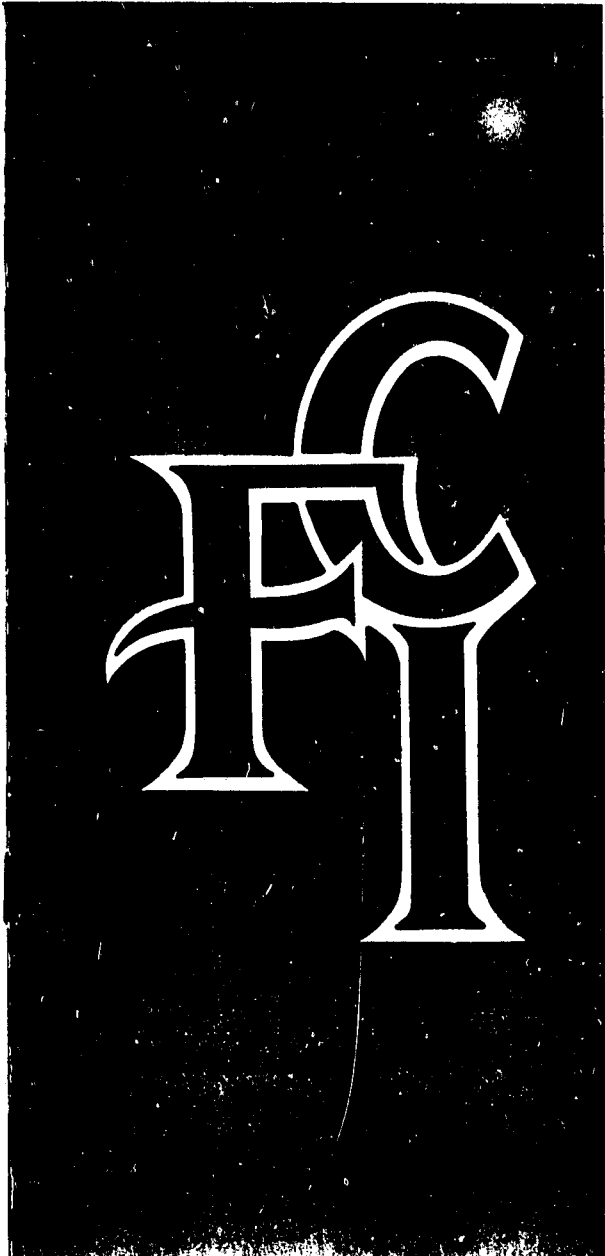


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BOYD

RACE OF INMATE,
RACE OF OFFICER,
AND DISCIPLINARY
PROCEEDINGS AT A
FEDERAL
CORRECTIONAL
INSTITUTION

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COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

RACE OF INMATE, RACE OF OFFICER, AND DISCIPLINARY
PROCEEDINGS AT A FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION

By
JEFFERY L. BOYD

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

A disproportionate number of the offenders incarcerated in most correctional facilities are black while the majority of the staff is white. Given this state of affairs, and the strains and tensions that naturally develop between the imprisoned and the prisoners, it is to be expected that there would be allegations of racial bias. Race has been blamed for the violence at Attica and in California. Many have suggested that increasing the proportion of minority staff members is the best, perhaps the only, solution.

In this *FCI Report*, Boyd examines the extent of racial bias in one form of officially recorded behavior - disciplinary reports - at a Federal Institution for youthful offenders. He asks whether blacks are more likely than whites to be "written-up" and if these blacks who do receive "shots" are treated more severely than their white counterparts.

Next Boyd inquires whether black and white officers, matched for experience, differ in the propensity to write conduct reports on black and white inmates.

Boyd finds no social differences in the rate of disciplinary write-ups received by blacks and whites over several years nor was there any significant difference in the penalties assigned blacks and whites for equivalent offenses. Black and white officers did not differ in the average number of "shots" they submitted, but they did differ in the kinds of offenses they wrote up. They also differed in their propensity to write-up black and white inmates, with the black officers submitting a disproportionate number of shots on black inmates.

Boyd integrates his findings with the literature on racial factors in law enforcement and delineates the implications of his results for corrections.

E. I. M.

RACE OF INMATE, RACE OF OFFICER, AND DISCIPLINARY PROCEEDINGS AT A FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION

Introduction

One often encounters, in the literature on crime and delinquency, the contention that blacks and other minority groups are discriminated against at all levels of the criminal justice system. In their reviews, Terry (1967) and Thornberry (1973) cite numerous texts in sociology and criminology that support this observation. Sutherland and Cressey (1960), for example, assert that

- (a) Negroes are more liable to arrest than whites . . .
- (c) Negroes have a higher conviction rate than whites.
- (d) Negroes are often punished more severely than whites . . .
- (e) Whites are more likely to receive probation and suspended sentences.
- (f) Negroes receive pardons less often than do whites (p. 286).

Some writers (e.g. Burns, 1973; Moore and Moore, 1973) argue that racist repression is evident throughout the criminal justice system, and that prisons in particular represent the ultimate weapon in the oppression of blacks by whites.

Empirical studies have shown that police admit to holding prejudicial beliefs and attitudes (Black and Reiss, 1967); black juveniles tend to have a higher arrest rate than white juveniles (Black and Reiss, 1970); black youths receive somewhat stiffer dispositions in juvenile proceedings (Terry, 1967); black adults have a higher arrest rate (Black, 1971); black adults are less likely to have adjudication withheld, thereby avoiding the stigma of a felony conviction (Chiricos,

Jackson, and Waldo, 1972); and black convicts tend to receive more severe sentences than whites for comparable offenses (Sellin, 1928; Bullock, 1961; Wolfgang and Reidel, 1973).

In assessing these and similar studies where apparent differences related to race have been found, at least two things need to be kept in mind. First, apparent race effects may be attributable to legal variables that were inadequately controlled in the design of the study. For example, if blacks were found to receive longer sentences than whites for the same offense, this might be attributable to a legal variable such as number of prior felony convictions. It might be that all first offenders (black and white) were treated similarly, all second offenders the same, etc.; but if the sample of blacks was characterized by more extensive felony records, then the apparent discrimination in sentencing would be illusory, an artifact of the tendency for offenders having longer records to get longer sentences.

Second, even if relevant legal variables are statistically accounted for, the source of racial differences may still be problematic. They may be due to differences between blacks and whites in certain infra-legal behaviors. For example, suspects who are insolent, evasive, and generally uncooperative may run a greater risk of being arrested than those who are polite and cooperative. Thus, if black arrest rates exceed white arrest rates, it

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may be due to differential police responding to equivalent behaviors or it may be due to equivalent police responding to each of several different behavior patterns. The former is discriminatory, the latter is not necessarily.

