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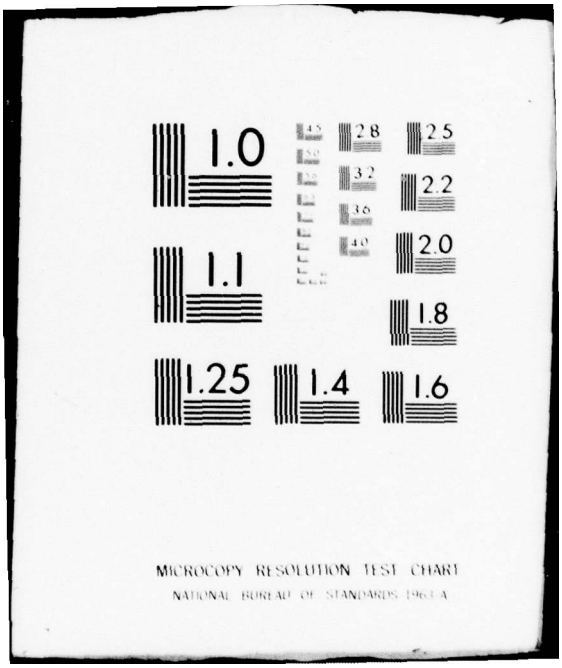
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# AN ANALYSIS OF FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH GUARD-PRISONER HOSTILITY AT THE U.S. DISCIPLINARY BARRACKS

A thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE

by

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B.S., Howard University, 1962
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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the individual student author and do not necessarily represent the views of either the U. S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other government agency.
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ABSTRACT

AN ANALYSIS OF FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH
GUARD-PRISONER HOSTILITY AT THE
U.S. DISCIPLINARY BARRACKS

by

Charles A. Hines

A major problem facing the Armed Forces today is the correctional and rehabilitative treatment of military offenders. With this in mind, all personnel charged with the task of rebuilding and resocializing prisoners must be capable of performing effectively in treatment-oriented facilities. For nearly one hundred years, the United States Disciplinary Barracks has been charged with the responsiblity of rehabilitating long term military prisoners. Throughout the years, this task has been accomplished with distinction, often setting the pace for the nation.

The success of treatment programs will depend to a large extent on the competence of guard personnel. Because guards have the most contact with the prisoner, their opportunity to positively or negatively affect rehabilitation must be recognized. The purpose of this study was to identify the guard least capable of performing effectively at the Disciplinary Barracks. The degree to which a guard expressed hostility toward prisoners or the operational environment, as measured by a questionnaire-survey, was

the primary determinant for ineffective performance potential. To provide a means of identifying the hostile guard, several variables were considered. These varaibles were used to determine if similarities existed in the background, personality, or attitude of guards expressing a high degree of hostility. Two validated behavioral tests were used to complement the questionnaire-survey. They were the Srole Anomie Scale and the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule.

Research took the form of an exploratory study and was guided by the following questions:

1. How do guards high and low in expressed hostility differ in background, personality, attitude, and other traits?

2. What are the sources of these differences?

3. Are there any working or living conditions that affect guard hostility?

4. What means are available for identifying and screening guard personnel prior to their assignment to the United States Disciplinary Barracks?

5. What recommendations for further research can be made in this area?

One Hundred and eighty-eight guards were tested, with thirty-one guards identified as high-hostiles, and twenty-nine as low-hostiles.

Analysis of data revealed that several differences existed between guards high in hostility and those low in hostility. These differences were the degree to which the guard was anomic and possessed certain personality traits.

Charles A. Hines

Anomia is a comprehensive term meaning despair, hopelessness, discouragement, personal disorganization, and alienation. Studies conducted in anomia reveal several deviant behavior traits; suicide, homicide, and prejudice are three of these traits. Personality traits, as measured by the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, deemed significant in this study were affiliation, intraception, nurturance, aggression, and exhibition.

High-hostile guards were high in anomia, aggression, and exhibition. Low-hostile guards were high in nurturance, intraception, and affiliation. Whenever hostility was pronounced, anomia was high. Correspondingly, whenever hostility was low, anomia was low.

