclusion of his research: "A delinquent self concept is not necessarily a negative concept" (p. 99).

Criminological Theories

The symbolic interaction theory is a basic theoretical construct out of which have evolved several theories of deviant or criminal behavior. As has been noted, symbolic interaction posits a general theory of behavior; its constructs are not limited to conforming nor deviant behavior, but encompass the entire range of non-pathological behavior.

Several scholars, notably Sutherland, Glaser, Sykes and Matza, Becker, and Reckless have sought to develop theories based upon symbolic interaction, which purported to account for deviant and more specifically, criminal behavior.

Sutherland's Differential Association Theory

Edwin Sutherland proposed a theory of deviant or criminal behavior which is basically a learning theory. His thesis was that the "... immediate determinants of criminal behavior lie in the person-situation complex" (Sutherland and Cressey, 1974, p. 74). He believed that the situation was the source of opportunity for a criminal act. The individual then defined this opportunity-laden situation based upon his earlier life experiences in "... terms of the inclinations and abilities which he has acquired" (Sutherland and Cressey, 1974, p. 75). Thus, a criminal act was a likely behavior pattern when a person so oriented by his past experiences perceived the situation as one in which a criminal act was appropriate. The crux of this theory, which contains a total of nine propositions, is that individuals learn criminal behavior in a communication process within intimate groups.

Glaser's Differential Identification Theory

Glaser (1956) took issue with some of the propositions expounded by Sutherland. He proposed instead that

... a person pursues criminal behavior to the extent that he identifies himself with real or imaginary persons from whose perspective his criminal behavior seem acceptable (p. 440, emphasis in original).

He continued his theory by explaining that the criminal act was essentially a voluntary decision on the part of the individual rather than a deterministic one as it appears to be according to Sutherland. In Glaser's opinion, the selection of others with whom one associates is based both on prior identifications and the present circumstances. He concluded that "prior identifications which have been pleasing tend to persist, but at any time the immediate circumstances affect the relative ease (or salience) of alternative identifications" (p. 441).

Sykes and Matza's Neutralization Theory

The basic tenet of the theory proposed by Sykes and Matza (1957) is that the rationalizing techniques employed by deviants to sustain a favorable self concept are, in fact, the mechanisms which "... precede deviant behavior and make deviant behavior possible" (p. 666). These mechanisms which prevent self blame and cause a shifting of blame to others

are denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of the victim, condemnation of condemners, and appeal to higher loyalties (pp. 667-669).

Labeling Theory

The labeling theory made popular by Becker (1963) and expanded by Schur (1971), Lemert (1951) and others was discussed in the preceding section of this chapter, "The Self Concept and Deviancy," and will not be reiterated here.

Reckless' Insulation Against Delinquency

The major proposition of Reckless (1967) is that a strong or high self concept functions as an insulator against performing delinquent acts, especially for adolescents. A summary of his theory is as follows:

... a good self concept, undoubtedly a product of favorable socialization, veers slum boys away from delinquency, while a poor self concept, a product of unfavorable socialization, gives the slum boy no resistance to deviancy, delinquent companions, or delinquent subculture. We feel that components of the self strength, such as a favorable concept of self, act as an inner buffer or inner containment against deviancy, distraction, lure and pressures (p. 445).

Reckless, Dinitz and Murray (1956) supported his hypothesis with extensive empirical analyses of school children. They concluded that their pilot study "... points to the presence of a socially acceptable concept of self as the

insulator against delinquency ..." (p. 746). However, they were unable to satisfactorily explain the development of such favorable self concepts in high delinquency areas. Subsequent studies by Dinitz, Scarpetti and Reckless (1962) and Scarpetti (1965) lend empirical credence to this theory.

The Correlates of Self Concept

This portion of the chapter is devoted to a survey of the research literature which illuminates the relationship of self concept and selected variables. Specific variables include the developmental correlates of the self concept among children, the relationship of self concept to performance, age, socioeconomic status, and race. Also, the nature of the delinquent self concept and the relationship of self concept and the seriousness of the offense committed were examined. These variables, among the literally hundreds of variables found in the literature, were selected because these were deemed to be most germane to this research project.

It should be noted that the vast majority of the studies cited were conducted using school children, adolescents, and juvenile delinquents in official custody as subjects, rather than adults. Most adult studies were concerned with effectiveness of various treatment programs in the

correctional milieu and, therefore, had little relevance to this study.

Also, as was noted by Hawkins and Tiedeman (1975), "... deviance related research on self-concept has generally assumed those with self-images as deviant would have corresponding negative feelings of self-esteem" (p. 243, emphasis in original). While this approach is acceptable for the promulgation of research hypotheses, some results noted below seriously question the veracity of this assumption.

Developmental Correlates of Self Concept

Morris Rosenberg (1965) independently researched numerous variables related to or having an impact on the development of self concept and self-esteem. His methodology consisted of multivariate analysis of instrument scores administered to large numbers of school children, and interviews with parents and teachers. One of his major conclusions was that parental interest in their children (or lack thereof) was in direct relationship to the development of high self-esteem among the children (p. 52). He also found that "... children of divorced or separated parents had lower self-esteem than those whose families were intact" (p. 85). Divorce, he found, "... may more conspicuously influence level

of anxiety than level of self-esteem" (p. 86).

A second set of observations by Rosenberg (1965) concerned the family structure itself. He found little difference in self-esteem of children relative to birth order. The discriminating factor was, rather, whether or not the child had siblings. Only children, especially males, tended to have higher self-esteem than others (p. 107). Further, male children "... whose siblings are mostly sisters tend to have higher self-esteem than those who are mostly surrounded by brothers" (p. 113).

Rosenberg's (1965) research failed to note any differences in children's self-esteem relative to the father's occupation, with one interesting exception: children whose fathers were engaged in "violent" occupations, such as policemen or soldiers, had a tendency to exhibit lower self-esteem (p. 48).

Another interesting observation made by Rosenberg (1965) was the effect of parental response to their children's report cards. Both punitive and positively reinforcing reactions by parents, especially mothers, had little negative effect on self-esteem. He found that "... it is not the punitive responses which are most closely related to low self-esteem, but the indifferent ones" (p. 138).

Rosenberg's (1965) conclusion about family influences on self-esteem was that parental interest was responsible for favorable self-esteem development. "The feeling that one is important to a significant other is probably essential in the development of a feeling of self worth" (p. 146).

Performance

Wylie (1961) made several observations about the relationship of self concept and how the individual functions in interpersonal relations. Her conclusions are not the product of her own research, but resulted from an analysis of existing literature. Two findings of particular interest involve leadership roles and persuasibility.

... The findings support the proposition that emergent leaders of discussion groups (as contrasted to nonleaders) have more self confidence and less negative self concepts (p. 142).

Considering all the studies reviewed in this section it is obvious that the obtained statistical trends tend to support the idea that self-esteem measures and persuasibility measures may be inversely related (p. 159).

Fitts (1972b), following extensive research by himself and his colleagues using the Tennessee Self Concept Scale, reached several conclusions involving the relationship of self concept and various performance indicators. He observed that students who have made clear vocational choices

for their future careers have higher self-esteem than those who are undecided about their future (p. 63). He also observed that in vocational training programs "... individuals with negative and deviant self concepts are more likely to drop out of training prior to its completion, and to make frequent changes in employment" (p. 73). Further, in a study involving mental patients, he observed that "... the patients with poor work histories had poor self concepts, poor performance in the work program (and) poor employment records after release" (p. 69). He concluded the vocational portion of his research with the finding that self concept "... is a partial indicator of the caliber of ... job performance and ... appears to be affected by the nature and quality of his work" (p. 74).

The relationship between self concept and academic performance is somewhat equivocal. Rosenberg (1965) concluded that a successful school record is definitely related to high self esteem (p. 62). Frease (1972) also observed that a self concept as a capable student was strongly and positively related to good academic performance. Fitts (1972b), however, concluded that there is only a slight relationship between these two variables. He did agree that an "optimal" self concept tends to prompt efficient use of "intellectual resources." "Otherwise, his self concept will probably be more closely

related to the noncognitive aspects of his behavior within the academic setting" (p. 43).

Age

Thompson (1972) observed that "... self-esteem increases with age" (p. 18). He believed that this result evolved from a tendency of older subjects to be defensive and to be "disinclined to make negative statements about themselves ..." (p. 18). The noted tendency of high school students to show a lack of defensiveness (p. 18) would support his position:

... Young people are more uncertain about their self concepts, this uncertainty reaching a peak during the high school years. Through the college and adult years the self image becomes clearer and more definite and in the elderly it is quite pronounced, sharply differential and perhaps rigidified (p. 21).

McCall and Simmons (1966) also commented on the evolution of individual self concepts as a function of increasing age. They attribute the observed adult stabilization to external pressures from various audiences which tend "... (1) to conventionalize and (2) to make more realistic, less lofty, the person's role-identities" (p. 217).

Fitts (1972c) concluded that the "demographic variable that has the greatest effect on self concept" (p. 13) is age. He cautions, however, that this observation is

relatively meaningless when dealing with juvenile delinquents because of the narrow age range encountered among subjects. He believed that among delinquent populations "... demographic variables do not account for self concept differences" (p. 13).

Socioeconomic Status

Thompson (1972) reached the broad conclusion that the self concept is directly related to socioeconomic status; people occupying the lower classes generally have a lower self concept. Rosenberg (1965) also made a similar observation: "Upper-class children do tend to have somewhat higher self-esteem ..." (p. 48). He believed that this observation was not solely the result of deference accorded the upper-class by the remainder of society, but, more specifically, it emerged from the familial structure of the upper-class family which was more supportive of high self concepts than that found among the lower-class.