There is a third level of analysis that is beyond the scope of most of the studies cited and is extremely difficult to evaluate. In the example above, even if blacks do more frequently display attitudes or behaviors that result in more severe treatment by police, courts, and corrections personnel, to what extent are these attitudes and behaviors the products of the frustration of living within a political-economic power structure that is white-dominated and tends to promote white political and economic interests?

This raises the viewpoint of "conflict" theorists in general and "labeling" theorists in particular (Quinney, 1970; Schrag, 1971). According to the labeling theorists, the criminality of certain acts does not inhere in the acts themselves but in the way the existent power structure chooses to define criminality. The power structure seeks to maintain its position by using social control agencies (the police, courts, prisons) to propagate the current social order. Consequently, decision-making in the criminal justice system is a function of offender as opposed to offense characteristics, and the young, the poor, and blacks can be expected to be treated more harshly. It is also postulated that this process of labeling certain socio-economic groups as "criminal" eventually leads to an identification with the deviant image and a "rejection of the rejectors" by the outgroup (Wellford, 1973).

Given that apparent differences in the way whites and blacks are treated have been frequently found in previous research, the question now becomes: are these differences due to legal and/or behavioral variables, rather than discriminatory practices? Or are the labeling theorists essentially correct in asserting that discrimination is prevalent and part of a larger socio-political phenomenon.

A careful review of the literature regarding police-citizen encounters, arrests, disposition in juvenile cases, and adult sentencing reveals that most of the findings of differential treatment of whites and blacks can be explained by related variables and do not necessarily reflect systematic discrimination against blacks.

To be sure, racial prejudice and discrimination undoubtedly vary from region to region and from city to city. Therefore, studies conducted in large northern cities may not be generalized to southern cities or smaller towns and rural communities. Nevertheless, in what is probably the most far-reaching study of police prejudice and discrimination, no evidence of racial discrimination was found. Black and Reiss (1967) had graduate student participant-observers ride in police cars, taking notes on some 3800 police-citizen encounters in Chicago, Boston, and Washington, D. C. Although 72% of the white officers and 18% of the black officers admitted to prejudicial beliefs, attitudes, and hostilities, no evidence was found of discriminatory behavior toward minorities. Despite open verbal contempt for blacks, police treated lower class blacks just as they treated lower class whites. Review-

ing the literature in this area. Savitz (1973) concluded that despite the fact that police have frequently been found to verbalize hostile views toward blacks,

there is little evidence that this, in turn, influences such police behavior as field interrogations, searches, seizures, and arrests. There is little empirical support to the contention that police systematically discriminate against the blacks' (p. 493).

The data regarding arrest rates for black and white suspects appear to parallel the pattern described in police-citizen encounters. Specifically, police officers may hold prejudicial attitudes toward blacks but nevertheless be nondiscriminatory in whom they arrest and under what circumstances. The most important study on arrest rates was conducted by Black (1971). He found that although police arrest blacks at a higher rate than whites,

no evidence supports the view that police discriminate against blacks. Rather, the race differential seems to be a function of the relatively higher rate at which black suspects display disrespect toward the police (p. 1097).

Disrespectful blacks were arrested at a rate equal to that of disrespectful whites. Similarly, respectful blacks and whites were arrested at comparable rates. Since blacks more frequently displayed disrespectful behavior, their overall rate was higher. This high rate did not, however, reflect discriminatory police practices.

Much research has been done investigating racial discrimination in the handling of juvenile cases. Again, the impor-

tance of controlling for related variables has been amply demonstrated. As Thornberry (1973) states,

The fact that blacks and lower SES subjects are more likely to be recidivists and to commit serious offenses suggests that these legal variables should be controlled in any attempt to examine the effect of race and socio-economic status. Otherwise, to find that blacks and lower SES subjects receive more severe dispositions may only reflect the fact that they are indeed more serious offenders (p. 90).

Bordua (1967) reviewed what he termed the "best available" studies and concluded that proper multivariate analysis of the data shows that offense seriousness, prior record, and age appear to be related to disposition in juvenile cases. When these variables are held constant, race of the juvenile has no effect. These studies add up to a rather "legalistic" picture with little or no evidence of racial or socio-economic bias.

Terry (1967) reported similar findings. He analyzed police files on over 9000 juvenile offenses in a midwestern city over a five year period. Disposition was examined at three separate levels of the legal-judicial process: police disposition, probation disposition, and juvenile court disposition. The evidence indicated that in one way analyses, race and SES were consistently, though weakly, related to severity of disposition. However, when number of prior offenses and seriousness of present offense were controlled, these weak relationships vanished. This pattern was found at all three levels. Terry concluded that the over-

representation of minority individuals in police records, courts, and correctional institutions cannot, on the basis of his findings, be attributed to discrimination by social control agencies.

The work of Thornberry (1973) represents the most rigorous study of juvenile court dispositions where the results did not conform to those of Terry. Employing a similar method, Thornberry examined 9601 juvenile police files collected over a several year period in Philadelphia. He found that although controlling for prior record and seriousness of offense reduced the degree of racial bias in arrest rates, disposition at intake, and court sanctions, it did not eliminate it. Percentage analysis showed that blacks and lower SES subjects were more likely than whites and higher SES subjects to receive severe dispositions. No tests of statistical significance or measures of association were employed.

In reviewing the Thornberry study, Wellford (1973) challenged his conclusions. Wellford observed that there were inadequate controls for variables such as complainant behavior, victim-offender relations, and most importantly, seriousness of offense. Thornberry's seriousness scale was dichotomous: low seriousness (status offenses) and high seriousness (all others). Because of the high variability in the category of high seriousness, it is not all certain that the blacks and whites represent truly comparable groups on this dimension. In the more uniform low seriousness category, virtually no relationship between race and disposition was found. Even with the questionable control for seriousness, Wellford's re-analysis of the data showed bivariate

relationships between race and disposition to be associated at only .04 for police, .002 for intake, and .03 for court disposition, hardly strong relationships. Wellford concluded that

... Thornberry reached conclusions not justified. In fact, the data reflect the minimal contribution of race and SES to criminal justice decision-making — the consistent finding of empirical research on the issue (p. 339).

On the basis of studies such as those of Sellin (1928), Bullock (1961), and Wolfgang and Reidel (1973), it has long been assumed that blacks tend to receive more severe sentences than whites for comparable offenses, especially capital offenses and inter-racial crimes. However, Hagan (1974) re-analyzed the data from these and 15 additional studies on race and sentencing, and arrived at quite different conclusions. Hagan first noted that tests of statistical significance are relatively uninformative with large sample sizes, since even very weak relationships will be "statistically" significant. Therefore, he used a measure of association (Goodman and Kruskal's tau-b), which indicates the increase in accuracy, beyond that provided by chance alone, that knowledge of the independent variable (race) makes possible in the prediction of the dependent variable (severity of sentence). This measure of association revealed that many of the "statistically" significant findings were substantively insignificant. For example, some of the relationships that were significant at the .01 probability level had tau-b values less than .01, meaning that knowledge of the offender's race increased the accuracy of predicting the sen-

tencing outcome by less than one percent.