A significant finding of this study was the enforcement orientation of high and low-hostile guards. Guards high in hostility were "highly specific" in the enforcement of institutional rules. Hostile guards concentrated on the specific offense as opposed to the potential of the offense for large scale violence. Low-hostile guards were "affectively neutral" in enforcement orientation, concentrating on offenses most detrimental to the overall security of the facility.

To assist in identifying hostile guards, a follow-on research questionnaire was designed. Through additional research, a typology of the hostile guard can be structured.

Dedication:

"To A Soldier Colonel"

Colonel Francis E. Payne, Military Police Corps

This Thesis is dedicated to a Military Policeman who has done so much to rebuild and reshape the lives of men. May he someday be rewarded for his concern, professionalism, and sacrifices.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my thanks and appreciation to those who helped make this study possible. First to my employer, the United States Army, and to the United States Army Command and General Staff College, my appreciation for making this graduate training possible.

My warm and deep personal thanks is extended to Colonel Francis E. Payne, Commandant, United States Disciplinary Barracks, and his professional staff, for their encouragement, full support, and professional advice throughout the conduct of this research.

To Major Robert Donovan, MPC, for his encouragement, and to Major Clifford Simonsen, MPC, for the loan of his outstanding library, my lasting gratitude.

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To the members of my thesis board, LTC Donald B. Vought, CGSC, Professor William D. Denton, and Professor William V. Obrien, my thanks for their editing and professional review of the study.

To the officers and men of the First Guard Company, USDB, I extend my thanks. Without them, this study would have been impossible.

Finally, but most of all, to my wife Veronica, and my three children, Tracy, Charles, and Kelly, my thanks for your sacrifices and understanding.

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

One of the most serious problems facing our nation's criminal justice system is the correctional and rehabilitative treatment of prisoners. Though not on the scale of the civilian experience, the military faces a similar problem. Brodsky and Eggleston, noted researchers in the field of military corrections, emphasized this point when they stated:

> The military correctional system has had an impact upon the lives of hundreds of thousands of American men in the one hundred years of its existence. The theory, goals, and applications of this system differ from civil corrections and represent an important source of information and experience in the effort to deter and modify criminal behavior.[1]

The discussion of corrections within the theoretical framework of a system is academically expedient; however, the performance of correctional personnel operating within the parameters and constraints of established policy and law will ultimately determine the effectiveness of the rehabilitative effort. Since the announced goal of military corrections is the rehabilitation of prisoners, personnel charged with the responsibility of accomplishing this goal

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[1]Stanley L. Brodsky and Norman E. Eggleston, The Military Prison: Theory, Research and Practice (Carbondale, Ill: Southern University Press, 1970), p. ix.

must be competent to perform effectively in a treatment-oriented facility. For guard personnel, competence and training are particularly critical, because it is the guard who has the most interaction with the prisoner. Many months of intensive rehabilitative treatment, and the funds expended for that treatment, can be sacrificed because of an unthinking or hostile gesture on the part of a guard. Lost effort and money can be inconsequential when one considers that violent and destructive confrontations may result from hostile guard action. Just as the guard can be a counter-productive element, his potential as a rehabilitative force is virtually ignored. Sutherland[2] focuses on the guard as a significant factor in prisoner rehabilitation:

> It is becoming increasingly apparent that the success of treatment programs depends to a large extent upon the attitudes of the subordinate staff. Guards probably have more opportunities for changing inmate's attitudes than any other class of prison worker, yet they are seldom equipped for this exceedingly difficult task.

While the popular belief that guards and prison officials are likely to be brutal or sadistic has virtually been dispelled, duty as a guard in a treatment-oriented facility poses special problems and demands certain qualifications.[3]

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[2]Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, Principles of Criminology, Seventh Edition (New York: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1966), p. 538.

[3]Donald R. Cressey, "Achievement of An Unstated Goal: An Observation on Prisons," Prison Within Society, ed. Lawrence Hazelrigg (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1968), pp. 52-59.