Ethnic Origin

The relationship of ethnic origin and specifically race to self concept is at best unclear and equivocal. As was noted by Thompson (1972), many research efforts to discover this relationship have been "... confounded by numerous

variables such as age, socioeconomic status and educational level" (p. 24). Indeed, Fitts (1972c) concluded that "the results showed no self concept differences between blacks and whites ..." (p. 3). Perhaps the intuitive logic that discrimination should adversely impact on self concept has been the cause of so many studies designed to establish that racial minorities have lower-than-average self concepts. The empirical data simply do not support this generalization.

Culbertson (1973) for example found that "... non-white delinquents had slightly higher self concept scores than white delinquents" (p. 100). Wax (1974) found that black boys who get into trouble generally consider such an experience as a positive concept as opposed to white boys in a similar circumstance. Silverman and Dinitz (1974) reported that black delinquents, as a group, defined themselves as more "manly" and "tough" than did their white counterparts. Jensen (1972) found that delinquency made "... virtually no difference for feelings of personal worth among lower class blacks" (p. 100).

There are several possible explanations which pro-
port to explain why minority group self concepts are not lower,
as a group, than majority members and why delinquent evalua-
tions have little or no adverse affects on minority members.

Webster and Sobieszek (1974) attributed the seeming inconsistency between intuitive logic and observed results to the relativity of the measurable self concept and the particular situation under investigation.

Blacks may well have low expectations for their performance at certain tasks such as school work, and they may have low self-expectations by comparison with white school children; but until the task and referent others are specified, the claim has neither meaning nor empirical support. There is a good deal of evidence that black children change their 'self-image' considerably depending on which others they think they are being compared with, and there is a small amount of evidence that they have quite positive self-expectations for certain kinds of tasks (p. 163).

Hawkins and Tiedeman (1975) proposed that black delinquents more easily weather the assault of official sanctions upon their self-images because they "... do not internalize middle-class values, hence the label has no meaning..." (p. 245). Because of this difference in values, "... getting into trouble with the law may enhance self-esteem for those of lower status..." (p. 245, emphasis in original). They concluded that delinquency and negative official contact most adversely affects the self-esteem of those "... with the highest status and stakes in conformity" (p. 246).

Horrocks and Jackson (1972) also supported a view of basic subcultural differences among minority groups.

The answer is that a minority group member does receive the reinforcement of approval from his own subculture and from his reference groups; it is also probable that his experiences in the general culture may not be universally adverse. A minority group member may construct many reasons to reject the validity of the view attributed to him by the general culture. In any event, there is no reason to assume the inevitability of low self-esteem in all or in most members of discriminated against minority groups (p. 125).

Rosenberg (1965) linked the effects of discrimination against minority groups (religious and racial) to the composition of the neighborhood in which the individual was reared and lives. Minority members in homogeneous minority group neighborhoods receive little effect of majority group discrimination. He further observed that those subjected to the most discrimination are least affected by it; conversely, those least frequently discriminated against are those most affected by it. "Many of the most serious victims of prejudice, then, are those in the majority group" (p. 72).

The Self Concept and the Seriousness of the Offense

There is a general tendency to hypothesize that there is a direct correlation between low self-esteem and deviance.⁶ This is further expanded, by assumption, that the more serious the offense, the correspondingly greater the negative impact that is to be expected upon self-esteem. Another popular way

of stating this relationship is that the lower the self concept of the offender, the more serious the criminality which he is expected to exhibit. An empirical study by Culbertson (1973) involving juvenile offenders in a correctional institution produced data which caused the author to conclude that "... the self concept scores for the boys committed for serious offenses and for less serious offenses were nearly the same" (p. 103).

Fishman (1976) reached a similar conclusion. He observed that those boys committed for the most serious offenses did not develop negative self perceptions; they appeared to be unaffected by the criminal label. The author also found that those with delinquent self concepts did not have a higher offense rate than those without the delinquent self concept.

CHAPTER III

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The purpose of this research project was to examine the measured self-esteem of three categories of military offenders: military status offenders; military criminal offenders; and, military combination offenders, to determine differences in self-esteem among those groups relative to race and type of offenses committed. The data collection effort pertaining to convicted military offenders sentenced to the United States Army Retraining Brigade was approved by the commanding officer of that organization and received the cooperation and support of the organization staff.

This chapter contains information pertaining to the population relevant to the study, the sample selected for study, an operational description of variables examined, the test instrument, procedures employed, and the method of data analysis.

Population

The population of interest in this study was male United States Army personnel convicted by courts-martial and sentenced to confinement at the United States Army Retraining

Brigade, Fort Riley, Kansas. As was previously noted in Chapter I, all offenders sentenced to the USARB had been convicted of one or more violations of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, had been sentenced to a period of confinement of six months or less, and had not been sentenced to receive a punitive discharge.

Population parameters for the USARB trainees for fiscal year 1976 (July 1, 1975 - June 30, 1976) and fiscal year 7T (July 1, 1976 - September 30, 1976) are presented in Table 1. Fiscal year 1976 was the most recent twelve month period for which complete data was available. Fiscal year 7T is a three month transitional period which was necessitated by a change in fiscal year starting dates, the new date being October 1.

Sample

An incidental sampling technique was employed in establishing the military offender sample. This technique was necessitated by two factors: the desire to administer the test questionnaire prior to the commencement of correctional training and the temporal constraints faced by the author.

The incidental sample of military offenders consisted of all newly assigned trainees who inprocessed into the USARB

TABLE 1

USARB Population Statistics, Fiscal Year 1976 and 7T

A. <u>Overview</u>		<u>FY 1976</u>	<u>FY 7T</u>
Carry over	(FY 1975)	522	(FY 1976) 339
Assigned Gains		2601	484
Total Accountable		3123	823
B. <u>Losses</u>			
Reassigned to Military Units		1035 (37.2%)	211 (47.2%)
Discharges (All Categories) and Other Losses		1749 (62.8%)	236 (52.8%)
Total Losses		2784 (100%)	447 (100%)
C. <u>Average Age (Mean)</u>		<u>FY 1976 and 7T</u> 21.2 Years	
D. <u>Race/Ethnic Group</u>			
Black		1792 (45.4%)	
White		2095 (53.1%)	
Other		59 (1.5%)	
Total		3946 (100%)	

Source: Annual Report Fiscal Year 1976 and 7T (Ft. Riley, Kansas: United States Army Retraining Brigade, 1977), pp. 9-10.

during an approximate four week period from February 21, 1977 through March 17, 1977. The sample was composed of a total of 153 military offenders. Codable questionnaires were received from 131 offenders for a usable return rate of 85.6 percent of the total responses.

Rejected responses constituted 14.4 percent of the total sample. Responses were rejected for one or more of the following reasons: (1) race was not indicated; (2) offense was not indicated; (3) the offender was female; and (4) scored items were not marked or contained multiple responses. Rejected questionnaires were submitted by the following offenders: (1) two black military status offenders; (2) one black and four white military criminal offenders; (3) two black combination offenders; (4) seven black and three white offenders who failed to indicate offense; (5) one other ethnic group military status offender; (6) one unknown ethnic group offender; and (7) one female military status offender. No further information will be presented pertaining to unscored responses, nor will these figures be included in any tables.

The sample was further separated according to race or ethnic group affiliation and type of offense(s) committed. Offenses were categorized according to the listing presented in Appendix A. Table 2 depicts the quantity of each category

TABLE 2

Military Offender Sample Statistics

Sample Element	Number (Percentage of Sample)
<u>A. Responses</u>	
Week ending Feb. 24	36 (27.5)
Week ending Mar. 3	43 (32.8)
Week ending Mar. 10	21 (16.0)
Week ending Mar. 17	31 (23.7)
Total Responses	131 (100)
<u>B. Type of Offenders</u>	
1. <u>Military Status Offenders</u>	
Black	16 (12.2)
White	15 (11.5)
Other	8 (6.1)
Total	39 (29.8)
2. <u>Military Criminal Offenders</u>	
Black	36 (27.5)
White	37 (28.2)
Other	4 (3.1)
Total	77 (58.8)
3. <u>Military Combination Offenders</u>	
Black	9 (6.9)
White	4 (3.1)
Other	2 (1.5)
Total	15 (11.5)
<u>C. Race/Ethnic Group</u>	
Black	61 (46.6)
White	56 (42.7)
Other	14 (10.7)
Total	131 (100)

of offender and the percentage that category comprises of the total sample of 131 responses which were tabulated. Table 3 depicts the offense categories of the other-ethnic group component of the military offender sample.

TABLE 3

Composition of Other-Ethnic Group,
Military Offender Sample

Ethnic Group	Military Status Offenders	Military Criminal Offenders	Military Combination Offenders	Total
Spanish-American (Including Chicano)	4	4	1	9
American Indian	2	0	1	3
Arabic	1	0	0	1
Unspecified	1	0	0	1
Total	8	4	2	14

Variables

The independent variables of interest in this study were ethnic group affiliation and type of offense committed. The dependent variable for all groups was self-esteem.

Independent Variables

One independent variable for the military offender group consisted of ethnic group affiliation as reported by the subjects. Respondents were separated into three groups, black, white, and others. The others category was composed of all reported ethnic groups which were neither black nor white. The military offender other-ethnic group was composed of fourteen individuals of which nine were Spanish-American (including Chicano), three were American Indians, one was an Arab, and one was of an unspecified background.

The second independent variable was the type of offense for which the offender was convicted and sentenced to the USARB. Offenders were separated into groups according to the three artificial categories of offenses devised by this author. Military status offenders were those subjects whose offenses were unique to the military setting; for example, Article 86, absence without leave. Military criminal offenders were those subjects whose offenses were acts which

are generally considered criminal throughout our society; for example, conviction of Article 128, assault. The third category of military offenders, military combination offenders, were those who were convicted of a combination of a military status offense and a military criminal offense; for example, Article 86, absence without leave, and Article 128, assault. Reported offenses were coded according to the listing of offenses found in Appendix A. Also, see the definitions of offense categories in Chapter I.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable throughout this study was the self-esteem of the subjects as measured by the self-esteem instrument devised by Morris Rosenberg (1965). Self-esteem was divided into two categories, high and low self-esteem. According to Rosenberg (1965)

... high self-esteem, as reflected in our scale items, expresses the feeling that one is 'good enough.' The individual simply feels that he is a person of worth; he respects himself for what he is, but he does not stand in awe of himself nor does he expect others to stand in awe of him. He does not necessarily consider himself superior to others (p. 31, emphasis in original).