Hagan went on to control for prior record of the offender and seriousness of the offense. For first offenders he found that race had no effect on sentencing. For those having previous records race was weakly related to the severity of sentence. However, none of the researchers specified the number of prior offenses, and so it is unknown whether the black and white offenders with prior records were properly matched. The six studies that compared inter-racial offenses (black offender, white victim) and intra-racial offenses (black offender, black victim) produced the strongest evidence of discrimination in sentencing. Three of these studies found significant effects due to race (with a median tau-b of .02), but one in particular (Wolfgang and Reidel, 1973) was highly significant (tau-b=.23). It should be noted that all three of these studies were conducted in southern states and used data collected in the 1940's, 1950's and early 1960's.

More recently, Chiricos, Jackson, and Waldo (1972) investigated 2419 felony cases received by the Florida Probation and Parole Commission from July, 1969 through February, 1970. In Florida, after a suspect has been found guilty at his trial, the court has the option of withholding adjudication. This is a favorable outcome for the suspect since it means that he may avoid having a felony conviction on his record. Chiricos et al. found that blacks are significantly less likely to have adjudication withheld than whites. Moreover, this relationship held when controlling for type of offense,

prior felony convictions, and a host of additional sociological and legal variables.

A recent study by Peterson and Friday (1975) also appears to show discriminatory practices. Ohio state law includes a provision for "shock probation," whereby an incarcerated felon can avoid having to serve most of his specified sentence. When granted by the court, the inmate ends up serving only one to five months in prison (short sentences are thought to have shock value, hence the term "shock probation"). This is obviously a favorable outcome for the inmate. The subjects of this study were the 201 inmates at a medium security prison who were granted shock probation in 1972, along with a randomly selected control group of 373 inmates who were eligible for but not granted shock probation. The granting of shock probation was found to be highly associated with the race of the inmate. Even when offense type (four categories) and number of prior arrests (three levels) were held constant, blacks were found to receive shock probation significantly less often than whites in four of the 12 conditions. The present writer calculated tau-b's for these four relationships and obtained values ranging from .04 to .23, with a weighted mean tau-b of .08. These four cells included over 60% of the total inmate sample, and the finding that 8% of the variance was attributable to race has to be considered strong evidence of racial discrimination.

Chiricos et al. (1972) and Peterson and Friday (1975) notwithstanding, the studies discussed above generally tend to call into question the assumption that

the criminal justice system discriminates against blacks. In particular, the analyses by Black and Reiss (1967), Black (1971), Bordua (1967), and Hagan (1974) suggest that an individual's race has surprisingly little to do with the outcome of an encounter with a policeman, with the juvenile authorities, or with a judge or jury.

Before embracing such a conclusion, however, there are some methodological considerations that warrant examination. To begin with, several of these studies used official police records as the data source. DeFleur (1975) focused on several factors that may distort such statistics. These are

- (1) the nature of particular deviant activities,
- (2) the climate of social control,
- (3) the social organization of agencies producing the indices, and
- (4) the interactive processes between these agencies, the public, and potential deviants (p. 89).

All of these factors tend to invalidate official crime statistics for the purpose of examining racial bias in arrest rates and case disposition. In fact, many sociologists argue that official police statistics are worthless for investigating deviant activities; that their only utility lies in describing levels of police activity and departmental policies (Wheeler, 1967; Becker, 1970).

Secondly, most of the studies cited were conducted in large northern cities and do not constitute a representative sample of the entire country. Studies conducted in the South definitely tended to show more discriminatory practices.

Thirdly, it is quite possible that less conspicuous, less documentable forms

of discrimination may still continue. Disrespectful behaviors toward minority individuals, derogatory language (President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia, 1966; the Riot Commission, 1968), and unwillingness to assist a citizen, or answer a call, or adequately protect a neighbor against crime (Sexton, 1965) are all subtler forms of racial bias that may have eluded these investigators. Black (1971) tried to investigate some of these by having observers ride in patrol cars. However, it is doubtful that officers act the same under the poised-pencil surveillance of graduate students as they do on their own.

If racial discrimination exists within any social control agencies, prisons would seem to be the most likely places. And such has been frequently alleged (Yee, 1973; Clark, 1973; Jackson, 1970). Corrections personnel tend to be insulated from public review; consequently, they can exercise more discretion in how they treat inmates. More than police departments, prisons represent miniature, closed societies. The process of conviction and incarceration strips the offender of many of his civil rights. In a prison there is generally no human rights commission or civilian review board. The inmate may technically have access to legal redress; however, this recourse is usually limited to only the most flagrant abuses (see Wick, 1973 for a fuller discussion of these issues). The insulation from public review of prisons is reflected in the small amount of research that goes on inside prison walls. This reviewer found no prior empirical studies that investigated racial bias in correctional institutions.

One of the outgrowths of the concern regarding charges of racial discrimination has been for the criminal justice administrators to employ increasing numbers of minority personnel. Following its investigation of the urban riots that rocked this country in 1965 and 1966, the United States Riot Commission (1968) concluded that racial tensions in minority neighborhoods would be ameliorated by having police departments hire more minority group members. In the field of corrections, the National Advisory Commission on the Criminal Justice System (1973) similarly recommended that minority personnel be actively recruited to help reduce racial tensions in correctional institutions. A timely question might be, do these newly recruited blacks differ from their white counterparts in how they perform their criminal justice jobs? And if so, what are some of the special circumstances or pressures to which they might be responding?

A small but growing body of literature deals with the problems facing the black police officer. It appears that he is often deeply conflicted over his professional role and his identity as a black. Alex (1967), on the basis of depth interviews with 41 black policemen in New York City, found that he works under very special kinds of pressure. The black ghetto community often views him as an agent of white society who must be reminded that he is black. Black youths are particularly effective at troubling his conscience. As a professional he must maintain authority and respect, and in so doing often responds in an overzealous manner, especially in the presence of white officers.

The conclusions of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (1967) support those of Alex, particularly on the issue of overzealousness:

The University of California survey found substantial hostility to Negro officers among Negroes in San Diego and Philadelphia on the ground that they were harsher than white officers. An earlier study of the Philadelphia Police Department found that many Negro officers were indignant and ashamed because of the high number of Negro offenders. There is even some evidence that in some places, low income Negroes prefer white policemen because of the severe conduct of Negro officers. Observations of consultants in several cities revealed proportionally at least as much physical abuse by Negro officers as by white officers (p. 167).

A survey of 161 white and 47 black officers in Washington, D.C. and Boston (Reiss, 1966) showed that black officers had considerably more negative opinions about police work. Thirty-one percent of blacks (compared to 17% of whites) thought there was nothing good about police work. A remarkable 56% of blacks (versus 21% of whites) said they would prefer some other type of work. This dissatisfaction and alienation from police work may very well stem from the professional role conflicts described above.