Seeman[21] elaborated further on alienation when he

This study focuses on one of these problem areas--guard hostility toward prisoners, and attempts to identify certain factors that can be used to classify the intensely hostile guard prior to his assignment to the United States Disciplinary Barracks, hereinafter referred to as the USDB.

While the study of guards as an occupational group deserves considerable emphasis, the primary thrust of this research was directed toward identifying the guard least likely to contribute to the rehabilitative effort at the USDB. To arrive at any conclusion in this area, it was necessary to examine the way individual guards perceived their relationships with inmates, with the USDB administration, and with other variables that might be indicative of hostility or hostility potential.

During the period of time the researcher worked as a custodial officer at the USDB, it became obvious that guards possessed a divergence of views on the treatment of prisoners. Equally interesting was the manner in which guards managed their interaction with prisoners, with some guards quite capable of obtaining voluntary prisoner compliance, while others were continually involved in abrasive confrontation with prisoners. Those guards least capable of non-abrasive confrontation, expressed hostility toward prisoners and/or hostility toward policies governing the treatment of prisoners.

Lest the reader misinterpret the intentions of this study, its thrust is not that the prisoner is a poor, victimized

member of society, though in some instances this is true; it does not assume away the need for control of prisoners, nor did it take the direction of the "helpless prisoner pitted against the overpowering guard." The approach was a simple and direct one which hypothesizes that some personnel are unsuited for duty at the USDB because of their background, personality, or attitude, and this unsuitability is partly manifested in hostility toward prisoners, animosity toward the USDB administration, or dislike for correctional work.

Once a prisoner has been committed to the USDB, the mission of the Commandant and his entire staff is clear--rehabilitate the prisoner if at all possible. Only those persons willing to contribute to this mission should be entrusted with this extremely difficult task. Cressey comments on this when he states:

> In a treatment oriented prison, guards were expected to assist prisoners with problems, to be receptive, passive and relaxed. They were to think for themselves, use discretion in deciding whether an action is a rule violation, and to be professional. Relationships with inmates were to be personal and friendly rather than formal. In their roles as treatment agents, guards were expected informally to give rewards to inmates showing signs of improvement. At the same time, guards must function as guards. This dual role is taxing and extremely difficult for the guard to maintain.[4]

## THE PROBLEM

Guard-prisoner confrontation at the USDB is inevitable.

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[4]Cressey, "Achievement of An Unstated Organizational Goal: An Observation on Prisons," p. 59.

Inmates view guards as the symbol of force and authority, and guards, by the very nature of their responsibilities, must extend this authority in the form of sanctions and controls. This basic conflict is summarized by Cloward:

> The prison is composed of two powerful groups, each of which tries to secure its interests at the expense of the other. For the custodian, control is the central interest; for the inmate, escape from material and social deprivation.[5]

Many of the tensions existing between the guard and the prisoner are the result of normal behavior. Every individual is, to some extent, the "victim of his background", and possesses certain complex drives and needs. This fact alone takes on special meaning when assessing hostility and conflict in a correctional environment. Each guard and each prisoner brings to the institution his outlook and attitude on the world surrounding him. These same attitudes are present to some degree in guard-prisoner confrontation, and those guards best suited to manage conflict in the least inflammatory manner are a distinct asset. Those guards unwilling or unable to successfully manage conflict can be an acute liability.

## Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to determine if similarities exist in the background, personality, or attitude

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[5]Richard A. Cloward, "Social Control in the Prison," Prison Within Society, ed. Lawrence Hazelrigg (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1968), p. 80.

of guards expressing a high degree of hostility toward prisoners and to formulate hypotheses on the origin, operation, and control of hostility arising from guard-prisoner interaction. Research took the form of an exploratory study and was guided by the following questions:

1. How do guards high and low in expressed hostility differ in background, personality, attitude, and other traits?

2. What are the sources of these differences?

3. Are there any working or living conditions that affect guard hostility?

4. What means are available for identifying and screening guard personnel prior to their assignment to the USDB?

5. What recommendations for further research can be made in this area?

Importance of the Study

If it can be determined that guards expressing high hostility toward prisoners have similar backgrounds and characteristics, these similarities can be used to screen personnel prior to their assignment to correctional duties. Early identification of personnel not suited for duty as guards, will not only save government expenditures for training, but will prevent the introduction of a counter-productive element into the rehabilitative framework of the USDB. If manpower shortages preclude non-assignment of personnel, the USDB Commandant and his staff will be

forewarned, and special supervisory arrangements can be made, or minimal-confrontation assignments considered.