On the other hand, low self-esteem as measured on Rosenberg's (1965) scale

... implies self-rejection, self-dissatisfaction, self-contempt. The individual lacks respect for the

self he observes. The self-picture is disagreeable, and he wishes it were otherwise (p. 31).

Controlled Variables

The variable of sex was controlled through elimination. The subjects consisted solely of male personnel. Female offenders were not integrated into the study primarily due to the small number of female offenders available for study. During the period of offender data collection, only one female military status offender was inprocessed at the USARB; statistical analysis based on this one subject would have been meaningless.

Instrument

The test instrument used in this study was devised by Rosenberg (1965) to study the self-esteem levels of adolescents. The instrument is a ten item Guttman scale having a reproducibility of ninety-two percent and a scalability of seventy-two percent.

This specific instrument was chosen because of the ease of administration to the subjects, and its acceptable reproducibility and scalability coefficients. The subjects resided at a location remote from this author and the data collection effort lasted a considerable length of time. Thus,

this instrument was easily administered by persons other than the author, and required only brief written instructions for its completion. Further, the brevity of the questionnaire permitted its completion in approximately two to five minutes and therefore presented no undue burden to either the subjects or the staff personnel of the Inprocessing Unit, USARB.

Test Items

Respondents were instructed to indicate whether they strongly agreed, agreed, disagreed, or strongly disagreed with each of the following items which were presented in the order shown below:

1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
2. At times I think I am no good at all.
3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
6. I certainly feel useless at times.
7. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

It should be noted the "positive" and "negative" items were presented alternately to reduce the effect of respondent set.

Scale Validation

No standardized self-esteem instruments were available to Rosenberg (1965) for cross-validating his scale. The scale items possess obvious high face validity as measures of self-esteem. The Guttman analysis of the scale insured unidimensionality.

Rosenberg further successfully correlated his scale with depression evaluations resulting from the comparison of self-esteem scores of subjects using his instrument and the professional clinical evaluations by trained nurses of the same subjects. Those subjects with high self-esteem were rated as least depressed.

Psychophysiological symptoms associated with neurosis were also compared to the self-esteem scores of clinically diagnosed neurotic mental patients. Rosenberg (1965) hypothesized that the greater the quantity of neurotic symptoms possessed by the subjects, the lower their self-esteem would be. His experiment with the test instrument indicated an inverse relationship between self-esteem and the quantity of observed neurotic symptoms as he had predicted.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of a two page form printed on opposite sides of a sheet of 8½ x 11 inch paper. The front side of the form administered to the military offenders solicited individual background information and subjects were asked to indicate the offense(s) for which they had been convicted. The self-esteem test instrument was on the reverse side of the questionnaire. Figure 3 is a reproduction of the individual data portion of the questionnaire administered to military offenders assigned to the USARB.

Figure 4 depicts the second page of the questionnaire administered to the subjects. It should be noted that three items were added at the beginning of the list developed by Rosenberg, and two items were added at the end of his list. These five additional items were not scored items, but were added to disguise scored items in an effort to maintain scale integrity. Added items were purposely of a similar length and content as the scored items. Only items four through thirteen were scored.

Scoring

The self-esteem measuring instruments were scored in the same manner as devised by Rosenberg (1965). The ten individual items were reduced to a series of six contrived

INSTRUCTIONS: Please complete each of the following items or questions. BE SURE TO COMPLETE BOTH SIDES OF THIS FORM.

1. Age _____ years
 2. Sex () Male () Female
 3. Ethnic origin (Check one):
 () Black () White () Spanish-American
 () Other _____
 (specify)
 4. Highest military rank held: E- _____
 5. What is your father's occupation? _____
 6. What is your mother's occupation? _____
 7. What is your religious preference?
 () Roman Catholic () Jewish () Protestant
 () Other _____
 (specify)
 8. How long have you been in the Army? _____ years _____ months
 9. What offense(s) were you found guilty of? Please be specific and include the article number(s) if you know it.
 Example: Art 92, Failure to get a haircut, or Art 134,
Possession of marijuana.
- Art. _____ Offense _____
- Art. _____ Offense _____
- Art. _____ Offense _____
- Art. _____ Offense _____

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Figure 3

Individual Data Portion of the Questionnaire
 Administered to Military Offenders at the USARB

INSTRUCTIONS: Please check the block for each item showing whether you STRONGLY AGREE, AGREE, DISAGREE, OR STRONGLY DISAGREE with each of the statements. Check only one block for each item.

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1. I thought I did very well in schoolwork in high school.	()	()	()	()
2. I enjoy playing sports.	()	()	()	()
3. I did not enjoy going to high school.	()	()	()	()
4. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	()	()	()	()
5. At times, I think I am no good at all.	()	()	()	()
6. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	()	()	()	()
7. I am able to do things as well as most other people.	()	()	()	()

Figure 4

STRONGLY STRONGLY
AGREE AGREE DISAGREE DISAGREE

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 8. | I feel I do not have much to be proud of. | () | () | () | () |
| 9. | I certainly feel useless at times. | () | () | () | () |
| 10. | I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others. | () | () | () | () |
| 11. | I wish I could have more respect for myself. | () | () | () | () |
| 12. | All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure. | () | () | () | () |
| 13. | I take a positive attitude toward myself. | () | () | () | () |
| 14. | Reading books is never enjoyable. | () | () | () | () |
| 15. | I enjoy working at a job. | () | () | () | () |

- page 2 -

Figure 4--Continued

items in an effort to improve cumulative scores. The six contrived items resulted in a seven point scale with values ranging from zero to six. High self-esteem as defined by Rosenberg, is scored as zero, and the lowest self-esteem possible with this scale is six.

The composition of the contrived items and score values of each are found in Appendix B.

Procedures

At the commencement of this research project, a supply of questionnaires was mailed to the USARB, Processing Unit, for administration to newly assigned trainees. Questionnaires were administered to each newly assigned trainee during his initial inprocessing into the USARB during the period February 21, 1977 through March 17, 1977. All inprocessing occurred during the morning hours of week days exclusive of Fridays, when no inprocessing was scheduled. The inprocessing took place in a World War II vintage building.

Trainees were administered the questionnaire in a large waiting room equipped with adequate seating at large tables prior to their inprocessing with various installation agency representatives on an individual basis. Questionnaires were handed out and collected by enlisted and civilian

members of the Processing Unit staff.

Questionnaire administrators were provided with written instructions by this author to insure, as nearly as possible, uniformity in the testing environment. Administrators were specifically advised to adhere to the instructions found in Figure 5.

1. It is important that no instructions, other than those printed on the questionnaire, be given to the subjects. Do not make any attempt to expand the given instructions nor to explain the purpose of the questionnaire as this would bias the research effort and seriously damage the credibility of the data.

2. Should a trainee have difficulty reading the questionnaire, it may be read to him.

3. There is no time limit for completing the questionnaire.

Figure 5

Instructions to the Administrators

Trainees arrived at the USARB on a continuous basis during the collection period. Approximate time lapse between arrival and inprocessing was one to two working days. The average period of time between date of court-martial and actual arrival at the USARB during fiscal year 1976 was twenty-seven days. It should be recognized that this figure

included not only those offenders convicted in the continental United States, but also soldiers from more distant locations in the world.⁷

One procedural method which requires emphasis is the fact that all data pertaining to individual trainees, to include offense(s) for which they were convicted, were obtained through self-reporting by the trainees. This author was not permitted to ascertain the names of respondents, nor to verify the information on questionnaires against official records.

Data Analysis

All codable completed questionnaires were scored in accordance with the method of contrived items as discussed earlier in this chapter, and as specified in Appendix B. Responses were further separated into distinct racial or ethnic group cohorts according to the self-reported ethnic group affiliation of the respondent. Each ethnic group was then divided according to offense(s) committed, as reported by the respondent, into the three categories of military status offender, military criminal offender, or military combination offender, according to the listing of offense categories detailed in Appendix A.

Each experimental hypothesis was tested using

contingency tables of relevant data. The chi-square test of significance was applied to each contingency comparison. The .05 level of significance was deemed the appropriate level at which hypothetical support would be considered acceptable and the hypothesis not rejected. The results of these comparisons and additional data are presented in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

This chapter details the results of the data collection effort for this research project and contains an analysis of the obtained data. A descriptive analysis of the sample and the establishment of the self-esteem score cutting point will be followed by the testing of each of the research hypotheses and a discussion of the results.

Descriptive Analysis of the Sample

Tables four through seven present a descriptive analysis of the military offender sample which, while not an integral part of the testing of the hypotheses specified in Chapter I, is necessary to fully appreciate the nature of the sample studied. Table four is concerned with the age of the subjects. Table five depicts the range and frequency of the highest military ranks held by the subjects prior to their court-martial convictions and subsequent reductions to grade of rank E-1, private. Table six represents the length of service the subjects had completed at the time of their inprocessing into the USARB. As was noted earlier, court-martial action occurred approximately one month prior to the subjects'

arrival at Fort Riley. An overview of the subjects' reported religious preferences is presented in table seven. Data pertaining to the occupation of the subjects' parents were also solicited but were not presented here as responses varied widely and were insufficiently specific to allow meaningful analysis.

Age

The average (mean) age of the offenders sampled was 20.8 years which was slightly younger than the average age of 21.2 years of all offenders confined at the USARB during fiscal year 1976 and 7T. There was virtually no difference between the average ages of black offenders (20.7) and white offenders (20.6). However, the other-ethnic group subjects averaged approximately one year older than either the black or white subjects (21.7 years).

