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THE CHALLENGE OF CORRECTIONAL CHANGE: THE INTERFACE OF CONFORMITY AND COMMITMENT

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Dr. Williams has been active in a number of training programs with a variety of populations and has been a lecturer with the Department of Psychology and the Department of Management at The University of Texas and now holds the rank of Assistant Professor in the Graduate School of Social Work at The University.

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Mr. Tomaino served in the Edgewood Public School District of San Antonio for eight years, as a teacher and coordinator of youth activities. He subsequently served in the Bexar County Juvenile Probation Department as Assistant Probation Officer and as Supervisor of Casework Services. From 1963 to 1965 Mr. Tomaino was on the faculty at the Tulane University School of Social Work. He is presently Training Coordinator at the Southwest Center for Law and the Behavioral Sciences and Lecturer in the Graduate School of Social Work at The University of Texas.

The task of the correctional worker is defined as one of effecting change, and his professional role is conceived of as society's paid "agent of change". Correctional change strategies, based on various combinations of change agent concerns, are discussed in this paper, along with the particular "views of man" which underlie the emergence of these concerns. The behavioral sciences provide useful information to the correctional worker regarding the efficacy of various change strategies and provide a "Grid" model for putting the many current theories of change into perspective.

The field of corrections seems to be caught up in a peculiar paradox. At long last, it is beginning to receive the kind of public support and attention that it has needed. State and Federal legislatures are beginning to appropriate more funds for improved correctional systems. Community organizations are becoming active in programs of rehabilitation and research projects of correctional significance are popping up all over the country. In the midst of all this, however, the correctional worker has been lost in the shuffle. Indeed, in many respects he is as isolated from the mainstream of society as are the individuals with whom he must work; as a consequence, he finds it increasingly difficult to maintain his identity. Aside from the

impact of this on the individual worker, such a blurring of identity has sweeping implications for the professional image of the whole correctional field. Thus, the paradox is that the field of corrections is beginning to come into its own as an important social force while, at the same time, the correctional worker is sinking into the morass of professional ambiguity.

An interesting facet of this paradox is the fact that much more has been written about the offender and how he should be handled than about the correctional worker who must do the work or, for that matter, about the work itself. The upshot of this is that the field of corrections is characterized by a "practice without theory" approach

to its task; the only attention paid to the individual worker is in the form of prescribing the kind of person he *should be*, rather than a formulation of the task-relevant skills which should make him professionally unique. So it is that in some quarters the correctional worker must be a "discreet person of good moral character", while in others he must categorically be a "trained social worker", and in some others he must be "any person of good character who has earned a college degree and can give proof of having supervised the work of at least three other people for not less than two years". On the basis of these criteria one is still left with the question, "Who is the correctional worker and what does he do?". It would seem that until this question is answered, little real progress will be made in either the theories of corrections or the training of correctional personnel. Moreover, such an answer will not be forthcoming until the objectives of correctional agencies have been clarified to the point of allowing some measure of success and failure in the attainment of objectives.

THE DILEMMA OF THE CORRECTIONAL WORKER

If we can accept the suggestion of social scientists that one's identity is, to a great extent, dependent upon the role he performs in society and that this role, in turn, is defined for him in terms of the objectives of his culture, then the dilemma of the correctional worker may be brought into sharper focus. The objectives of the correctional culture are to protect the public and rehabilitate the offender and herein lies much of the dilemma which confronts the correctional worker. While it follows at a common sense level that successful rehabilitation of offenders would at one and the same time result in a protection of the public, there are basic procedural and timing discrepancies between the two facets which frequently create ambiguity and frustration on the part of the worker. The problem lies not so much in the statement of objectives *per se* therefore, as it does in the individual correctional worker's *perception* of those objectives.

"Protection of the public" is a crisis-oriented objective and, as such, it addresses itself to swift and definitive action. "Rehabilitation of the offender," on the other hand, would seem to speak to a more fundamental type of action which is less observable and anything but swift. Thus, the correctional worker is urged to move quickly and

decisively in one instance and to be tolerant, insightful, and helpful in another. No real guidelines for priority are given in the statement of objectives and the worker is left to his own devices in translating the objectives into action. It is at this point that the identity of the individual worker, if not that of the profession, begins to slip away; for taking objectives as the source of role definition, the conditions have been created for role conflict. Put another way, this says that the correctional worker may feel that he must serve two masters; each with different demands.