Although this reviewer found no empirical studies investigating black corrections personnel, it seems likely that the findings for black police officers are gen-

eralizable to them. The professional role conflicts and identity problems would

appear just as salient for the black correctional officer.

The Present Study

The present study seeks to extend our understanding of the relationship between race and disposition within the criminal justice system. Previous studies of police, juvenile agencies, and courts have tended to question that there is any relationship at all. This study examines a different level, the level of what goes on inside a federal correctional institution (FCI). The primary vehicle for investigating the relationship between race and disposition is the disciplinary proceeding.

Disciplinary proceedings were chosen for three reasons. First, the discretionary nature of such proceedings* makes it likely that overt discrimination, if it exists, will be made manifest. Second, because this study is part of a larger project under the directorship of Dr. Edwin I. Megargee of the Florida State University, additional data pertaining to the inmates and staff have been available. These data have been essential in controlling for related variables that might otherwise confound the results of the data analyses. Third, the data of primary interest were taken from the conduct reports ("shots") that staff members routinely fill out when initiating a disciplinary proceeding. These shots represent "unobtrusive measures" Webb

et al., 1966) since the people who filled them out had no reason to believe that they would ever be examined in a rigorous manner. Therefore, the accuracy and content of the shots were not affected by the fact that they were to be later examined by the present investigator.

The present study takes a look at the relationship between the race of the inmate and disposition at two levels. First, the rates at which black and white inmates receive shots and the nature of the infractions are compared. This investigates possible discriminatory practices by correctional officers and other staff who are in close daily contact with the men. Of course, differences according to race at this level may reflect discriminatory practices by prison staff or they may reflect genuine differences at the behavioral level. Additional variables are examined to help clarify this picture. Second, the penalties given to the inmates by the adjustment committee (which is composed of higher ranking correctional employees) are examined to determine if there is a relationship between severity of disposition and race at this level.

Also, a sample of black and white correctional officers, who have been match-

*Every prison has to maintain a minimum level of discipline and orderliness for reasons of security. Therefore, disciplinary proceedings are essential for dealing with inmates who will not abide by the rules. The procedures in federal prisons are described in detail by Wick (1973) and need not be described in detail here. Suffice it to say that for the most part prison staff have a great deal of latitude in how they choose to handle rules infractions and disciplinary proceedings. First, they are free to decide which rules infractions to overlook (which happens frequently). Second, when an inmate is brought before the adjustment committee in a disciplinary hearing, the committee has great latitude in deciding what if any penalties to impose. Finally, the adjustment committee does not generally have to justify its actions; the inmate has no right to appeal its findings, except through the forbidding process of petitioning in the federal courts.

ed for length of employment at the FCI, is examined to see if there are racial differences in how officers deal with disciplinary matters. Comparisons are made regarding frequency of writing shots, nature of infractions written up, and proportions of black and white inmates written up.

Three general hypotheses are being tested. The first assesses whether differences exist in the frequency with which black and white inmates become involved in disciplinary proceedings:

Null Hypothesis 1: No differences exist in the rates at which black and white inmates receive shots.

Rejection of this hypothesis may or may not reflect discriminatory practices by the employees writing the shots, depending on whether the differences in rate merely reflect behavioral differences between black and white inmates.

The second hypothesis assesses whether racial discrimination in the form of more severe penalties for comparable infractions occurs at the level of the adjustment committee:

Null Hypothesis 2: No differences exist in the severity of penalties given to blacks and whites committing comparable infractions and with comparable institutional records.

Assuming that relevant variables are controlled for, a rejection of his hypoth-

esis would constitute strong evidence of racial discrimination.

The third set of hypotheses examines whether black and white correctional officers differ in how they handle disciplinary matters:

Null Hypothesis 3(a): Black and white officers do not differ in rate of writing shots.

Null Hypothesis 3(b): Black and white officers do not differ in the types of infractions they write up.

Null Hypothesis 3(c): Black and white officers do not differ in the proportions of black and white inmates they write up.

Rejection of any of these hypotheses would not necessarily imply discriminatory practices, although such might suggest that black and white officers are responding to different sorts of occupational pressures, demands, or expectations.

In light of previous research, it is predicted that Null Hypotheses 1 and Null Hypotheses 2 will fail to be rejected, reflecting a lack of discriminatory practices by FCI employees. It is also predicted that Null Hypotheses 3(c) will be rejected, due to black officers writing a disproportionately high percent of shots on black inmates. There does not appear to be any basis for predicting one way or the other on the remaining null hypotheses, 3(a) and 3(b).

Method

Introduction

The present study is part of the larger six-year program of research being con-

ducted at the FCI at Tallahassee, Florida, in conjunction with the Department of Psychology at the Florida State Uni-

versity. The FCI is a medium security prison for youthful male offenders (generally of age 18 to 27), that typically houses from 500 to 600 inmates. As part of the program of research, extensive data were collected on each of the 1345 inmates who arrived at the FCI between November 3, 1970 and November 2, 1972 (these 1345 inmates constitute the cohort sample). Background information was obtained, when available, from several sources: Bureau of Prisons forms, Presentence Investigation Report, Intake and Exit interviews. Most cohort members were given an extensive battery of tests including intelligence, aptitude, and achievement tests; personality measures; and attitudes and values measures. Process data collected during the period of incarceration, including work performance ratings (completed by the inmate's detail supervisor), dormitory adjustment ratings (completed by his dorm counselor), disciplinary record, days on sick call, and so forth. For many of the cohort inmates, some of these data are missing. This has happened for any of a number of reasons. Some cohort members were at the FCI for only a brief period of time (e.g. "study and observation" cases, those who were immediately transferred for programming purposes, etc.) and were consequently not interviewed and/or tested. Others were illiterate and unable to complete some of the written instruments. Some instruments, such as the California Personality Inventory, were not administered to everyone. And in some cases Presentence Investigation Reports were not forwarded to the prison by the federal judge who committed the inmate. Rather than sacrificing a large amount of data

by restricting the inmate sample to those having complete records, the present investigator has chosen to employ floating n's in the data analysis. Thus, when analyzing the relationship between race and rate of receiving shots, all cases where those specific data are available will be included, even though certain background or test data may be missing (causing those cases to be excluded from some of the other analyses). The error variance introduced in this manner seems relatively unimportant compared to the advantage of using all of the available data.

Subjects

Because this study deals primarily with differences between white and black inmates, not all 1344 cohort members were included. Fourteen American Indians and Orientals were excluded, leaving an inmate sample of 1331 men. This included 846 whites (64%) and 475 blacks (36%).