One interesting difference was noted between the white and non-white subjects. The non-white military combination offenders averaged the youngest of their cohorts, black combination offenders had an average age of 19.9 years and other-ethnic group combination offenders had an average of 18.5 years. Among the white subjects, the combination offender group had the oldest average age, 23.3 years. However, it should be noted that the combination offender group

in all three cohorts was comprised of relatively few individuals, especially the other-ethnic group combination offenders which consisted of only two individuals.

All three ethnic groups were consistent in that the military status offenders averaged approximately one year older than their military criminal offender counterparts. (See Table 4)

Highest Rank Held

Table 5 depicts the relative frequency of the self-reported highest ranks held by the subjects. The majority of all three ethnic groups achieved only the grade of E-3, Private First Class, prior to their incarceration. This grade, E-3, also contains the median rank relative to offense categories with three exceptions: black military offenders in which fifty percent of the subjects achieved only the grade of E-2, Private - 2; the other-ethnic group in which the median grade for military criminal offenders was E-4, specialist fourth class or corporal, depending upon military occupational specialty; and the other-ethnic group military combination offender group which had a median grade of E-2, Private-2. Interestingly, the only offenders in grades E-6 and E-7 were both military criminal offenders. The black

TABLE 4

Age Analysis of the Military Offender Sample

Category	N	Average Age (Mean in Years)	Range of Age (Years)
<u>Black Subjects</u>			
MSO	16	21.3	17-28
MCO	36	20.7	18-34
Combination	9	19.9	17-23
All Black Offenders	61	20.7	17-34
<u>White Subjects</u>			
MSO	15	21.0	18-30
MCO	37	20.2	17-37
Combination	4	23.3	19-32
All White Offenders	56	20.6	17-37
<u>Other Subjects</u>			
MSO	8	22.8	19-27
MCO	4	21.3	18-24
Combination	2	18.5	18-19
All Other Offenders	14	21.7	18-27
<u>All MSO</u>	39	21.5	17-30
<u>All MCO</u>	77	20.5	17-37
<u>All Military Combination Offenders</u>	15	20.6	17-32
<u>All Military Offenders</u>	131	20.8	17-37

TABLE 5

Highest Rank Held of the Military Offender Sample

Category	N	E-1	E-2	E-3	E-4	E-5	E-6	E-7
<u>Black Subjects</u>								
MSO	16	1	7	1	5	2	-	-
MCO	36	1	9	15	9	1	1	-
Combination	9	-	2	4	2	1	-	-
All Black Offenders	61	2	18	20	16	4	1	-
<u>White Subjects</u>								
MSO	15	2	5	1	3	4	-	-
MCO	37	1	12	15	8	-	-	1
Combination	4	-	1	2	1	-	-	-
All White Offenders	56	3	18	18	12	4	-	1
<u>Other Subjects</u>								
MSO	8	1	-	5	2	-	-	-
MCO	4	-	1	1	1	1	-	-
Combination	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
All Other Offenders	14	1	2	6	4	1	-	-
All MSO	39	4	12	7	10	6	-	-
All MCO	77	2	22	31	18	2	1	1
<u>All Military Combination Offenders</u>								
	15	0	4	6	4	1	-	-
<u>All Military Offenders</u>								
	131	6	38	44	32	9	1	1

E-6 was convicted of drug offenses and the white E-7 was incarcerated as a result of conviction for assault with an attempt to commit murder.

Length of Service

Table 6 indicates that white offenders served, on the average, approximately five months longer than black offenders, but only approximately three months longer than the other-ethnic group offenders prior to their arrival at the USARB. Military criminal offenders, as a group, averaged two-and-a-half months more service than military status offenders and slightly over six months more service than military combination offenders.

Religious Preference

While there is relatively little in the literature pertaining to the relationship of self-esteem and religious preference, this data may be indicative of the social integration of subjects in our culture. Perhaps an analysis of subjects who profess no religious preference is more germane than a tabulation of the various denominations found in the sample. Black subjects who declared no religious preference comprised 9.8 percent of their cohort; white offenders had 7.1 percent with no preference; and the other-ethnic group

TABLE 6

Length of Service of the Military Offender Sample

Category	N	Average (Mean) (Months)	Range (Months)
<u>Black Subjects</u>			
MSO	16	23.8	8-56
MCO	36	22.9	4-156
Combination	9	20.9	6-31
All Black Offenders	61	22.9	4-156
<u>White Subjects</u>			
MSO	15	26.3	2-70
MCO	37	30.1	6-199
Combination	4	18.8	10-24
All White Offenders	56	28.3	2-199
<u>Other Subjects</u>			
MSO	8	22.3	7-46
MCO	4	33.0	12-60
Combination	2	29.5	18-31
All Other Offenders	14	25.6	7-60
<u>All MSO</u>	39	24.5	2-70
<u>All MCO</u>	77	26.9	4-199
<u>All Military Combination Offenders</u>	15	21.5	6-31
<u>All Military Offenders</u>	131	25.6	2-199

had 14.3 percent of the subjects with no religious preference. Relative to offense categories, 20 percent of the military combination offender group declared no religious preference, as did 10.3 percent of the military status offender group, but only 6.5 percent of the military criminal offender group. (See Table 7)

Self-Esteem of the Military Offender Sample

The self-esteem of all military offenders was computed in accordance with the methodology specified by Rosenberg (1965) and as outlined in the preceding chapter. Average self-esteem scores were then compiled for each of the offender categories and ethnic groups. Table 8 is a summary of the average (mean) self-esteem scores of the various groups and a depiction of the frequency of each score value by group.

Relative to ethnic group, the highest self-esteem was found among the other-ethnic group subjects, 1.21, followed by black subjects with an average self-esteem score of 1.59. The lowest average self-esteem score was possessed by the white cohort, with a score of 1.61.

According to offense categories, the military status offenders had the highest group average with a score of 1.33. Military criminal offenders had the second highest score

TABLE 7

Religious Preference of the Military Offender Sample

Category	N	Protestant	Roman Catholic	Other	None
(Frequency)					
<u>Black Subjects</u>					
MSO	16	10	1	4	1
MCO	36	29	0	4	3
Combination	9	5	0	2	2
All Black Offenders	61	44	1	10	6
<u>White Subjects</u>					
MSO	15	8	5	1	1
MCO	37	14	12	9	2
Combination	4	1	1	1	1
All White Offenders	56	23	18	11	4
<u>Other Subjects</u>					
MSO	8	2	3	1	2
MCO	4	1	3	-	-
Combination	2	-	2	-	-
All Other Offenders	14	3	8	1	2
<u>All MSO</u>	39	20	9	6	4
<u>All MCO</u>	77	44	15	13	5
<u>All Military Combination Offenders</u>	15	6	3	3	3
<u>All Military Offenders</u>	131	70	27	22	12

TABLE 8

Self-Esteem Scores of the Military Offender Sample

Category	N	Score Frequency							Average Score (Mean)
		High					Low 6		
		0	1	2	3	4		5	
<u>Black Subjects</u>									
MSO	16	5	5	4	2	-	-	-	1.19
MCO	36	7	13	7	6	2	1	-	1.61
Combination	9	1	2	2	2	2	-	-	2.22
All Black Offenders	61	13	20	13	10	4	1	-	1.59
<u>White Subjects</u>									
MSO	15	5	4	1	2	2	1	-	1.67
MCO	37	6	14	7	7	2	1	-	1.68
Combination	4	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	0.75
All White Offenders	56	13	19	9	9	4	2	-	1.61
<u>Other Subjects</u>									
MSO	8	3	3	1	1	-	-	-	1.00
MCO	4	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	1.25
Combination	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2.00
All Other Offenders	14	4	5	3	2	-	-	-	1.21
<u>All MSO</u>	39	13	12	6	5	2	1	-	1.33
<u>All MCO</u>	77	14	29	14	14	4	2	-	1.62
<u>All Military Combination Offenders</u>	15	3	3	5	2	2	-	-	1.80
<u>All Military Offenders</u>	131	30	44	25	21	8	3	-	1.56

average with 1.62. And the lowest self-esteem score average was found among the military combination offenders with a group average of 1.80. This same trend was observed in each ethnic group when compared by offense category with only one exception; the white military combination offenders held the highest self-esteem score for that ethnic cohort with an average of 0.75.

One finding of particular interest is that not one subject scored the lowest possible score of six. Further, only three subjects, or 2.3 percent of all subjects, received a self-esteem score of five, the lowest score received in the sample. A total of thirty subjects, 22.9 percent, received the highest possible score of zero. The score which occurred with the greatest frequency, or the mode, was a score of one, which was received by forty-four subjects, or 33.6 percent of all subjects.

Self-Esteem Cutting Point

The median self-esteem score of the entire military offender sample (N = 131) was used to establish the cutting point between high and low self-esteem. The median score of this group of data was a self-esteem score of one which was possessed by the subject with the sixty-sixth highest score.

Testing the Hypotheses

The ten hypotheses proposed in Chapter I can be readily divided into two groups. The first grouping of hypotheses were all concerned with the relationship of self-esteem and the type of offense committed. The first six hypotheses, which deal with this type of relationship, were designed to test the basic prediction that the self-esteem of military status offenders would be higher than the self-esteem of military criminal offenders, and that the self-esteem of military criminal offenders would, in turn, be higher than the self-esteem of military combination offenders.