Limitations of the Study

This study was conducted within the severe constraints of time, guard sample availablity, and the need to remain flexible in research design. Because of the study's exploratory nature, the major emphasis was the discovery of ideas and insights.[6] Primary attention was given the development of hypotheses.

Questions can certainly be raised as to accuracy, validity, and interpretation of the findings, however caution has been exercised in data analysis to preclude unsubstantiated or biased statements of findings. No statistical tests of reliability or significance were conducted because of the exploratory nature of the research. Through the use of two widely recognized research instruments, the Srole Anomie Scale, and the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, some validity is offered to the primary questionnaire.

Two basic assumptions or postulations were made for this study. One assumption was that guards rating themselves high and low in hostility, would be correspondingly high or low in anomia. A second assumption was that guards high in hostility would possess different personality traits than those low in hostility. This approach precluded detailed

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[6]Claire Selltiz, et al., Research Methods in Social Relations, Revised Edition (New York, N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), p. 50.

analysis of personality traits for the guard sample; however, a general overview of hostility and anomia scores of the guard force are presented.

Lastly, the researcher understands that the attitudes and opinions expressed by guards on a questionnaire may in fact not represent an accurate appraisal of attitude, however the sample was instructed that the questionnaire and the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule were for research purposes only and in no way would their responses or scores affect them. Anonymity was also guaranteed, and because of this anonymity, many written comments were received from the sample.

## Methodology

This research was conducted with the cooperation of the Commandant, USDB, the Commander, First Guard Company, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and the Graduate Research Department, CGSC. The investigative method primarily employed a "survey technique."[7] Guard personnel and prisoners were used as sample groups in various phases of the investigative process, however research concentrated on guard personnel. The first phase of the study involved interviewing guards, and observing guard interaction with prisoners. Interviewing was focused in nature, and was conducted to assess factors contributing to guard hostility toward prisoners. The second phase involved administering the Srole Anomie Scale to "a known

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[7]Tyrus Hillway, Introduction to Research, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1964) p. 187.

group"--USDB prisoners. Anomie scores from this known group were used to contrast anomie scores of guard personnel, particularly anomie scores of guards scoring high on the hostility assessment portion of the questionnaire-survey. Prisoners were considered a "known group" in anomie because prisoners at the USDB score high on the anomie scale. The third phase of the investigation process focused on the study of guard hostility, anomie, personality, and background. Guards were administered a four part questionnaire and the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS), with one portion of that questionnaire structured to include the Srole Anomie Scale. Appendix 2 contains the questionnaire-survey.

Part I of the questionnaire was used to gain background information on the guards. Part II of the questionnaire contained the Srole Anomie Scale, a validated and much used research instrument for determining the degree to which an individual is alienated from society, and the attendant deviant behavior potential resulting from such alienation. Part III of the questionnaire contained 38 questions with fixed alternative responses; 36 of these questions were used as a vehicle for guards to express their hostility toward prisoners or the operational environment. Responses to these questions were numerically evaluated using a Likert-type scale. Responses indicative of high hostility were given the highest point value, and low hostility responses received the lowest numerical evaluation. Part IV of the questionnaire consisted of 2 questions, with the first question used to identify

the type offender who might receive harrassment from guards, with the second item used to determine the guards' orientation toward rule enforcement. In defining guard orientation toward rule enforcement, Grosser's description of the guard's role was used.[8] Enforcement orientations were "affectively neutral" or "highly specific." An "affectively neutral" orientation for the purposes of this study is a guard who fully evaluates the circumstances and the ramifications of prisoner violations before taking action. A "highly specific" orientation by a guard is one where the guard considers only the offense, and not the severity of the offense with regards to its overall impact on the security of the facility or the relationship of the offense to the potential for escalated violence.