As Sarbin¹ has pointed out, to be caught up in a conflict of roles situation can be particularly punishing and demoralizing. For many correctional workers, the role conflict which results from the perceived discrepancy between the protection and rehabilitation components of correctional objectives has proved to be virtually immobilizing and the tendency has become one of dichotomizing the goals so that they might be dealt with as two separate issues. This separation of issues, as a reaction to the ambiguity and frustration generated by the total objective, has utility for simplifying the task of the correctional worker and reduces it to a level of abstraction with which he can comfortably cope. Such a dichotomy may not create the conditions for an effective program of corrections, however, for typically the worker does not stop with a mere partitioning of goals, but tends to lose sight of one or the other facets of his objective and comes to identify with but a single aspect of the correctional process. In its least extreme form, this tendency is reflected in a "Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's and unto God that which is His" approach to protection and rehabilitation; in its more extreme forms, however, it results in some workers' describing their work as "law enforcement", while others view themselves as "helping persons" concerned with treatment issues. Needless to say, the goals of "law enforcers" are not the same as those of "helping persons", nor are the strategies they are likely to employ. As a result, the corrections profession itself is divided along protection-rehabilitation lines and theorists are still trying to resolve questions posed by John Augustus and Major Savage one hundred years ago. So it is that we are still asking who the correctional worker is and what he does.

¹ SARBIN, HANDBOOK OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY (1954).

THE CORRECTIONAL WORKER AS AN AGENT OF CHANGE

It begins to appear that a different perspective toward the work of corrections is needed, and the objectives of corrections may provide the context for this perspective, just as they did for the dilemmas cited above. Implicit in the charges of protection and rehabilitation is a more fundamental consideration than either of these taken separately, and this is the mission *change*. The task of the correctional worker, when stripped to its most essential elements and presented in its most incisive form, is one of *changing* individuals from offender to nonoffender status, with the result that the public will then be protected and the offender can be considered to be rehabilitated. Indeed, those who describe the work of corrections as "law enforcement" or "treatment" are not speaking to the goals of corrections at all; they are really revealing their own assumptions about how change can be brought about. Thus, by adopting a *change* perspective to the correctional task and by redefining the correctional worker as an agent of change, it may become possible to gain insight into why various workers see their work as they do and to actually evaluate their assumptions systematically within the context of change theory. At the same time, because there is an abundance of theory and research regarding the induction of change, such a perspective may allow an influx of new theories and criteria for effective corrections and, thereby, lead to a clarification of the professional image of correctional workers. Therefore, let us consider the correctional worker in a new light; namely as society's professional agent of change. Simultaneously, let us begin to assess more systematically some of the assumptions and their consequent strategies which have prevailed in the field of corrections with an eye toward testing their efficacy for the successful induction of change.

THE CHANGE GRID: A MODEL OF CHANGE AGENT STRATEGIES

Corrections has long been characterized by an eclectic approach to its task, and this is good so long as objectives are clearly defined. In looking at the process of change, a new source of theory becomes available, and this is applied social psychology as it has been used in management training.

The Managerial Grid Concept

Robert Blake and Jane Mouton, two pioneering behavioral scientists engaged in the study of management and organizational change, have recently synthesized the results of years of theory and experience into a conceptual model of managerial behavior called the *Managerial Grid*.² This model, based as it is on complex theory and empirical research, has proved to be a powerful instrument for creating insight into the managerial process and for the development of new management techniques. In addition to its use in management, however, the Blake and Mouton Grid technique constitutes a more universal contribution in that it provides a descriptive and diagnostic tool for the systematic analysis of goal-oriented behaviors in terms of (1) the dichotomized needs or concerns which motivate an individual and (2) the personal assumptions or "theories" the individual has about the relationship between these concerns and their relevance for deciding on the relative importance of each.

Correctional objectives call attention to two such concerns within a change context and we have already seen that people manifest assumptions about their relative importance. Therefore, it would seem that the Grid technique of analysis might have much to say for the task of correctional change and the strategies various correctional workers employ as agents of change. Let us proceed, then, to draw upon existing theory and research in the area of change and, out of this, to construct a Change Grid which will allow an assessment of individual change agent strategies and their significance for the corrections profession.

Identifying the Basic Dimensions of the Change Grid

The concerns of the correctional worker provide the basic dimensions of the Change Grid. As they stem directly from the objectives of corrections, these might be called a concern for protection of the public, on one hand, and a concern for rehabilitation of the offender, on the other. Within a more general change context, however, these reflect concerns for (1) conformity on the part of the changee and (2) acceptance of or commitment to the program of change on the part of the changee.³ Thus, we will take as the basic dimen-

² BLAKE & MOUTON, *THE MANAGERIAL GRID* (1964).