The second grouping of hypotheses (seven through ten) was designed to explore the relationship between self-esteem and ethnic group affiliation of the subjects. The basic prediction in this instance was that there would be a significant difference in self-esteem among the three ethnic cohorts of black, white, and other-ethnic group subjects. No direction in this relationship was predicted because of the equivocal and, at times, contradictory evidence noted in the literature. Further, this author chose not to combine all ethnic minorities for the purposes of comparison. Rather, black subjects were treated as a single minority group because of the generally recognized homogeneity of the Black-American

culture. All other non-white minority subjects were, however, combined into the single other-ethnic group. It was recognized that this artificial category expressly violated the reasoning espoused by the author to justify the separate treatment of the black cohort. However, due to the relatively small quantity of other-ethnic group subjects (fourteen), and the wide diversity of their ethnic origins, it was necessary to combine them for the purposes of analysis.

Self-Esteem and the Offense Committed

Hypotheses one through six were designed to explore the relationship of self-esteem and the offense(s) committed. Each of the hypotheses are tested and discussed below.

Hypothesis 1. The self-esteem of military status offenders will be significantly higher than the self-esteem of military criminal offenders.

Tentative support for this hypothesis was derived from a simple comparison of the mean self-esteem scores of these two groups of offenders. Military status offenders had an average self-esteem score of 1.33 as opposed to an average score of 1.62 for all military criminal offenders. Table 10 portrays a contingency table analysis of this comparison.

TABLE 10

A Comparison of the Self-Esteem of
Military Status Offenders and Military Criminal Offenders

<u>Self-Esteem</u>	<u>MSO</u>	<u>MCO</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	25 (64.1%)	43 (55.8%)	68
Low	14 (35.9%)	34 (44.2%)	48
Total	39 (100%)	77 (100%)	116

$$\chi^2 = 0.703, \text{ d.f.} = 1; p > .05$$

Table 10 indicated that a majority of both groups of offenders had a high self-esteem score; military status offenders with 64.1 percent high self-esteem, and military criminal offenders with 55.8 percent high self-esteem. Further, the predicted direction was noted. However, the chi-square value of 0.703 was significant only above the 0.30 level. Therefore, the difference between these groups was not significant and the hypothesis was rejected.

Hypothesis 2. The self-esteem of white military status offenders will be significantly higher than the self-esteem of white military criminal offenders.

White military status offenders with an average score

of 1.67 had only a slightly higher self-esteem than the white military criminal offenders with an average score of 1.68.

Table 11 portrays the contingency table analysis of this comparison.

TABLE 11

A Comparison of the Self-Esteem of White Military Status Offenders and White Military Criminal Offenders

<u>Self-Esteem</u>	<u>MSO</u>	<u>MCO</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	9 (60%)	20 (54.1%)	29
Low	6 (40%)	17 (45.9%)	23
Total	15 (100%)	37 (100%)	52

$$\chi^2 = 0.137, \text{ d.f.} = 1; p > .05$$

The comparison of these two groups of offenders was in the predicted direction. Sixty percent of the military status offenders had a high self-esteem as opposed to only 54.1 percent of the military criminal offenders. However, the chi-square value of 0.137 was significant only above the 0.70 level. Therefore, this hypothesis was rejected.

Hypothesis 3. The self-esteem of non-white military

status offenders will be significantly higher than the self-esteem of non-white military criminal offenders.

This hypothesis was tested using separate comparisons for the black cohort and the other-ethnic group cohort. Tentative support of this hypothesis was found in the black cohort in which the military status offenders had an average self-esteem score of 1.19 and military criminal offenders had an average score of 1.61. Table 12 presents this data in contingency table format.

TABLE 12

A Comparison of the Self-Esteem of Black Military Status Offenders and Black Military Criminal Offenders

<u>Self-Esteem</u>	<u>MSO</u>	<u>MCO</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	10 (62.5%)	20 (55.6%)	30
Low	6 (37.5%)	16 (44.4%)	22
Total	16 (100%)	36 (100%)	52

$$\chi^2 = 0.237; \text{ d.f.} = 1; p > .05$$

This comparison resulted in the predicted direction; 62.5 percent of the military status offenders had high

self-esteem and only 55.6 percent of the military criminal offenders had high self-esteem. However, the chi-square value of 0.237 was significant only above the .50 level. Therefore, the difference was not significant and this portion of the hypothesis was rejected.

The second comparison involved the other-ethnic group. As was predicted, the military status offenders had a higher average self-esteem score (1.00) than the military criminal offenders (1.25). Table 13 presents an analysis of the comparison of these two groups.

TABLE 13

A Comparison of the Self-Esteem of Other-Ethnic Group
Military Status Offenders and Other-Ethnic Group Military
Criminal Offenders

<u>Self-Esteem</u>	<u>MSO</u>	<u>MCO</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	6 (75%)	3 (75%)	9
Low	2 (25%)	1 (25%)	3
Total	8 (100%)	4 (100%)	12

$$\chi^2 = 0; \text{ d.f. } = 1; p > .05$$

Both groups had an identical percentage of subjects with high self-esteem (seventy-five percent). Thus, the chi-square value of zero indicated the expected distribution with no difference. Therefore, this portion of the hypothesis was also rejected.

Hypothesis 4. The self-esteem of military offenders who commit a combination of military status offenses and military criminal offenses will be significantly lower than the self-esteem of either military status offenders or military criminal offenders.

The testing of this hypothesis required two separate comparisons. Table 14 presents the comparison between military status offenders and military combination offenders. Table 15 presents the comparison between military criminal offenders and military combination offenders.

As was predicted, the average self-esteem score of 1.33 of all military status offenders was higher than the average self-esteem score of 1.80 for all military combination offenders. Table 14 presents a formal analysis of this comparison.

This comparison resulted in the predicted direction. The percentage of military status offenders with high self-esteem was 64.1 percent, whereas the military combination

TABLE 14

A Comparison of the Self-Esteem of Military Status
Offenders and Military Combination Offenders

<u>Self-Esteem</u>	<u>MSO</u>	<u>Combination</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	25 (64.1%)	6 (40%)	31
Low	14 (35.9%)	9 (60%)	23
Total	39 (100%)	15 (100%)	54

$$\chi^2 = 2.553; \text{d.f.} = 1; p > .05$$

offenders exhibited only forty percent high self-esteem. However, the chi-square value of 2.553 was significant only above the .10 level and this portion of the hypothesis was rejected.

As was predicted, the average self-esteem score of 1.62 for all military criminal offenders was higher than the average self-esteem score of 1.80 for all military combination offenders. Table 15 presents a formal analysis of this comparison.

Again, the comparison resulted in the predicted direction. The military criminal offender group had 55.8 percent of the subjects with high self-esteem and of the

TABLE 15

A Comparison of the Self-Esteem of Military Criminal Offenders and Military Combination Offenders

<u>Self-Esteem</u>	<u>MCO</u>	<u>Combination</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	43 (55.8%)	6 (40%)	49
Low	34 (44.2%)	9 (60%)	43
Total	77 (100%)	15 (100%)	92

$$\chi^2 = 1.278; \text{ d.f. } = 1; p > .05$$

military combination offenders only forty percent of the subjects had high self-esteem. However, the chi-square value of 1.278 was significant only above the .20 level. Therefore, this portion of the hypothesis was rejected.

Hypothesis 5. The self-esteem of white military offenders who commit a combination of military status offenses and military criminal offenses will be significantly lower than the self-esteem of either white military status offenders or white military criminal offenders.

The testing of this hypothesis required two separate comparisons. Table 16 presents the comparison between white military status offenders and white military combination

offenders. Table 17 presents the comparison of white military criminal offenders and white military combination offenders.

The average self-esteem score of 1.67 for the white military status offenders was unexpectedly and substantially lower than the average score of 0.75 for the military combination offenders. Table 16 depicts a formal analysis of the comparison of these two groups.

TABLE 16

A Comparison of the Self-Esteem of White Military Status Offenders and White Military Combination Offenders

<u>Self-Esteem</u>	<u>MSO</u>	<u>Combination</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	9 (60%)	3 (75%)	12
Low	6 (40%)	1 (25%)	7
Total	15 (100%)	4 (100%)	19

$$\chi^2 = 0.338; \text{ d.f.} = 1; p > .05$$

This analysis substantiated the unexpected reversal of the predicted direction. Fully seventy-five percent of the white military combination offenders possessed high

self-esteem as opposed to only sixty percent of the white military status offenders. However, the chi-square value of 0.338 was significant only above the .50 level. Therefore, this portion of this hypothesis was rejected.

The average self-esteem score of 1.68 for white military criminal offenders was also unexpectedly lower than the average self-esteem score of 0.75 for white military combination offenders. Table 17 presents a formal analysis of this comparison.

TABLE 17

A Comparison of the Self-Esteem of White Military Criminal Offenders and White Military Combination Offenders

<u>Self-Esteem</u>	<u>MCO</u>	<u>Combination</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	20 (54%)	3 (75%)	23
Low	17 (46%)	1 (25%)	18
Total	37 (100%)	4 (100%)	41

$$x^2 = 0.718; \text{ d.f. } = 1; p > .05$$

The reversal in predicted direction noted in the comparison of the self-esteem of white military status offenders

and the military combination offender group was also evidenced in this comparison. The military combination offender group exhibited seventy-five percent of the subjects having high self-esteem as opposed to the military criminal offender contingent of which only fifty-four percent had high self-esteem. The chi-square value of 0.718 was significant only above the .30 level. Consequently, this portion of the hypothesis was also rejected.

Hypothesis 6. The self-esteem of non-white military offenders who commit a combination of military status offenses and military criminal offenses will be significantly lower than the self-esteem of either non-white military status offenders or non-white military criminal offenders.

A total of four comparisons were required to test this hypothesis. The first comparison was made between black military status offenders and black military combination offenders. The second comparison was made between black military criminal offenders and black military combination offenders. The last two comparisons were made using only the other-ethnic group subjects. The third comparison was made between other-ethnic group military status offenders and other-ethnic group military combination offenders. The fourth comparison was made between other-ethnic group military criminal offenders and

other-ethnic group military combination offenders.