The last portion of the study involved administering the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule to obtain a personality profile for the guard.

Figure 1 graphically portrays the research design with a description of the steps involved in the isolation of high-hostile and low-hostile guards. A total of 188 guards constituted the sample, with the "known group" anomie sample--USDB prisoners, consisting of 18 prisoners recently incarcerated.

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[8]George H. Grosser, "External Setting and Internal Relations of the Prison" Prison Within Society, ed. Lawrence Hazelrigg, (Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1968) pp. 41-42.

Figure 1

Graphic Portrayal of Research Design

**PHASE I INTERVIEWS AND OBSERVATIONS**

Focused interviews and unstructured observations were conducted during this phase to determine what differences existed between guards who handled confrontation in a non-abrasive manner and those who did not. These differences were used to design the hostility assessment scale (Part III of the questionnaire survey).

**PHASE II KNOWN GROUP ANOMIE MEASUREMENT**

Leo Srole Anomie Scale

Administered to 18 prisoners at the USDB. Scores to be used to contrast guard scores on the anomie scale. A total of 18 prisoners were tested during their inprocessing. Mean anomie score for this group was 16.1

**PHASE III GUARD VARIABLES**

| Background data | Leo Srole Anomie Scale | Hostility Scale | Attitudes on Offenses and Rules | Edwards Personal Preference Schedule |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PART I | PART II | PART III | PART IV | |

STEP 1. Administer Parts I-IV to all guard personnel
STEP 2. Score Part III and rank guards according to the degree of expressed hostility (High to Low)
STEP 3. Retain upper and lower 20% of Step 2 for analysis
STEP 4. Obtain anomie scores of Step 3 and compare with prisoner anomie scores and with each other.
STEP 5. Score EPPS for Step 3 personnel--determine profile.
STEP 6. Determine differences between Step 3 personnel and make general comparisons for the entire guard sample, and other comparisons as required.

**PHASE IV CONCLUSIONS, SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS**

1. Differences between high-hostile and low-hostile guards
2. Recommendations to reduce guard hostility
3. Recommendations for screening guard personnel
4. Recommendations for future research

Considerations in Methodology

Because of the exploratory nature of the study and the complex research design, significant elements of the methodology are explained to clarify the theoretical framework and facilitate subsequent review and data interpretation.

Exploratory Study. This study is exploratory in nature and has as its primary purpose the discovery of common factors in guard hostility in order that precise research problems and hypotheses can be formulated.[9] There is no specific hypothesis, however several assumptions are made to provide the research effort with direction and purpose. Though many variables are used, the primary purpose of the study remains the identification of guards least suited for duty at the USDB, and to provide a method for such identification.

Likert Scale. In 1932, Rensis Likert developed a technique for measuring attitudes. He used a summated scale in which the subject was asked to indicate agreement or disagreement to a specific object or question. Each response was given a numerical score and a total obtained for all responses. This score enabled Likert to rank the subjects. The Likert Scale has been widely used in studies of morale, attitude, and opinion. It is strictly an ordinal scale that makes possible the ranking of individuals in terms of

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[9]Claire Selltiz, et al, Research Methods in Social Relations, p. 50.

favorableness or unfavorableness toward a given object.[10] This type scale is used in the Srole Anomie test and in the hostility assessment portion of the questionnaire administered to guard personnel. In constructing fixed alternative questions used in the questionnaire survey, conformity with Likerts' method of developing attitude scales was sought.[11]

Srole Anomie Scale. Anomie or anomia is a comprehensive term meaning "despair", "hopelessness", "discouragement", "personal disorganization", and "alienation."[12] The Leo Srole Anomie Scale is used to measure the foregoing characteristics, with the term anomia being established by Meir and Bell.[13] The Srole Scale has been applied in a wide variety of research studies, and during the period 1956 to 1965, it was used twenty-five times.[14] Srole indicates that his scale was constructed to measure such phenomena as social dysfunction, disorganization, group alienation, and demoralization. Further, the scale measures anomia as subjectively

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[10]Claire Selltiz, et al., Research Methods in Social Relations, pp. 366-369.