³ The word *conformity* as used here refers to con-

sions of the Change Grid the individual change agent's *concern for conformity* and *concern for commitment*. Research in the induction of change, while not focusing directly on these two areas of concern to agents of change, has indicated that the degree to which an agent is concerned for either dimension is closely related to the effectiveness and duration of his change strategies.⁴

Orienting and Scaling the Change Grid Dimensions

The concern for conformity and the concern for commitment are conceived in the Grid format as being independent of each other. That is, a concern for one is not theoretically contingent upon a concern for the other. Whatever relationship may be found to exist—be it positive, negative, or zero—is imposed by the individual change agent; in its pure form, however, the Grid is based on independent concerns. In view of this the two dimensions may be thought of as being oriented at right angles to each other as shown in the chart 1. In it, the horizontal axis of the Change Grid represents the *concern for change conformity* experienced by agents of change. The vertical axis represents the *concern for change commitment* which a change agent is likely to have in working with a changee.

Since we are also interested in the degree to which a particular change agent is concerned about these basic dimensions, it is necessary to provide a measurement of "degree of concern". Therefore, each axis has been scaled from 1 to 9 (as was the case with Blake and Mouton's Grid) in order to reflect the degree to which a person is concerned for either conformity or commitment. For purposes of our discussion, the value 1 denotes a minimal "concern for" while the value 9 denotes a maximal "concern for". Thus, by placing the two concerns at right angles to each other and by scaling the degree of concern represented, the change strategies of individual change agents can be evaluated from the standpoint of the *relationship* which they perceive between concerns for conformity and concerns for commitment.

formity on the part of a changee to a set of social standards, however derived. *Commitment* is defined as the subjective feeling on the part of the changee that his conformity to such standards is desirable and necessary. Commitment should not be confused with "incarceration," the usual definition of the term in the correctional field.

⁴BIDERMAN & ZIMMER, *THE MANIPULATION OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR* (1961); BENNIS, BENNE, & CHIN, *THE PLANNING OF CHANGE* (1961).