As was predicted, the average self-esteem score of black military status offenders, 1.19, was substantially higher than the average score of 2.22 for black military combination offenders. Table 18 depicts a formal analysis of these two groups of offenders.

TABLE 18

A Comparison of the Self-Esteem of Black Military Status Offenders and Black Military Combination Offenders

<u>Self-Esteem</u>	<u>MSO</u>	<u>Combination</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	10 (62.5%)	3 (33.3%)	13
Low	6 (37.5%)	6 (66.7%)	12
Total	16 (100%)	9 (100%)	25

$$\chi^2 = 1.962; \text{ d.f.} = 1; p > .05$$

This analysis resulted in the predicted direction with 62.5 percent of the military status offenders having high self-esteem as opposed to only 33.3 percent of the military combination offenders having high self-esteem. However, the chi-square value of 1.962 was significant only above the .20 level.

Therefore, this portion of the hypothesis was rejected.

Also, as was predicted, the average self-esteem score of 1.61 for black military criminal offenders was higher than the average score of 2.22 for black military combination offenders. A formal analysis of this comparison is presented in Table 19.

TABLE 19

A Comparison of the Self-Esteem of Black Military Criminal Offenders and Black Military Combination Offenders

<u>Self-Esteem</u>	<u>MCO</u>	<u>Combination</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	20 (55.6%)	3 (33.3%)	23
Low	16 (44.4%)	6 (66.7%)	22
Total	36 (100%)	9 (100%)	45

$$\chi^2 = 1.423; \text{ d.f. } = 1; p. > .05$$

This analysis resulted in the predicted direction with 55.6 percent of the black military criminal offenders having high self-esteem as opposed to only 33.3 percent of the military combination offender subjects having high self-esteem. However, the chi-square value of 1.423 was significant only

above the .20 level. Therefore, this portion of the hypothesis was rejected.

The other-ethnic group had an average self-esteem score of 1.00 for military status offenders which was substantially higher than the average self-esteem score of 2.00 for the other-ethnic group military combination offenders. Table 20 presents an analysis of the comparison of these two cohorts.

TABLE 20

A Comparison of the Self-Esteem of Other-Ethnic Group
Military Status Offenders and Other-Ethnic Group
Military Combination Offenders

<u>Self-Esteem</u>	<u>MSO</u>	<u>Combination</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	6 (75%)	0 (0%)	6
Low	2 (25%)	2 (100%)	4
Total	8 (100%)	2 (100%)	10

$$\chi^2 = 3.750; \text{ d.f. } = 1; p > .05$$

This analysis resulted in the predicted direction in which seventy-five percent of the military status offenders had high self-esteem as opposed to the military combination

offender group of which none had high self-esteem. However, the chi-square value of 3.750 was significant only above the .05 level. Therefore, this portion of the hypothesis was rejected.

The average self-esteem score of 1.25 for other-ethnic group military criminal offenders was, as predicted, higher than the average self-esteem score of 2.00 for the other-ethnic group military combination offenders. Table 21 depicts the analysis of the comparison of these two groups.

TABLE 21

A Comparison of the Self-Esteem of Other-Ethnic Group
Military Criminal Offenders and Other-Ethnic Group
Military Combination Offenders

<u>Self-Esteem</u>	<u>MCO</u>	<u>Combination</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	3 (75%)	0 (0%)	3
Low	1 (25%)	2 (100%)	3
Total	4 (100%)	2 (100%)	6

$$x^2 = 3.00; \text{ d.f. } = 1; p > .05$$

This comparison resulted in the predicted direction in which seventy-five percent of the military criminal

offenders possessed high self-esteem as opposed to the military combination offender group of which none possessed high self-esteem. However, the chi-square value of 3.00 was significant only above the .05 level. Therefore, this portion of the hypothesis was rejected.

Discussion of Self-Esteem and Offense Committed

Hypotheses one through six all dealt with an analysis of the relationship of self-esteem and the offense(s) committed by the subjects under investigation. Although none of the hypotheses were accepted, all of the comparisons did reveal the predicted direction, with the exception of hypothesis four. Exclusive of hypothesis four, there was a distinct tendency for military status offenders to have higher self-esteem than military criminal offenders. And both of these groups of offenders tended to have higher self-esteem than military criminal offenders.

Hypothesis four, the comparison of white military status and criminal offenders resulted in an unexpected reversal of direction which was not, however, significant when subjected to chi-square analysis. This reversal may have been the result of the small quantity of offenders who were white military status offenders (four subjects). Another possible

explanation was that the white military combination offenders were older than the rest of the cohort. As was noted by Thompson (1972), older subjects are less inclined to make negative statements about themselves.

Perhaps the general lack of significant results which evolved from the testing of these hypotheses can be attributed to the similarity of average ages among the cohorts. As was previously noted, military status offenders had an average age of 21.5 years as compared to the average age of 20.5 years for military criminal offenders and 20.6 years for military combination offenders. Fitts (1972c) concluded that age is the variable which has the greatest effect on self concept and he cautioned against expecting a great deal of variance where there exists fairly narrow age differences among subjects.

A second explanation for the lack of significance in the results is that there may in fact be little or no differences in self-concept relative to offense committed. This possibility is supported by the findings of Culbertson (1973) and Fishman (1976) who detected very little difference in self-concept among incarcerated offenders relative to the type and severity of offenses committed. If this explanation is accurate, it would be indicative of support for Hall's (1966) contention that both delinquents and non-delinquents can have

either high or low self-evaluations. As such, self concept may be useful as a discriminator among delinquent individuals within a given deviant sample rather than as a means of categorizing subjects relative to offense or severity of offense committed.

A third explanation which may explain the relatively uniform high self-esteem scores of the sample is that these subjects may have embraced their deviant label and accepted their place in a deviant subculture with concomitant opportunities for elevation of self concept. This possibility was postulated by Becker (1963) and, more recently, by Kaplan (1975)

Self-Esteem and Ethnic Origin

Hypotheses seven through ten were designed to explore the relationship between self-esteem and ethnic origin. Each of these hypotheses is tested and discussed below.

Hypothesis 7. There will be a significant difference in the self-esteem between white military offenders and non-white military offenders.

This hypothesis is the first in a series of four which explore the relationship between the variables of ethnic group affiliation and self-esteem. To test the hypothesis, two

comparisons were made. In the first instance, the self-esteem of all white military offenders was compared to the self-esteem of all black military offenders (see Table 22). The second comparison involved the self-esteem of all white military offenders and all other-ethnic group offenders (see Table 23).

A simple comparison of the average self-esteem scores of the black and white cohorts revealed very little difference. The average self-esteem score of all white offenders was 1.61, which was slightly lower than the average score for all black offenders, which was 1.59. A more thorough comparison is shown in Table 22.

TABLE 22

A Comparison of the Self-Esteem of White Military Offenders and Black Military Offenders

<u>Self-Esteem</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	32 (57.1%)	33 (54.1%)	65
Low	24 (42.9%)	28 (45.9%)	52
Total	56 (100%)	61 (100%)	117

$$\chi^2 = 0.293; \text{ d.f. } = 1; p > .05$$

Table 22 indicated that a slightly larger percentage of white offenders, 57.1 percent, had high self-esteem as opposed to black offenders of which 54.1 percent had high self-esteem. However, the chi-square value of 0.293 was significant only above the .50 level. Therefore, this portion of the hypothesis was rejected due to the insignificant difference between the two cohorts.

The second comparison used to test this hypothesis involved all white offenders and all other-ethnic group offenders. Again, only a small difference in average self-esteem scores between these two cohorts was found. White subjects had an average self-esteem score of 1.61 compared to a higher average score of 1.21 for the other-ethnic group. Table 23 presents a formal comparison of these two groups.

TABLE 23

A Comparison of the Self-Esteem of White Military Offenders and Other-Ethnic Group Military Offenders

<u>Self-Esteem</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	32 (57.1%)	9 (64.3%)	41
Low	24 (42.9%)	5 (35.7%)	29
Total	56 (100%)	14 (100%)	70

$$\chi^2 = 0.237; \text{ d.f. } = 1; p > .05$$

In this comparison, the white offender group had 57.1 percent of the subjects with high self-esteem as opposed to the other-ethnic group offenders of which 64.3 percent possessed high self-esteem. However, the chi-square value of 0.237 was significant only above the .50 level. Therefore, this portion of the hypothesis was rejected.

Hypothesis 8. There will be a significant difference in self-esteem between white military status offenders and non-white military status offenders.

This hypothesis required two separate comparisons; the first involved a comparison of white military status offenders and black military status offenders. The second comparison dealt with white military status offenders and other-ethnic group military status offenders. Table 24 portrays the former comparison and Table 25 the latter.

The average self-esteem score of 1.67 for the white cohort was somewhat lower than the average score of 1.19 for the black cohort. Table 24 presents an analysis of these differences.

This comparison indicated only a slight difference between these two cohorts. Of the white cohort, sixty percent of the subjects had high self-esteem as opposed to 62.5 percent of the black cohort which had high self-esteem.

TABLE 24

A Comparison of the Self-Esteem of White Military Status Offenders and Black Military Status Offenders

<u>Self-Esteem</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	9 (60%)	10 (62.5%)	19
Low	6 (40%)	6 (37.5%)	12
Total	15 (100%)	16 (100%)	31

$$\chi^2 = 0.219; \text{ d.f. } = 1; p > .05$$

However, the chi-square value of 0.219 was significant only above the .50 level. Therefore, this portion of the hypothesis was rejected.

A comparison of the average self-esteem scores of white and other-ethnic group military status offenders indicated a somewhat wider disparity than did the black and white cohorts. The average self-esteem score of 1.67 for the white subjects was lower than the average score of 1.00 for the other-ethnic group subjects. Table 25 depicts an analysis of this difference.