To investigate racial differences in correctional officers, a sample of 30 officers was chosen such that they were matched on length of employment at the FCI, according to race. Of the 30 officers, 20 were white (mean length of employment = 42.9 months, standard deviation = 15.6 months) and 10 were black (mean length of employment = 42.9 months, standard deviation = 15.5 months). All correctional officers at the FCI are worked into a job rotation that requires them to work a variety of shifts, stations, and duties. It is assumed that this rotational system has caused exposure to inmates and potential disciplinary problems to be randomly distributed with respect to race of officer.

Materials

Most of the data in this study were taken directly off of the conduct reports or "shots" (see Appendix for an example) that were filled out whenever an inmate became involved in a disciplinary proceeding. Each shot contains three sections: the first is filled out by the reporting employee and includes the time and location of the infraction, along with a description of what happened (forbidden activities include possession of a weapon, possession of other contraband, disrespectful behavior to an officer, attacking an employee, fighting with other inmates, homosexual activities, stealing, use of drugs, attempting to escape, gambling, trouble on the job, etc.). The second section is filled out by the lieutenant investigating the incident and may elaborate on what was said by the reporting employee. The third section reports the findings of the adjustment committee, including the disposition. (The entire procedure, from the time of the incident to the final determination by the adjustment committee, generally takes two to three days.)

In addition to the shot data, several other pieces of information were obtained, when available, for inmates who were subjects in this study. Three of these came from the Presentence Investigation Report: Present Offense (272 missing cases), Age at the Time of Arrest (244 missing cases), and Number of Prior Non-vehicular Convictions (323 missing cases). Three additional measures were obtained from the intake test battery: the K-corrected, raw score obtained on the Psychopathic Deviate scale ($Pd + .4K$) of the Minnesota Multipha-

sic Personality Inventory (128 missing cases); the raw score obtained on the Socialization scale (So) of the California Personality Inventory (214 missing cases); and the score obtained by the inmate, on the Conformity to Modal Staff Values Questionnaire. This latter instrument measures the subject's divergence from empirically determined staff attitudes regarding what are the proper responses to a series of 14 situations where the subject must decide either to report or fail to report officially disapproved behaviors and attitudes on the part of other inmates. This instrument seeks to measure loyalty to fellow inmates versus adherence to the rules, and is thought to be predictive of prison maladjustment (Megargee, 1975).

The final three variables are self-report, rationally derived scales composed of items taken from the Intake Interview. Prior Prison Maladjustment is an 11 item scale that asks the subject to describe adjustment problems encountered during previous incarcerations. Scores can range from 0 to 33 (682 missing cases). Authority Conflict is a 27 item scale that taps problems experienced by the subject in his past relationships with parents, teachers, supervisors, military personnel, police, and correctional officers. Scores range from 0 to 85 (201 missing cases). Negative Criminal Justice System Attitude is a brief, four item scale that reflects the subject's attitudes on how the police and courts handled his case. Scores range from 0 to 11 (190 missing cases).

Statistics

Most of the analyses in this study employ chi square as the test for statistical

significance. All statistically significant findings are evaluated for substantive significance using Goodman and Kruskal's tau-b (Blalock, 1960). This measure of association shows the proportional reduction of errors in predicting

dependent variables such as disposition, rate of receiving shots, etc., that results from knowledge of the subject's race. In other words, tau-b equals the proportion of the variance accounted for by race.

Results

In an attempt to clarify the role that race plays in disciplinary proceedings at the FCI, the data were examined from several different angles. The approach taken began with a comparison of black and white inmates to see if there were racial differences in rate of receiving shots. This comparison, however, is difficult to interpret without knowing more about the inmate samples. It may be that the white inmates represent a tougher, more recidivistic, more antisocial group who would be expected to have greater disciplinary problems. In that case, even equivalent rates of receiving shots could reflect discriminatory practices. Therefore, several legal and psychological variables were also examined to determine if a priori grounds existed for expecting racial differences in frequency of involvement in disciplinary proceedings.

The interpretation of results at the level of disposition by the adjustment committee is happily more straightforward. Black and white inmates who committed similar infractions and who had comparable prison disciplinary records were compared to see if there was an association between the severity of the penalties levied by the adjustment committee and the race of the inmate.

*All p-values in this study are two-tailed.

To determine if black and white correctional officers differed in how they handled disciplinary matters, the subsample of shots written by the 30 officers in the matched sample was examined. The n's were naturally much smaller than those for the inmate analyses, and the interpretations of the results will consequently have to be more tentative.

Race of Inmate and Rate of Receiving Shots

Table 1 reveals that a higher proportion of black than white inmates had some involvement in disciplinary proceedings. Sixty-one percent of the whites never received a shot, whereas only 55 percent of the blacks received none ($p^* = .028$, $\text{tau-b} = .004$). This relationship remained when the number of shots received was taken into consideration ($p = .002$, $\text{tau-b} = .002$). Although statistically significant, these relationships are very weak, accounting for only a fraction of one percent of the variance (as indicated by the tau-b values). Moreover, the mere number of shots does not take into account the length of time the inmates were in the prison. It may be that the blacks tended to serve longer sentences and would be expected to have received more shots.

Table 1
Frequency Distributions of Inmates Showing the Relationship Between Level of Involvement in Disciplinary Proceedings and Race of Inmate

Variable	White Inmates		Black Inmates		X'	P	Tau-b
	N	%	N	%			
Disciplinary Problems?							
No (Received 0 Shots)	523	61.1	260	54.7	4.84	.028*	.004
Yes (Received Shots)	333	38.9	215	45.3			
No. of Shots Received							
0	523	61.1	260	54.7	12.70	.002**	.002
1	163	19.0	83	17.5			
2	73	8.5	48	10.1			
3	38	4.4	32	6.7			
4	20	2.3	20	4.2			
5 or more	39	4.6	32	6.7			

One Way Analysis of Variance Summary*: Race of Inmate and Rate of Receiving Shots

Source of Variance	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between Groups (Race)	.035	1	.035	.001	.999
Within Groups	44894.668	1329	33.781		
Total	44894.703	1330	33.755		

*14 missing cases.

To clarify this, a rate was calculated for each inmate by dividing the number of shots received by the number of days spent at the FCI. White inmates were found to average 1.58 shots per year, whereas black inmates averaged 1.57 shots per year. An analysis of variance was performed with race of inmate as the independent variable and rate of receiving shots as the dependent variable. As can be seen in Table 1, there was no relationship at all between race and rate ($F = .001$, $p = .999$).

As mentioned above, these rates need to be interpreted in the context of what

pattern ought to be expected on the basis of racial comparisons on other relevant variables.