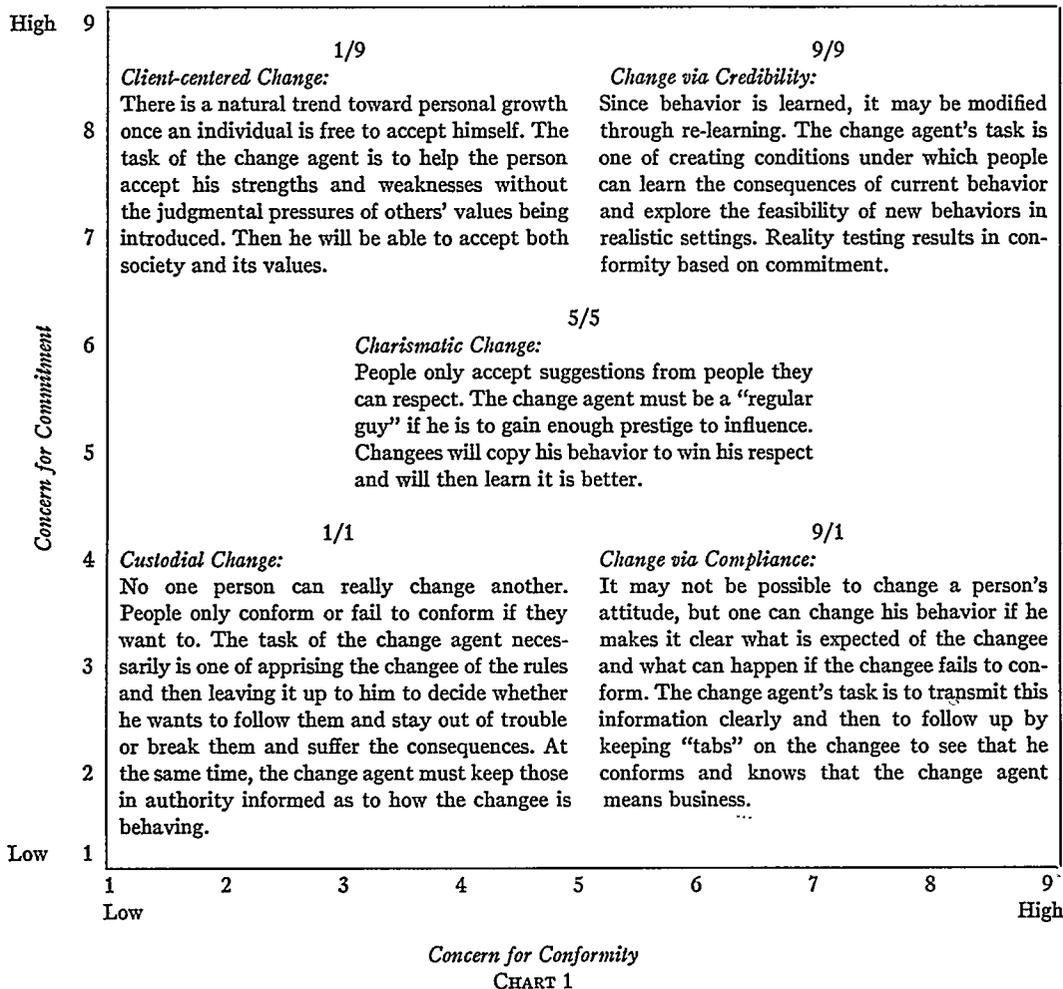
Conflict Assumptions of Change

Three approaches to achieving change in others rest on the assumption that the concern for conformity and the concern for commitment are in basic conflict with each other and, therefore, mutually exclusive. The person who embraces this assumption and perceives the two concerns as immutably separate finds himself in a self-imposed forced-choice situation in which he must choose one or the other, but never both, as his particular focus of concern. The change agent assumptions and strategies which result from this perception are (reading Grid fashion, right and up) the 9/1 Change via Compliance approach, the 1/9 Client-Centered Change approach, and the 1/1 Custodial Change approach. Each of these is found in corrections and, it should be mentioned at the outset, each approach can result in change.

The 9/1 position—Change via Compliance. The lower right-hand corner of the Grid represents that change strategy which is characterized by a maximal concern for conformity and minimal concern for commitment. This strategy is based on the assumption that the majority of people whose behavior has been deemed in need of change will actually change only if what is required of them is clearly spelled out and consistent enforcement of these requirements is insured. The importance of the changee's commitment to these requirements is either minimized or denied entirely. Two somewhat different assumptions contribute to this strategy. Some change agents feel, on one hand, that if changes in behavior can be induced under conditions allowing little deviation from specified requirements, commitment will occur in time on the basis of the *fait accompli* effect. This assumption is particularly apparent in "legalized" change. Other agents, on the other hand, feel that commitment concerns are impractical in view of the natural resistance of people to change coupled with the fact that these people are primarily committed to the behavior which is the target of change in the first place.

The success of programs of change based on compliance rests primarily in the power of the influencing agent over the changee and the degree of surveillance which the agent of change is able to devote to the case. Change via compliance requires a relatively formal and well defined power differential between the change agent and the changee since compliance, by definition, implies an ability on the part of the change agent to mediate

THE CHANGE GRID
Individual Strategies of Change



rewards and punishment for the changee for compliance and noncompliance, respectively. At the same time, change via compliance requires maximum surveillance on the part of the change agent, since conformity on the part of the changee occurs on the basis of power differences rather than on the basis of commitment to the conforming behavior. Withdrawal or reduction of surveillance will usually result in a decrease in conforming behavior.

The 9/1 position receives much use in corrections and contains the seeds of its own problems. Surveillance is increasingly difficult to maintain due to large caseloads and ever-rising offense rates. There is also some question as to who can perform surveillance more effectively—the police-

man or the correctional worker. Some jurisdictions compel the worker to assume a dual stance of policeman-change agent which reinforces the 9/1 approach. It also follows that the power ingredient in 9/1 takes on an added dimension as required by the police role thereby limiting the change planning of the agent.

The 1/9 position—Client-centered Change. The "client-centered" strategy of change, as represented in the upper left-hand corner of the Grid, reflects the assumption that people are basically motivated by growth needs and will gravitate toward the social values representative of the mature person once they have been freed to do so. This strategy focuses on the commitment of the individual since growth requires freedom of choice

of the type which is apt to result in high commitment. It rejects the concern for conformity since implicit in such a concern is a host of subjective values and judgments regarding "correct" behavior. These are seen as antithetical to the free choice situation. Thus, Client-centered change is designed to help the individual accept his own short-comings, as a means of finding himself in his society and accepting others as well. As such, it tends to focus on the "there-and-then" determinants of present behavior.

Change under Client-centered conditions requires a minimal power differential between change agent and changee, with minimal surveillance. What power difference there is is likely to be tipped in favor of the changee. It is necessary under this strategy that the changee feel that he is master of his own fate and capable of making his own decisions without the restricting demands of the change agent being emphasized as under other strategies. The agent of change, in effect, reduces his own power in the change situation in order to force the burden of change onto the shoulders of the changee and avoids influencing either the occurrence or direction of change beyond the point of "freeing" the changee to grow. Trust and appreciation are central to this relationship and concerns for conformity are seen as mutually exclusive of such considerations.