This comparison resulted in a difference of fifteen percentage points between the two cohorts in which sixty

TABLE 25

A Comparison of the Self-Esteem of White Military Status Offenders and Other-Ethnic Group Military Status Offenders

<u>Self-Esteem</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	9 (60%)	6 (75%)	15
Low	6 (40%)	2 (25%)	8
Total	15 (100%)	8 (100%)	23

$$\chi^2 = 0.541; \text{ d.f.} = 1; p > .05$$

percent of the white subjects had high self-esteem and seventy-five percent of the other-ethnic group cohort had high self-esteem. However, the chi-square value of 0.541 was significant only above the .30 level. Therefore, this portion of the hypothesis was rejected.

Hypothesis 9. There will be a significant difference in self-esteem between white military criminal offenders and non-white military criminal offenders.

This hypothesis was tested using two separate comparisons. First, it was tested by comparing the self-esteem of white and black military criminal offenders. The second test involved a comparison of the self-esteem of white and

other-ethnic group military criminal offenders

A comparison of the average self-esteem scores of the white and black cohorts revealed very little difference between these groups. White military criminal offenders had an average self-esteem score of 1.68 as opposed to an average score of 1.61 for the black subjects. Table 26 presents an analysis of this difference.

TABLE 26

A Comparison of the Self-Esteem of White Military Criminal Offenders and Black Military Criminal Offenders

<u>Self-Esteem</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	20 (54.1%)	20 (55.6%)	40
Low	17 (45.9%)	16 (44.4%)	33
Total	37 (100%)	36 (100%)	73

$$\chi^2 = 0.199; \text{ d.f. } = 1; p > .05$$

This comparison resulted in very little difference between the two groups. White subjects had 54.1 percent with high self-esteem and black military criminal offenders had 55.6 percent with high self-esteem. The chi-square

value of 0.199 reinforced the small amount of difference noted as it was significant only above the .50 level. Therefore, this portion of the hypothesis was rejected.

A comparison of the average self-esteem scores of white and other ethnic group subjects indicated a somewhat wider disparity than did the previous comparison. White military criminal offenders had an average self-esteem score of 1.68 which was distinctly lower than the other-ethnic group average score of 1.25. Table 27 presents an analysis of these two groups.

TABLE 27

A Comparison of the Self-Esteem of White Military Criminal Offenders and Other-Ethnic Group Military Criminal Offenders

<u>Self-Esteem</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	20 (54.1%)	3 (75%)	23
Low	17 (45.9%)	1 (25%)	18
Total	37 (100%)	4 (100%)	41

$$\chi^2 = 0.718; \text{ d.f. } = 1; p > .05$$

This comparison indicated a substantial variance between the two cohorts in that only 54.1 percent of the

white subjects had high self-esteem, whereas seventy-five percent of the other-ethnic group military criminal offenders had a high self-esteem. However, the chi-square value of 0.718 was significant only above the .30 level. Therefore, this portion of the hypothesis was rejected.

Hypothesis 10. There will be a significant difference in self-esteem between white military combination offenders and non-white military combination offenders.

This hypothesis was tested by first comparing the self-esteem of white military combination offenders to that of black military combination offenders. The white cohort was then compared to the other-ethnic group cohort of military combination offenders.

A comparison of the average self-esteem score of the white cohort, 0.75, to that of the black cohort, 2.22, indicated a relatively sizable disparity between these two groups with the white cohort exhibiting higher self-esteem. Table 28 depicts the formal analysis of this comparison.

This contingency analysis indicated that the white cohort had a higher percentage of subjects with high self-esteem, fifty percent, as opposed to the black cohort in which only 33.3 percent of the subjects possessed high

TABLE 28

A Comparison of the Self-Esteem of White Military Combination Offenders and Black Military Combination Offenders

<u>Self-Esteem</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	2 (50%)	3 (33.3%)	5
Low	2 (50%)	6 (66.7%)	8
Total	4 (100%)	9 (100%)	13

$$\chi^2 = 0.383; \text{ d.f. } = 1; p > .05$$

self-esteem. However, the chi-square value of 0.383 was significant only above the .50 level. Therefore, this portion of the hypothesis was rejected.

A comparison of the average self-esteem score of the white cohort, .75, and the other-ethnic group cohort, 2.00, also indicated a wide disparity in self-esteem between the two groups, with the white subjects having higher self-esteem. Table 29 depicts the formal analysis of this comparison.

This contingency analysis indicated that the white cohort exhibited higher self-esteem than did the

TABLE 29

A Comparison of the Self-Esteem of White Military
Combination Offenders and Other-Ethnic Group
Military Combination Offenders

<u>Self-Esteem</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	2 (50%)	0 (0%)	2
Low	2 (50%)	2 (100%)	4
Total	4 (100%)	2 (100%)	6

$$\chi^2 = 1.541; \text{ d.f. } = 1; p > .05$$

other-ethnic group cohort. Fifty percent of the white subjects possessed high self-esteem as opposed to none of the other-ethnic group military combination offender group. However, the chi-square value of 1.514 was significant only above the .20 level. Therefore, this portion of the hypothesis was rejected.

Discussion of Self-Esteem and Ethnic Origin

Hypotheses seven through ten explored the possibility of differences in self-esteem relative to ethnic origin. Although there were measured differences in self-esteem among the various groups which were compared, it is most important

to note that none of these differences were significant at the .05 level when subjected to chi-square analysis. Further, no obvious trends in direction were detected. In some comparisons, white subjects exhibited higher self-esteem, and in other cases the black subjects registered higher levels of self-esteem. And in several comparisons the other-ethnic group had the highest self-esteem.

The results of the analysis of this group of hypotheses would tend to support Fitts' (1972c) conclusion that there are no differences among black and white subjects relative to self-esteem. There are several explanations for a noted lack of differences among subjects relative to race. Perhaps there are simply no differences to be detected. If minorities do suffer assaults on self-concept because of discrimination, which has not been established, then perhaps minorities also reject majority views on deviance and experience little damage to their self-concept as a result of adjudicated criminality. Wax (1974) and Hawkins and Tiedeman (1975) concluded that minorities, especially blacks, receive positive self-esteem enhancement from acts of delinquency and official labeling as a deviant.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter contains a brief summary of the research project, a summary of the findings, the answers to the three research questions posed in Chapter I, the strengths and weaknesses of this project, and recommendations for further research.

Summary of Methodology

The purpose of this research project was to ascertain if there exists any significant differences in self-esteem among United States Army military offenders sentenced to the United States Army Retraining Brigade relative to the type of offenses for which they were incarcerated and the ethnic affiliation of the subjects. An incidental sample of 151 subjects recently assigned to the Fort Riley correctional facility was administered a ten-item self-esteem scale developed by Morris Rosenberg (1965). Codable responses were received from 131 subjects. Subject cohorts were separated according to three offense categories, military status offenses, military criminal offenses, and military combination offenses. Subject cohorts were also divided relative to the

ethnic groupings of white, black, and other-ethnic group offenders. Comparisons of the exhibited self-esteem of the various cohorts were then made in order to test the ten hypotheses posited in Chapter I.

Summary of Findings

The following findings resulted from this research project as a result of the testing of the hypotheses:

1. The self-esteem of military status offenders was not significantly higher than the self-esteem of military criminal offenders.
2. The self-esteem of white military status offenders was not significantly higher than the self-esteem of white military criminal offenders.
3. The self-esteem of non-white military status offenders was not significantly higher than the self-esteem of non-white military criminal offenders.
4. The self-esteem of military offenders who committed a combination of military status offenses and military criminal offenses was not significantly lower than the self-esteem of either military status offenders or military criminal offenders.
5. The self-esteem of white military offenders who

committed a combination of military status offenses and military criminal offenses was not significantly lower than the self-esteem of either white military status offenders or white military criminal offenders.

6. The self-esteem of non-white military offenders who committed a combination of military status offenses and military criminal offenses was not significantly lower than the self-esteem of either non-white military status offenders or non-white military criminal offenders.

7. There was not a significant difference in self-esteem between white military offenders and non-white military offenders.

8. There was not a significant difference in self-esteem between white military status offenders and non-white military status offenders.

9. There was not a significant difference in self-esteem between white military criminal offenders and non-white military criminal offenders.

10. There was not a significant difference in self-esteem between white military combination offenders and non-white military combination offenders.

Research Questions

The following three research questions were posited in Chapter I. It was possible to answer these questions based on the results of the analysis of the data obtained during this study.

Question 1

What is the difference, if any, between the self-esteem of military status offenders and military criminal offenders?

The answer to Question 1 is that the data indicated no significant differences in self-esteem between these two categories of offenders. Although there was a tendency for the military status offenders to possess higher average self-esteem as a group, and slightly larger percentages of this group had high self-esteem when compared to the military criminal groups, the chi-square test revealed that these tendencies were not significant at the .05 level of significance. Therefore, it would appear that these two groups of subjects were similarly affected (or not affected) by their criminality.

Question 2

What is the difference, if any, in the level of self-esteem of military offenders relative to the ethnic origin of the offenders?

The results obtained in this research project indicated that there were no basic nor significant differences in levels of self-esteem among any of the cohorts relative to ethnic origin. No trends, significant at the .05 level or otherwise, were detected. It would appear that ethnic affiliation had little relationship to self-esteem among the subjects.

Question 3

Is there a difference in the quality of deviance, as reflected by measurement of self-esteem, when it involves a military status offense as opposed to a military criminal offense?

It would appear, in view of the results obtained in this study, that this question must be answered negatively. There evolved no evidence to support a contention that the quality of deviance perpetrated by military status offenders is greater or lesser than that committed by military criminal offenders, as measured by the levels of self-esteem of these two cohorts.

Strengths of the Study

The population sampled in this study was ideally suited to investigate the relationship of self-esteem and offense committed. The unique composition of military law permitted the establishment of a meaningful, artificial, dichotomous division of offenses into military status offenses and military criminal offenses. The fact that status offenses are criminal acts only in the military setting provided an opportunity to measure differences in self-esteem not available to the civilian sector of the criminal justice system. If there is a differential impact on self-esteem relative to offense committed, this difference should have been manifested in this study. No such difference emerged as a result of analysis of the data collected.