Table 2 shows the comparison of black and white inmates on the legal variables of offense category and number of prior convictions. Offense category was strongly related to race ($p = .0001$, $\text{tau-b} = .034$), with white inmates more likely to have been convicted of drug and liquor offenses and interstate transportation of stolen goods; and black inmates more likely to be serving time for larceny and fraud. The implications of this pattern for frequency of involve-

Table 2
Frequency Distribution of Inmates Showing the Relationships
Between Offense Category and Number of Prior
Convictions, and Race of the Inmate

Variable	WHITE INMATES		BLACK INMATES		X'	P	Tau-b
	N	%	N	%			
Offense Category ¹							
Larceny	79	11.4	94	24.9			
I-S transport	324	46.7	76	20.1			
Contraband	64	9.2	47	12.4			
Fraud	28	4.0	62	16.4			
Drug/alcohol	124	17.9	32	8.5			
Personal	11	1.6	12	3.2			
Other	64	9.5	55	14.6	144.93	.0001****	.034
No. Prior Convictions ²							
0	198	30.5	106	29.4			
1	121	18.6	74	20.6			
2	112	17.3	55	15.3			
3	73	11.2	46	12.8			
4 or more	145	22.3	79	21.9	1.55	.82	—

¹273 missing cases.
²316 missing cases.

ment in disciplinary proceedings are unclear. There do not appear to be any strong reasons for expecting those who committed larceny or fraud to receive either more or fewer shots than those who fell in the other offense categories.

With respect to the number of prior convictions, no differences were found related to race ($p = .82$).

The black inmates tended to be slightly older, averaging 21 years, one month in age, compared to the mean age of 20 years, 11 months for the white inmates. This difference, though statistically significant ($p < .05$ on a t-test), is small enough to have minimal influence regarding disciplinary matters.

In addition to these legal variables, six psychological variables were examined that would appear, on an a priori basis, to be related to acting out behaviors, and hence disciplinary problems. These included the K-corrected Pd scale from the MMPI, the So scale from the CPI, Conformity to Modal Staff Values, Prior Prison Maladjustment, Authority Conflict, and Negative CJS Attitudes. On all but So and Conformity to Modal Staff Values, higher scores are associated with negative attitudes toward prison, prison staff, and authority figures in general, and would seem intuitively to be associated with frequency of involvement in disciplinary proceedings. On So

and Conformity to Modal Staff Values lower scores should be associated with and deviations for black and white inmates in (a) the entire cohort, (b) the

Table 3
Means, Standard Deviations, and T-test Probabilities
for Black and White Inmates on Six Personality Measures
for All Inmates, Those Who Received Shots, and Those Who Did Not

Measure			All Inmates	Inmates Who Got Shots	Inmates Who Did Not
			mean	SD	mean
Pd .4K	Whites	mean	28.62	29.55	28.01
		SD	4.60	4.67	4.46
	Blacks	mean	28.54	29.07	28.05
SD		4.38	4.34	4.37	
		t-test	$p = .26$	$p = .27$	$p = .74$
So	Whites	mean	28.10	26.45	29.19
		SD	6.66	6.03	6.84
	Blacks	mean	29.63	28.85	30.29
SD		5.68	5.38	5.85	
		t-test	$p < .001^{***}$	$p = .10$	$p < .011^*$
Conformity to Modal Staff Values	Whites	mean	5.98	5.67	6.18
		SD	1.58	1.61	1.53
	Blacks	mean	6.11	5.97	6.23
SD		1.53	1.40	1.63	
		t-test	$p = .49$	$p = .28$	$p = .043^*$
Prior Prison Maladjustment Scale	Whites	mean	16.90	17.99	16.00
		SD	5.44	5.44	5.29
	Blacks	mean	14.80	15.28	14.26
SD		4.24	4.45	3.94	
		t-test	$p < .001^{***}$	$p = .011^*$	$p < .001^{***}$
Authority Conflict Scale	Whites	mean	48.27	51.47	46.07
		SD	12.14	13.13	10.90
	Blacks	mean	46.06	47.87	44.38
SD		10.42	11.29	9.25	
		t-test	$p < .001^{***}$	$p = .024^*$	$p = .008^*$
Negative CJS Attitude Scale	Whites	mean	7.46	7.58	7.38
		SD	2.58	2.69	2.50
	Blacks	mean	7.90	8.07	7.74
SD		2.69	2.64	2.73	
		t-test	$p = .35$	$p = .79$	$p = .14$

subgroup consisting of inmates who received at least one shot, and (c) the subgroup consisting of those who received no shots. The difference in means for blacks and whites on each of the six measures in each of the three categories was tested for significance using the t-test.

Results in the overall comparison showed that black and white cohort members did not significantly differ on *Pd + .4K*, *Conformity to Modal Staff Values*, and *Negative CJS Attitude*. Significant differences were found on *So*, *Prior Prison Maladjustment*, and *Authority Conflict*. In all three cases, white inmates deviated in the direction that would suggest poorer adjustment, and hence greater disciplinary problems.

Of these variables, *Pd + .4K* and *So* have been the most extensively validated, with both having been found to consistently relate to antisocial attitudes and behaviors (Dahlstrom and Welsh, 1972; Megargee, 1972). The other four measures have not been validated for predicting antisocial behavior. However, on all four, inmates who did receive shots obtained more deviant scores than those who did not, suggesting that these measures have at least some validity in predicting disciplinary problems.

These findings provide little reason for qualifying the previous finding, that no racial differences existed in the rate of receiving shots. Black and white inmates were found to differ on the legal variables of age and offense category, but not in such a manner as would lead to differential expectations regarding involvement in disciplinary proceedings.

No differences were found on the number of convictions. The only evidence that could possibly be interpreted as showing that different rates should have been expected, on a priori grounds, was the psychological data. Three of the six personality measures indicated that the white inmates might have been expected to receive more shots. However, the other three (including *Pd + .4K*) showed no differences between black and white inmates.

Race of Inmate and Type of Infraction

Statistically significant racial differences were found regarding the type of infraction committed ($p < .0001$, $\tau\text{-}b = .015$), the time of the infraction ($p < .01$, $\tau\text{-}b = .002$), and the location of the infraction ($p < .001$, $\tau\text{-}b = .024$). As Table 4 indicates, white inmates had a greater tendency to commit contraband infractions, drug and alcohol infractions, and escape attempts (the racial breakdown on inmates attempting to escape was particularly striking: 30 whites attempted escape, 0 blacks). Black inmates, on the other hand, tended to receive most of their shots for infractions of an interpersonal nature, especially verbal disrespect to an officer and physical attack on another inmate.

From Tables 4 and 5 it can be seen that white inmates were more likely to receive shots for infractions that took place at night (8 p.m. to 4 a.m.) and in the dormitory; whereas black inmates were more likely to have committed infractions during the morning hours (8 a.m. to noon) in places such as the mess hall, in school, and on the job.