This is the kind of change which has permeated the traditional social work change strategies. Such approaches tend to form a "free floating" change tactic which has difficulty integrating with the structured corrections milieu. This factor helps explain partially the conflicts which correctional social workers have experienced in the authoritarian setting.

The 1/1 position—Custodial Change. Custodial Change, as depicted in the lower left-hand corner of the Grid, is based on the premise that individuals are basically autogenous and, therefore, change or fail to change as a result of their own desires. Custodial change strategies are not change strategies at all in the strictest sense of the word, but reflect the change agent's unique perception of his own role rather than a concern with inducing change. It may well be that Custodial Change represents the resolution of conflicts and frustrations which many change agents experience in the face of pressures to effect change, on one hand, and resistance to change attempts, on the other. The result is an increasing conviction that individual propensities for maladaptive behaviors are

in direct conflict with external attempts to effect more adaptive behavior. Individual behavior—whatever its dynamics—is viewed as too deeply ingrained to change substantially and what changes do occur are seen as more a product of changee desires than change agent strategies.

Therefore, the role of the change agent under Custodial Change is reinterpreted to reflect the more mechanical aspects of the task; namely, providing the appraisal of limitations, consequences of failure to conform, and evaluation of adjustment. The Custodial Change agent focuses more on accurate documentation and reporting than on plans for change and operates more as a detached observer of progress than as an initiator of action. Personal power is rechanneled toward these pursuits and may be seen by the changee as implying a *laissez faire* condition. Surveillance is usually of the mechanical nature, relying on formally scheduled contacts rather than on the informal types which characterize both 9/1 and 1/9 strategies.

The 1/1 approach has long been a thorn in the side of correctional administrators because of its unimaginative "mechanical" approach to human dilemmas. It is important to realize, however, that this approach to change tends to result from the conditions of the agency *per se*, rather than from any inherent trait of the change agent. For example, change agents who are predisposed toward 1/9 strategies may well revert to a Custodial approach should they find themselves in an essentially 9/1 agency, and vice versa. Similarly, heavily bureaucratic practices on the part of agencies promote 1/1-ism by holding to within-rank promotions and administrative appointments which perpetuate the "party line".

Reciprocal Assumptions of Change

While the three change strategies discussed so far represent conflict or suppression orientations to the concerns for conformity and commitment, there are others which are based on the assumption of a reciprocal relationship between concerns. These strategies reflect a recognition of the fact that both concerns are the legitimate domain of the correctional agent of change; but they subscribe to the notion that conformity and commitment concerns exist in a reciprocal relationship such that the degree to which the change agent is concerned about one determines automatically the degree to which he can be concerned about the other. Thus, the implicit assumption is that it is

necessary to be concerned about both conformity and commitment, but that one must strike a "mechanical balance" between the two in order to do this. Two commonly used strategies fall under this assumption.

The 9/1 to 1/9 Paternalism Pendulum. Blake and Mouton identified the existence of a "wide arc pendulum" phenomenon in management which they felt lay at the roots of paternalistic practices. Similarly, a pendulum approach to change seems to be employed by many correctional change agents. The Paternalism Pendulum approach stems from a recognition of the need for both conformity and commitment in achieving change, and seeks to deal with the two concerns separately because of their assumed reciprocity. The Paternalistic change agent pursues a 9/1 Compliance-oriented course in matters pertaining to changee behavior and a 1/9 Client-centered course in issues not directly related to the plan of change. By virtue of requiring strict compliance to the plan for change, one one hand, and by offering help and support in nonchange areas, on the other, the change agent is likely to be seen as paternalistic. That is, he may fall into the role of a father figure who metes out both punishments and rewards and thereby increases his control over the changee. Implicit in this approach is the notion that continued compliance may result in increased rewards in areas not germane to behavior change *per se*. As such, this approach reflects an attempt to show concern about the feelings of the changee while at the same time exacting model behavior. The changee, in turn, may be confused and frustrated by the lack of consistency which such a strategy interjects into the change process.

The 5/5 Position—Charismatic Change. In the center of the Change Grid is found the 5/5 or Charismatic Change strategy. This approach to change also proceeds on the assumption that, while concerns for conformity and commitment are both necessary and realistic, they exist as reciprocals; *i.e.*, it is possible to be concerned for both, but the more concern one has for one the less he can have for the other. Basically, the Charismatic Change agent is more concerned with conformity and in this respect his strategy may be thought of as a distorted 9/1 approach. At the same time, however, he is eager to gain enough commitment to the conforming behavior to insure its continued use. (It might be noted that this is the first instance in which this concern

for change duration has entered into a change strategy.)