The population studied also had the advantage of homogeneity in several important respects. The racial composition of the population and the sample contained nearly equal percentages of black and white subjects. White subjects comprised 42.75 percent of the sample and black subjects made up 46.56 percent. However, all other-ethnic groups were represented by only 10.69 percent of the sample. There was also a great similarity among subjects relative to age.

Although the overall age of subjects ranged from a low of seventeen years to a high of thirty-seven years, the average ages of the cohorts based on both offense and ethnic origin were quite similar. The severity of the offenses committed were similarly homogeneous when viewed relative to the sentences levied, which were all of six months or less in duration.

Weaknesses of the Study

One fundamental weakness of this study was the use of the Rosenberg scale of self-esteem. The high face-validity of the scale may have been a source of dishonest responses from the subjects. Further, the overall high scores received by the majority of the subjects questioned the ability of the scale to adequately discriminate the levels of self-esteem among the subjects. The choice of scale may also be criticized in that few studies, other than those done by Rosenberg himself, have been conducted using this measuring device; nearly all contemporary research projects found in the literature had utilized the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS).

Another weakness of this study was the unavoidable reliance of the author on self-reporting by the subjects concerning individual background data and especially the

offenses for which they were convicted. Neither the veracity nor the completeness of subject responses could be verified by this author because of constraints imposed by the Commanding Officer of the United States Army Retraining Brigade and legal prohibitions involving individual rights to privacy.

The military as well as civilian components of the criminal justice system tolerate, if not condone, certain forms of plea negotiation and both generally avoid undue multiplicity of charges or specifications. Because of these two factors it was often difficult if not impossible to specifically determine the offenses which were actually committed by the sentenced individuals as opposed to official charges which received determinations of guilt during the formal trial process. Thus, any attempt to distinguish among offenders relative to offenses of conviction incorporates a certain degree of unreliability.

It was recognized by this author that combining all offenders who were neither black nor white into a single category of other-ethnic group subjects ignored the basic differences among the various ethnic minorities represented in the sample. Such an artificial combination was reliant on the dubious assumption that all minorities are equally discriminated against in our society and that they all belong

to a homogeneous subculture. However, because of the small number of other-ethnic group subjects available for study, it was necessary to resort to this methodology.

Recommendations for Future Research

It is recommended that future research studies involving self-concept measurement use the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale. This instrument has the advantages of measuring several facets of total self-concept and its wide use in the field of social sciences enhances the compatability of research efforts and the existing body of literature.

Future studies involving the trainees at the United States Army Retraining Brigade should utilize larger samples. Increased sample size would result in larger cohorts of military combination offenders and other-ethnic group subjects. The relatively small size of these cohorts in this study resulted in inflated chi-square values, though not to the point of indicating a false measure of significance.

A subsequent study, similar to this one, which could prove valuable, would be a comparison of initial self-esteem scores to post-training measurements of the variable to determine the effect, if any, of the rigorous training program on trainees' self concepts. Another variation would be to

correlate initial measurements of trainees' self concepts and the success (return to military duty) or failure (discharge) of the trainees.

The use of a group of non-offender military personnel in subsequent research projects using a USARB sample would be useful to determine the differences, if any, which exist between military offenders and non-offenders. Such a study would illuminate the conjecture that a deviant self concept does, in fact, exist.

FOOTNOTES

FOOTNOTES

¹The relationship between self concept and behavior is more thoroughly detailed in Chapter II. An excellent synopsis of this relationship is available in two monographs by William H. Fitts, The Self Concept and Performance and The Self Concept and Behavior: An Overview and Supplement, Nashville, Tn., Counselor Recordings and Tests, 1972.

²For a thorough discussion of courts-martial process and procedures, see Manual for Courts-Martial United States, 1969 (Revised Edition). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969.

³Statistical data pertaining to USARB operations was abstracted from Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1976 and 7T. Fort Riley, Kansas: The United States Army Retraining Brigade, 1977.

⁴This discussion of Mead's theory was adapted in part from Bernard N. Meltzer, "The Social Psychology of George Herbert Mead," in Symbolic Interaction edited by Manis and Meltzer, 1967, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon), pp. 5-24.

⁵This summary of symbolic interaction theory was abstracted from Sheldon Stryker, 1959, "Symbolic Interaction as an Approach to Family Research," in Symbolic Interaction edited by Manis and Meltzer, 1967, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon), pp. 371-383.

⁶See R. Hawkins and G. Tiedeman, The Creation of Deviance (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1975), p. 243.

⁷Data pertaining to length of time between arrival of trainees at the USARB and inprocessing and the average length of time between court-martial and arrival at the USARB were furnished by Dr. Sylvia Kolash, Research and Evaluation Division, United States Army Retraining Brigade, Fort Riley, Kansas, during a telephone conversation with this author on March 22, 1977.

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APPENDIX A

Punitive Articles

One asterisk designates a military status offense, as defined by the author. Two asterisks designate what the author refers to as military criminal offenses. Three asterisks are used for those articles which may be either military status or military criminal offenses, depending on what the offense committed was.

Category Article Number and Subject

- *** 77 Principles.
- *** 78 Accessory after the fact.
- *** 79 Conviction of lesser included offense.
- *** 80 Attempts.
- *** 81 Conspiracy.
- *** 82 Solicitation.
- * 83 Fraudulent enlistment, appointment or separation.
- * 84 Unlawful enlistment, appointment or separation.
- * 85 Desertion.
- * 86 Absence without leave.
- * 87 Missing movement.
- * 88 Contempt toward officials.
- * 89 Disrespect toward superior commissioned officer.
- * 90 Assaulting or willfully disobeying a superior commissioned officer.
- * 91 Insubordinate conduct toward warrant officer, noncommissioned officer, or petty officer.
- *** 92 Failure to obey order or regulation.
- * 93 Cruelty and maltreatment.
- * 94 Mutiny or sedition.
- ** 95 Resistance, breach of arrest, and escape.
- ** 96 Releasing a prisoner without proper authority.
- ** 97 Unlawful detention.
- * 98 Noncompliance with procedural rules.
- * 99 Misbehavior before the enemy.
- * 100 Subordinate compelling surrender.
- * 101 Improper use of countersign.
- * 102 Forcing a safeguard.
- ** 103 Captured or abandoned property.
- ** 104 Aiding the enemy.
- * 105 Misconduct as prisoner.
- ** 106 Spies.
- * 107 False official statements.
- ** 108 Military property of United States - loss, damage, destruction, or wrongful disposition.

- ** 109 Property other than military property of United States - waste, spoilage, or destruction.
- * 110 Improper hazarding of vessel.
- ** 111 Drunken or reckless driving.
- * 112 Drunk on duty.
- * 113 Misbehavior of sentinel.
- ** 114 Dueling.
- * 115 Malingering.
- ** 116 Riot or breach of peace.
- * 117 Provoking speeches or gestures.
- ** 118 Murder.
- ** 119 Manslaughter.
- ** 120 Rape and carnal knowledge.
- ** 121 Larceny and wrongful appropriation.
- ** 122 Robbery.
- ** 123 Forgery.
- ** 123a Making, drawing, or uttering check, draft, or order without sufficient funds.
- ** 124 Maiming.
- ** 125 Sodomy.
- ** 126 Arson.
- ** 127 Extortion.
- ** 128 Assault.
- ** 129 Burglary.
- ** 130 Housebreaking.
- ** 131 Perjury.
- ** 132 Frauds against the United States.
- * 133 Conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman.
- *** 134 General article.

Source: Manual for Courts-Martial United States, 1969 (Revised Edition) (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. A2-26 - A2-27.

APPENDIX B

Self-Esteem Scale
Contrived Items and Score Values

"Positive" responses indicate low self-esteem and are indicated by an asterisk (*).

Scale Item I. This contrived item resulted from a combination of the three original items listed below. If a respondent answered 2 out of 3 or 3 out of 3 positively, he received a positive score for the contrived item.

I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an even plane with others.

- () Strongly agree
- () Agree
- *() Disagree
- *() Strongly disagree

I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

- () Strongly agree
- () Agree
- *() Disagree
- *() Strongly disagree

All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.

- *() Strongly agree
- *() Agree
- () Disagree
- () Strongly disagree

Scale Item II was contrived from the combined responses of the following two original items. One out of 2 or 2 out of 2 positive responses were considered a positive score for this item.

I am able to do things as well as most other people.

- () Strongly agree
- () Agree
- *() Disagree
- *() Strongly disagree

I feel that I do not have much to be proud of.

- *() Strongly agree
- *() Agree
- () Disagree
- () Strongly disagree

Scale Item III. This item consists of only one of the original items. A positive response was counted as a positive score for this item.

I take a positive attitude toward myself.

- () Strongly agree
- () Agree
- *() Disagree
- *() Strongly disagree

Scale Item IV. This contrived item consists of only one of the original items. A positive response was counted as a positive score for this item.

On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

- () Strongly agree
- () Agree
- *() Disagree
- *() Strongly disagree

Scale Item V. This contrived item consists of only one of the original items. A positive response was counted as a positive score for this item.

I wish I could have more respect for myself.

- *() Strongly agree
- *() Agree
- () Disagree
- () Strongly disagree

Scale Item VI. This contrived item resulted from the combination of the two original items listed below. If a respondent answered 1 out of 2 or 2 out of 2 positively, he received a positive score for this item.

I certainly feel useless at times.

- *() Strongly agree
- *() Agree
- () Disagree
- () Strongly disagree

At times, I think I am no good at all.

- *() Strongly agree
- *() Agree
- () Disagree
- () Strongly disagree

Source: Morris Rosenberg. Society and the Adolescent Self-Image. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 305-307.