[11]Rensis Likert, "The Method of Constructing An Attitude Scale", Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement, ed. Martin Fishbein (New York: John Wiley Co., 1967) pp. 90-95.

[12]Dorothy Meir and Wendell Bell, "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals", American Sociological Review, XXIV (April, 1959), pp. 191-192.

[13]Ibid, p. 192.

[14]John P. Robinson and Philip R. Shaver, Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes (Ann Arbor, Mich: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1969) p. 192.

experienced by the individual. The instrument consists of five statements and Srole[15] describes in detail what each is intended to measure:

> In general, the scale consists of items that refer to the individuals perception of his own place within that environment. Stated more specifically, the five scale items refer to the following: (1) the perceptions that one's leaders are indifferent to one's needs; (2) the idea that one can accomplish little in a society that is perceived as generally being unpredictable and lacking order; (3) the notion that one's life-goals are becoming more and more difficult to reach; (4) a feeling of futility and (5) the idea that one cannot count on others for support. The response to each question is scored either 1,2,4, or 5. No undecided or mid-point response is allowed. Scores could vary between 5 and 25. A low score means low anomia, and a high score means high anomia.

A basic assumption made in this study was--guards expressing a high degree of hostility toward prisoners or the operational environment would be high in anomia. If this assumption proved accurate, then some measure of validity could be given the hostility assessment portion of the questionnaire-survey, and a definitive element established for future screening of personnel. In a treatment-oriented correctional facility, the guard can expect to encounter many frustrations. A guard possessing a high degree of anomia would be expected to have a lower tolerance for operating within this type of environment because of the constraints and emphasis on rehabilitation and not control. Guard intolerance and frustration would manifest itself in hostility toward

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[15]Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study", American Sociological Review, XXI, December 1956), 709 -16.

prisoners. Many studies have been conducted that prove association of anomia with deviant behavior. Roberts and Rokeach[16] in 1956 found that both anomia and authoritarianism correlated with prejudice. The Srole Scale was used in this study. Srole[17] in 1956 in examining the relationship of anomia, authoritarianism, and prejudice, positively correlated anomia with prejudice. Netter[18] in 1957,and again in 1959, investigating the relationship of alienation and anomia, found that alienation and anomia significantly correlated. Gold[19] in 1958 found that anomia can lead to aggression against one's self (suicide) or aggression against others (homicide). In reviewing the literature on anomie, it was found that the term alienation is used interchangeably. Clinard stated that the "distinction is not clear, but the alienated individual is considered to be marginal, normless and isolated, and is similar to what others, such as Meir, Srole, and Bell, have referred to as anomia."[20]

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[16]Stephen Cole and Harriet Zuckerman, "Inventory of Empirical and Theoretical Studies of Anomie", Anomie and Deviant Behavior, ed. Marshall B. Clinard (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1964), pp. 246 -283.

[17]Ibid, p. 253.

[18]Ibid, p. 254.

[19]Ibid, p. 256.

[20]Marshall B. Clinard, ed., Anomie and Deviant Behavior (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1964), p. 37.

Seeman[21] elaborated further on alienation when he examined the variations in usages of alienation in terms of expectations and goals. He found alienation to be a feeling of powerlessness, meaninglessness, hopelessness, isolation, normlessness and self-estrangement.

Edwards Personal Preference Schedule. The Edwards Personal Preference Schedule was designed primarily as an instrument for research and counseling purposes to provide quick and convenient measures of a number of relatively independent normal personality variables. The EPPS provides a measurement of 15 personality variables as defined in Appendix 3 to this study.[22]

## Development of the Questionnaire Survey

Background Information. Guards were asked to provide information on their background by responsing to 30 questions contained in Part I of the questionnaire-survey. Many background variables were considered to chart as complete a picture as possible. This data would be used to determine if common factors existed between guards expressing a high or low degree of hostility, and for comparison of other variables.