Since the 5/5 change agent can appreciate the resistance changees might feel toward adopting certain required behaviors, he attempts to gain commitment to *himself* as an agent who behaves in the prescribed manner, rather than to the behavior *per se*. Accordingly, he feels that it is important for the change agent to understand the problems of the changee while at the same time being mindful of the requirements for more adaptive behavior. The 5/5 change agent relies heavily on social power and his own attractiveness in dealing with changees, and may well work hard to be seen as "a regular guy". By gaining the respect and admiration of changees, the Charismatic Change agent feels that he can also win cooperation by virtue of the fact that those who respect him will desire his respect in turn and will conform in order to gain it. Needless to say, this is a unique approach to effecting change and requires a unique person for its employment. The success of such a strategy rests on the ability of the change agent to maintain the balance of social power via his own attractiveness in the situation. Because of this, both the direction and duration of change become tenuous and subject to numerous distracting influences. Moreover, change achieved on the basis of the somewhat manipulative Charismatic approach is analogous to "cure by transfer" and, consequently, tends to endure only so long as the change agent is both attractive and near at hand. Because of its "personalized" quality, it requires frequent informal contacts between the change agent and changee as a means of reinforcing the importance of the relationship.

SUMMARY

By orienting the concern for conformity and the concern for commitment dimensions at right angles to each other, it has been possible to delineate several strategies of change which are commonly encountered when individuals attempt to influence others. The individual strategies of change which have been touched on thus far reflect a strong orientation toward the incompatibility of *concerns for conformity* and *concerns for commitment*. It may be this orientation which is responsible for the general lack of a systematic approach which currently characterizes corrections and the professional ambiguity discussed earlier.

AN INTEGRATION OF THE CONCERNS FOR
CONFORMITY AND COMMITMENT

Realistically, if a change strategy is to be effective, the change agent *must* be concerned with a behavioral shift in a given direction, *i.e.*, conformity. Contrary to many of the assumptions underlying other strategies, it is not necessarily judgmental to expect individuals to employ certain kinds of behavior. Rather, personal experience—without regard for personal values and labels—indicates fairly consistently that some behaviors result in constructive, mature relationships with one's environment while others result in destructive and debilitating relationships. These consequences are less a product of one's value-laden interpretation of another's behavior than they are of reality-based fact. At the same time, it seems apparent on the basis of research in the social sciences that for change to endure (as well as to occur in its strictest sense) some degree of commitment to that change is necessary on the part of *both* changees and agents of change. The fact that many people see these two concerns as conflicting may merely reflect their lack of the theoretical orientation or the skills whereby the two concerns can be made to converge in a single strategy.

A quite different strategy is represented in an assumption based on research in the behavioral sciences which indicates that where there is a high level of participation and involvement in goal-setting activities there is an equally high degree of commitment and conformity to the behaviors deemed necessary for goal attainment.⁵ This is the assumption underlying the remaining anchor position on the Grid.

The 9/9 position—Change via Credibility. This strategy is based on the assumption that for change to be undertaken by a changee the reasons for it must be understood and credible and the behaviors required must be agreed upon by all parties to the process. In effect, this assumption focuses on the setting and testing of goals initially as in the selective and individualized use of probation or parole conditions, and then on the invention and selection of those behaviors most

likely to result in goal-attainment. The role of the agent of change becomes one of an *interventionist* rather than that of sanctioner or supporter. His task under the 9/9 strategy becomes one of establishing the credibility of the need for change and the various elements of the plan for change. This he does, not as an "expert" with all the answers, but as a mediator between the changee and his environment, pushing for the articulation of changee goals and an evaluation of current behaviors relative to these goals. This strategy results in a form of reality testing on the part of the changee under protected confidential conditions in which he is free to experiment at both the intellectual and muscle levels. The change agent exerts influence by virtue of his consistent charge to the changee to "test his behavior" against reality. Since the changee's environment is part of his reality, he must necessarily come to grips with the issue of "What are the consequences of my behavior for others and, in turn, what are the consequences of their reactions for me?" The dilemma inherent in these issues provides the motivation for undertaking programs of change on the part of individuals once the relevance and credibility of the answers are recognized.