Table 4
Frequency Distribution Showing the Relationships Between Type of Infraction and Time of Infraction, and the Race of the Inmate

Variable	White Inmates		Black Inmates		X'	P	Tau-b
	N	%	N	%			
Type of Infraction ¹							
Trouble on Job	137	19.5	125	23.4			
Contraband	155	22.0	57	10.7			
Disrespect to an Officer	127	18.1	157	29.4			
Attack on an Officer	14	2.0	16	3.0			
Disturbance with an Inmate	18	2.6	29	5.4			
Attack on an Inmate	135	19.2	147	27.5			
Drugs/Alcohol	87	12.4	3	0.6			
Escape	30	4.3	0	0.0	140.17	.0001****	.015
Time of Infraction ²							
Midnt. to 4 AM	21	2.7	3	0.5			
4 AM to 8 AM	56	7.1	38	6.5			
8 AM to 12 Noon	222	28.1	201	34.3			
12 Noon to 4 PM	201	25.4	153	26.1			
4 PM to 8 PM	154	19.5	107	18.3			
8 PM to 12 Midnt	136	17.2	84	14.3	15.35	.009**	.002

¹89 missing cases.
²50 missing cases.

These findings suggest that black inmates may have more difficulties than whites in getting along with FCI staff. In contrast to white inmates, whose infractions tended to involve contraband and be committed solitarily, black inmates tended to have interpersonal problems with officers, job supervisors, and other staff members. It should also be noted that these offenses tend to be more vague and discretionary than contraband infractions, where there is tangible evidence of guilt.

Race of Inmate and Disposition by the Adjustment Committee

If an inmate is found guilty by the adjustment committee, any of a number of penalties may be assessed, ranging from no penalty at all to criminal prosecution. A severity of penalty scale was devised in order to quantify the seriousness of disposition for purposes of data analysis. In order of least to most serious, the penalties on the scale include: (1) no penalty; (2) warning and reprimand; (3) cell house suspended (this usually

Table 5

Frequency Distribution of Shots Showing the Relationship Between the Location of the Infraction and the Race of the Inmate

Location of the Infraction ¹	White Inmates		Black Inmates		X'	P	Tau-b
	N	%	N	%			
Dormitory	344	42.3	195	32.6			
Recreation	20	2.5	16	2.7			
Compound	84	10.3	79	13.2			
Education	41	5.0	44	7.3			
On the Job	26	3.2	32	5.3			
Chow Hall	71	8.7	75	12.5			
Theater	6	0.7	5	0.8			
Commissary	1	0.1	1	0.2			
Hospital	5	0.6	9	1.5			
Administration	40	4.9	19	3.2			
Visiting Room	14	1.7	4	0.7			
Barber Shop	3	0.4	2	0.3			
Clothing	5	0.6	7	1.2			
Outside	15	1.8	9	1.5			
Cell House	77	9.5	52	8.7			
Voc. Training Shop	45	5.5	25	4.2			
Pool Hall	7	0.9	5	0.8			
Laundry	2	0.2	1	0.2			
Other	7	0.9	19	3.2	44.27	.0005***	.024

¹14 missing cases.

means that the inmate spent a couple of days in the cell house awaiting the adjustment committee hearing, but was given no additional time); (4) cell house (additional time); (5) loss of "good time," (in addition to cell house time, the inmate loses some of his earned "good time," which means ultimately that he spends more time in prison); (6) transfer to another institution; (7) criminal prosecution. In some cases penalties were given (such as "group therapy," "change in program," "return to population," etc.) which were impossible to evaluate for severity, resulting in the

exclusion of those cases from the analyses involving disposition. There were 79 such cases, plus 14 cases where no disposition was recorded at all, for a total of 93 missing cases out of a total 1424 shots.

The distribution of severity of penalty by race of inmate is shown in Table 6. There were no overall differences attributable to race ($p = .86$).

Previous research suggests that additional variables need to be controlled before assuming that there is indeed no relationship between disposition by the

Table 6

Frequency Distribution of Shots Showing the Relationship Between the Severity of Disposition by the Adjustment Committee and the Race of the Inmate Receiving the Shot

Severity of Disposition ¹	White Inmates		Black Inmates		X'	P
	N	%	N	%		
Criminal Prosecution	5	0.6	3	0.5		
Transfer	9	1.2	5	0.9		
Loss of Good Time	80	10.3	46	8.3		
Cell House	474	61.2	351	63.0		
Cell House suspended	42	5.4	32	5.7		
Warning and Reprimand	67	8.6	54	9.7		
No Penalty	99	12.8	66	11.8	2.59	.86

¹93 missing cases.

adjustment committee and race of inmate. Most importantly, the type of infraction and the previous disciplinary history (number of shots) of the inmate need to be controlled. The race of the reporting employee was also considered a possible interacting variable.

An analysis of covariance was performed with severity of penalty as the dependent variable, race of inmate as the independent variable, and infraction category, number of previous shots, and race of reporting employee analyzed as covariates. The results of this analysis (Table 7) revealed that type of infraction and number of prior shots were highly related to disposition ($p < .001$), whereas race of the inmate and race of the reporting employee were apparently not related at all ($p = .999$). These results have to be considered strong evidence that there is no racial discrimination in disposition at the level of the adjustment committee.

Differences Between Black and White Correctional Officers

The matched sample of 20 white and 10 black correctional officers were analyzed to determine if there were racial differences in the rate of writing shots, the types of infractions written up, and the proportions of shots written on black and white inmates.

White officers were found to write an average of 2.24 shots per year, while black officers averaged 2.00. This difference was not statistically significant, as assessed by a t-test ($p = .64$). Table 9 reveals that a statistically significant ($p < .05$) but weak ($\text{tau-b} = .012$) relationship was found between infraction categories and race of officers, with white officers more likely to have written shots on contraband offenses and black officers more likely to have written up offenses involving drugs or alcohol and trouble on the job.

Table 7

Analysis of Covariance Summary: Severity of Penalty by Race of Inmate, with Infraction Category, Number of Prior Shots, and Race of Reporting Employee as Covariates

Source of Variance	SS	df	MS	F	P
Main Effects	.27	1	.27	.20	1.00
Race of Inmate	.27	1	.27	.20	1.00
Covariates	125.33	3	41.78	30.09	.001***
Infraction	102.16	1	102.16	73.59	.001***
No. of Shots	16.49	1	16.49	11.88	.001***
Race of Employee	.08	1	.08	.06	1.00
Residual	1601.95	1154	1.49		
Total	1727.55	1158	1.49		

The most interesting finding, however, 8 shows, black officers wrote a disproportionate number of shots on black inmates (p < .05; tau-b = .027).

Table 8

Frequency Distribution of the Shots Written by Officers in the Matched Sample Showing the Relationships Between Race of the Inmate and the Type of Infraction, and the Race of the Officer

Variable	Shots Written by White Offs		Shots Written by Black Offs		X'	P	Tau-b
	N	%	N	%			
Race of Inmate							
Receiving Shot							
White Inmates	91	63.6	30	46.2			
Black Inmates	52	36.4	35	53.8	4.92	.027*	.027
Type of Infraction ¹							
Trouble on Job	11	8.6	11	19.3			
Contraband	29	22.7	8	14.0			
Incident with Inmate	34	26.6	11	19.3			
Incident with Officer	47	36.7	17	29.8			
Drugs/Alcohol	5	3.9	9	15.8			
Escape	2	1.6	1	1.8	14.03	.015*	.012

¹23 missing cases.