The agent of change who pursues the 9/9 change strategy attempts to do so within the context in which the problem exists; *i.e.*, he attacks the problem in its natural habitat rather than in a setting of his own making under artificially imposed conditions. This may be within the family context if the problem has its genesis there or within some other reference group with which the changee identifies and to which he is committed. The relearning of behaviors, therefore, may involve a number of people other than the changee proper; but to the extent that these others contribute to current and future changee behavior, they represent a part of the reality with which the change agent must be prepared to deal. Ultimately, the change agent would hope to create the conditions under which the changee can begin to assess reality and its implications for himself. To do so, however, requires that the changee have an opportunity not only to reevaluate his situation as it relates to the situation of the rest of society, but an opportunity to practice and experiment with new behavioral patterns as well. It is only in this way that the changee will be able to generalize from the experiences he has during change to his

⁵ Lewin, *The Relative Effectiveness of a Lecture Method and a Method of Group Decision for Changing Food Habits*, State University of Iowa Child Welfare Research Station (1942); Levine & Butler, *Lecture vs. Group Discussion in Changing Behavior*, 36 J. APPL. PSYCHOL. 29 (1952); Coch & French, *Overcoming Resistance to Change*, 1 HUMAN RELAT. 512 (1948).

workaday world. In turn, the change agent who pursues the 9/9 course will find that it is necessary to share his power equally in order to attain the amount of involvement and participation necessary on the part of changees to result in their commitment to the program.

Thus, the 9/9 agent of change serves as a representative of society who intervenes into the social life of the changee much as the psychoanalyst intervenes into the mental life of his patients. By sharing power of decision with the changee he is able to reinterpret changee behavior in terms of changee goals and to create conditions for evaluating behavior by the nature of his interventions. He employs a problem-solving approach to the integration of conformity and commitment and exhibits a maximal concern for both as the essential elements for enduring change.

Strategies of Change and "Views of Man"

Implicit in the whole notion of change discussed here is the idea that the individual correctional worker controls the probabilities of success in the change process. This is so because, as we have said, the assumptions the change agent holds about change and how it should be effected directly influence the type of change strategy he will employ. Thus, assuming that change is the objective of corrections, it is no wonder that one finds so many different perceptions and interpretations of the task at hand and the resulting blurring of the professional image. This is merely a symptom of the failure of correctional personnel to articulate an agreed upon objective, supported by a set of definitive assumptions and principles. One of the first tasks which must be confronted toward this end is a clarification of the correctional "view of man".

While it would be unrealistic to contend that the assumptions that various agents of change hold with respect to the means for effecting change are uncolored by personal needs and dynamics, this is a less important consideration than the basic view of man which the correctional person holds. The logic of this position is that we tend to respond to people on the basis of the "theories" we have about them. As might be expected, the views of man which underlie each of the change strategies discussed earlier differ in some very fundamental ways.

The 9/1 view of man. Essentially, the view of

man which would necessitate the adoption of a change strategy predicated on strict formal power, close surveillance, and the use of rewards and punishments is that man is primarily a hedonistic pleasure-seeking animal who can be motivated by either the possibility of rewards or by fear of punishment. As such, he is seen as having little personal integrity and sense of responsibility, poor judgment, few of the more advanced social needs such as those for affiliation or achievement, and little capacity for controlling his own fate. He is seen as dependent, passive, and indifferent and, therefore, in need of a "firm" hand to get him moving in the right direction. This is, of course, basically an authoritarian point of view which becomes translated into power-oriented actions by the agent of change.

The 1/9 view of man. In many respects, the 1/9 view of man constitutes a reaction to the culturally older 9/1 view. It represents an abhorrence of the notion that man is primarily pleasure-seeking and indifferent, but seems to retain many of the ideas that he is dependent and incapable of controlling his own fate. The upshot of this mixture is a view that men who deviate from the norms of their culture are basically good, but ill socially and psychologically. Implicit in this view is the idea that, because of their dependence and lack of self-control, they must be helped by others if they are to ever overcome their inadequacies. As such, this view of man requires a strategy which emphasizes the dependability of the change agent as a person who is interested in and accepting of people in trouble and who, at the same time, has a capacity to understand them that they themselves lack. In an extreme form, this view of man may result in the assumption of a "holier than thou" posture on the part of change agents as they deal with "exceptional cases". In its less extreme form it would seem to place relatively greater emphasis on the psychodynamics of individual changees than on the social determinants of deviant behavior.

The 1/1 view of man. The 1/1 view of man, much as the 1/1 strategy of change, reflects a change agent's feelings of disenchantment and frustration with his professional world. As such, it tends to be pessimistic in character and focuses on the notion that people are what they are, regardless of other's attempts to help or change them. Man is seen as a free agent, who is good or

bad as a matter of genetic chance and who, alone, can decide to pursue programs of change or non-change. Many of the elements of irresponsibility and truncated social needs found in the 9/1 view of man are also represented here; but the assumption of independence (if not counter-dependence) is made by the 1/1 change agent, rather than the dependent characterization subscribed to by 9/1 and 1/9 agents. To a great extent, this view of man belies the change agent's own feelings of alienation as much as those of the offender. In extreme instances, this view may even be bolstered by an adherence to the somewhat unsophisticated position of genetic endowment, as epitomized by the Jukes and Kallikaks, or to such premises as the "criminal mind" in an attempt to rationalize away change agent responsibility for changee behavior.

The 5/5 view of man. This view of man employs a compartmentalized assessment of people with the result that an assumption of innate "goodness" is made, on one hand, coupled with a perceived need for leadership, on the other. The vast majority of people are seen as followers, and this idea reflects a basic distrust of their capacities to lead themselves. Thus, the 5/5 view of man, unlike those already described, incorporates and places major emphasis on the social needs of individuals to "belong" and to have meaningful affiliations with people they can trust and respect. Thus, deviant behavior is attributed to "misidentification" with deviant leaders on the part of changees who have gotten in with the "wrong crowd". Man is viewed as malleable on the basis of his need for gratifying relationships which, when used constructively, can become the source of motivation for change and more adaptive behavior. Such a view requires a strategy which can effectively initiate and sustain a "personalized" relationship between the change agent and the changee. The 5/5 change agent, in effect, pits his leadership against that of less socially acceptable leaders. It is perhaps symptomatic of the view that a major source of concern to the 5/5 change agent is whether or not he is being "conned" by the changee.

The 9/9 view of man. Unlike the views of man associated with other change strategies, the assumptions underlying the 9/9 strategy attest to the basic similarities of all men. While individual differences are recognized, they are not used as

the basis for explaining deviant behavior or conforming behavior. Rather, man is seen as a social animal motivated by the desire to achieve and to behave responsibly, while at the same time valuing both his independence and dependence and his capacity for fate-control. He is seen as a learner who finds ways of satisfying these basic needs on the basis of experience with his particular reference group or culture. Thus, deviant behavior under this view is attributed to deviant learning and the problem of change is seen as one of relearning more appropriate means of need satisfaction. Neither the needs nor the capacities of individuals are discredited, as such; rather, the conditions for learning are seen as the prime determinants of behavior and the generalized need for mature functioning is seen as the only motivation necessary to prompt relearning. This view requires a strategy which facilitates learning by way of providing the means for an effective translation of valid social principles into changee awareness and behavior. That is, it requires change agent skills in creating the conditions for "discovery" on the part of changees within those realistic limits of society which bind us all.

"Views of Man" and the Self-fulfilling Prophecy. It can be seen that each strategy of change has as its genesis a distinctly unique view of man. Each of these, if correct, would call for unique procedures. Therefore, 9/1 change relies on the basic process of coercion; 1/9 on a process of self-maximation; 1/1 on spontaneous remission; 5/5 on the dynamics of identification; and 9/9 on a process of internalization.⁶ As such, each of these processes is set in motion by the agent of change; and each may meet with some degree of success. While each success experience may serve to reinforce the agent's view of man, he should also be aware of his assumptions and their relevance for the self-fulfilling prophecy. Since we all know that it is possible to *cause* what we expect to happen to actually occur in our relations with others, the correctional change agent should ask himself why he finds people dependent or irresponsible or sick or in need of a leader. It may be that we view man many times, not so much as he is but as we are.

⁶ The change processes of coercion, identification, and internalization have been previously identified and discussed at length by Herbert Kelman, and are summarized in his article, *The Induction of Action and Attitude Change*, *Proceedings, The Fourteenth International Congress of Applied Psychology* (1961).

To the extent that this is true in the field of corrections, the profession will grow no more than its most articulate spokesman.

SUMMARY CONSIDERATIONS

Thus, we have tried to present a wide range of correctional practices as they exist and are currently being employed. It seems self-evident that, given such a wide divergence of assumptions and practices, the field of corrections cannot help but

be characterized by professional ambiguity, duplication of effort, and antithetical pursuits. Moreover, this will continue to be the case until some unifying principle can be discovered which will allow a new input of theory and experimentation. We suggest that the canopy of correctional change represents such a unifying principle and that under it the profession and its workers can grow. Therefore, the challenge of corrections, it would seem, lies at the interface of conformity and commitment.