Discussion

The results of this study are in basic agreement with those of Black and Reiss (1967), Black (1971), Terry (1967), and Hagan (1974), in that they provide little evidence of discriminatory treatment of blacks by criminal justice personnel. In this case, black and white inmates were found to be treated essentially the same in the handling of disciplinary proceedings in a federal correctional institution.

This study probed for evidence of racial discrimination in disciplinary proceedings at two levels of disposition: disposition by the reporting employee (the decision to file a conduct report), and disposition by the adjustment committee (severity of penalty).

In the first case, the best indicator of discriminatory practices was felt to be the rates at which black and white inmates received shots. Null Hypothesis 1 stated that no differences exist in these rates. The results obtained provided no reason to reject this hypothesis; in fact, the rates turned out to be nearly identical.

It is conceivable that black inmates could have been discriminated against by reporting employees even though their mean rate of receiving shots equaled that of the white inmates. If black inmates were better behaved — that is, if they displayed fewer behaviors that could accurately be labeled disciplinary infractions — but nevertheless received just as many shots, that would constitute evidence of discriminatory treatment. The present study cannot rule out this possibility. Although the racial comparisons on three legal variables (offense cate-

gory, age, and number of prior convictions) provided no basis for expecting black inmates to display fewer disciplinary behaviors, there was some evidence in the personality data suggesting that this might be true. Moreover, black inmates were found to receive a disproportionate number of shots for infractions involving difficulties getting along with officers, supervisors, and teachers. An overabundance of these vague, more discretionary infractions (where there is no tangible evidence of guilt) is what would be expected if some of the reporting employees were indeed acting in a discriminatory manner.

Obviously, no definitive statement about racial discrimination can be made at the level of disposition by the reporting employee. The equivalent rates of receiving shots argue strongly that there was none. Still, there is simply not enough knowledge of what was happening at the behavioral level to make that conclusion without qualification. It can probably be safely said, however, that if there was racial bias in who received shots and for what infractions, it was a subtle and minor form of discrimination.

More definite conclusions can be made regarding the presence or absence of racial discrimination in disposition at the level of the adjustment committee. Null Hypothesis 2 stated that no differences exist in the severity of penalties given to black and white inmates who committed comparable infractions and who had comparable disciplinary records. Rejection of this hypothesis would constitute strong evidence of discriminatory treatment. However, when infraction cate-

gory and number of prior shots were controlled for, no relationship between disposition and race was found. The adjustment committee appeared to base its decisions regarding penalties on the seriousness of the infraction and on the prior disciplinary record of the inmate, but not on his race.

These findings argue against the labeling theory notion that criminal justice decision-making is determined by offender rather than offense characteristics, and that race is one of the salient offender characteristics affecting decisions. If such discrimination occurs anywhere, correctional institutions would seem the most likely places. And yet, even in disciplinary proceedings that allow for considerable discretion, no evidence of racial bias was found.

These findings may reflect what Merton (1957) and Weiner and Willie (1971) refer to as "enacted institutional change." The Federal Bureau of Prisons is very sensitive to charges of racial discrimination and the findings of this study may reflect a deliberate and planned campaign, through appropriate policies and administrative actions, to prevent discriminatory practices. At the FCI at Tallahassee, corrections staff appear to operate under what Weiner and Willie termed "the official sanction of the norm of fairness (p. 209)."

Three null hypotheses were advanced regarding the manner in which black and white correctional officers handle disciplinary matters. No reason was found to reject the first of these hypotheses, that black and white officers do not differ in willingness to write shots, as measured by rate. The results of this study showed

that they were essentially equivalent on this dimension.

The second and third null hypotheses, however, were rejected. Black and white officers were found to differ in the types of infractions they wrote up, and in the proportions of black and white inmates on whom they wrote shots. The most interesting finding was that black officers wrote a disproportionate number of shots on black inmates. This is consistent with previous research showing that black police officers are sometimes overzealous in their conduct toward black citizens. In the present study it is not clear if the phenomenon is attributable to peer group pressures (real or perceived) on the black officers to control or monitor black inmates, or self-imposed standards of some kind. It does not appear to be a function of black officers being hassled or taunted by black inmates (as was described in the police literature), because if that were true, one would expect the black officers to have written more than their share of shots for "verbal disrespect to an officer." In actuality, they wrote less than their share. Rather than attempting to explain this phenomenon, the present study serves mainly to reiterate the point that black criminal justice system employees face professional problems and identity conflicts different from those confronting their white colleagues. Further empirical research needs to be done in this area.

Because this study used a representational design employing data collected as part of the normal FCI routine, no conclusions can be made regarding differences at the behavioral level. There is

no way of knowing, for example, if the rates at which black and white inmates received shots accurately reflect the rates at which they displayed antisocial behaviors. Lacking this, it is possible that discriminatory practices may have eluded this investigation. It is, of course, entirely possible that discriminatory behaviors may continue to exist in unofficial staff behavior. To make a statement regarding the presence or absence of racial bias and discrimination in general at the FCI is clearly beyond the scope of this study.

A final limitation of this study is that the results and conclusions are strictly applicable only to the institution where the research took place, the FCI at Tallahassee. Although the frequency with which federal staff transfer from one institution to another allows for some generalizability to other FCI's, different results might very well be obtained in similar studies conducted in other prisons, especially state prisons. Additional research would have to be done before these findings could be applied to correctional institutions in general.

Appendix
Sample Conduct Report (Shot)

FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

MAJOR REPORT

MINOR REPORT

REPORT OF CONDUCT

DATE 12-7-42

TIME 1:05 P.M.

INMATE'S NAME: John Doe NO: 1295-678 DETAIL Laund QUARTERS: C-11

PLACE OF INCIDENT: C Dormitory OFFENSE: Fighting

Shortly after the 1:00 work call I saw Doe fighting with Felini. After breaking it up I found out that Felini had some glasses that belonged to Doe.

DATE: 12-7-42 REPORTED BY: I. Ketchum TITLE: C.O.

COMMENTS OF INVESTIGATING OFFICER:

Facts are as stated. Doe had the glasses in his possession when he was brought to the Supervisor's Office. He was very upset and it was obvious he did not feel the problem had been fully resolved. While being escorted to the call house he threw the glasses on the floor and smashed them with his foot.

DATE: 12-9-42 INVESTIGATED: J.L. Gunnerson TITLE: C.S.

DISCIPLINARY BOARD ACTION:

DATE: 12-9-42

FINDINGS:

Guilty

DISPOSITION: Segregation

B. Franklin
CHAIRMAN, TITLE:

W. Shakespeare
MEMBER, TITLE

Q. Elizabeth

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