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[21]Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation", American Sociological Review, No. 24 (December, 1959) pp. 783-791.

[22]Allen L. Edwards, Manual for the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (New York: The Psychological Corporation), p. 5.

Srole Anomie Scale. This scale is located in Part II of the questionnaire. Anomie as a term and concept have been discussed above.

Hostility Assessment Scale. This portion of the questionnaire consisted of 38 items of which 36 were used as a vehicle for guards to express hostility toward prisoners and the operational environment. Each of these items is discussed in Chapter III, Report of the Study.

Guard Attitudes on Offenses and Violations. Two questionnaire items were used to determine guard attitudes toward incarcerating offenses and institutional violations. Information obtained was used in determining which offense guards felt was most objectionable to them, and to assess the guards' "affectively neutral" or "specific orientation" on rule enforcement. These items are also discussed seperately in Chapter III of this study.

## Definition of Terms

Hostility. A feeling a ill-will, enmity, hatred, or antagonism of one toward another.[23] As used in this study, hostility ranges from unfriendliness and verbal abuse, to deliberate antagonism and commission of malevolent acts toward prisoners, or opposition to policies and programs of the USDB, or the Department of the Army.

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[23] Funk and Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of the English Language, International Edition, Volume One (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1963) p. 61.

Guard-Prisoner Hostility. The feeling of hostility as defined above, of a guard toward a prisoner.

High-Hostile Guard. Guards expressing a high degree of hostility toward prisoners or toward the USDB command structure.

Low-Hostile Guard. Guards expressing a low degree of hostility toward the USDB command structure or the prisoner.

Anomie or Anomia. A comprehensive term meaning despair, hopelessness, discouragement, personal disorganization and alienation, as measured by the Leo Srole Anomie Scale.[24]

## ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

A review of the literature is contained in Chapter II. This review will address the factor of operational environment, history and growth of the USDB, effects of the environment on guard personnel, guard perceptions and problem areas, and the role of the guard in a treatment-oriented facility. A profile of the USDB prisoner will be structured and discussed as it relates to guard personnel.

Chapter III will report the results of the study and Chapter IV will present differences between guards high and low in expressed hostility. Chapter V summarizes the study and presents conclusions, recommendations, and concepts for future research.

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[24]Dorothy Meir and Wendell Bell, "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals", p. 192.

# CHAPTER II

## REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of custodial or guard personnel with emphasis on the problems he faces in managing prisoners. To properly discuss the guard, an examination of the operational environment is required, to include its evolution, policies and prisoner profile.

## OPERATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

### The United States Disciplinary Barracks

Today's emphasis on correctional treatment of military prisoners is quite unlike the penal philosophy during the early days of our Army, indeed our nation. Prior to 1873, Army prisoners were confined in jails or state prisons and were subjected to abuses prevalent in penal institutions of that time, including corporal punishment and slave-type labor under contract systems.[1] In addition to civilian facilities, thirty-two stockades were used to incarcerate military prisoners.[2] Prisoners were horribly mistreated,

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[1] Ben Overstreet, "Recent Developments in the Treatment and Disposition of Military Offenders", The Prison Journal, Vol XLI, No. 2-Time and Punishment, (Autumn, 1961), p. 27.

[2] "The United States Disciplinary Barracks", Revised Edition, 1968, HQ, USDB, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, p. 1.

with punishment varying from stockade to stockade and prison to prison.[3] The range or spectrum of punishment included "flogging, use of ball and chain, shackling, branding with hot irons, marking with indelible ink, and other forms of corporal punishment."[4] Methods of handling prisoners had become so flagrantly inhuman and degrading as to demand attention by the Secretary of War and the Congress.[5]

The person responsible for exposing these abuses was Brigadier General (then Major) Thomas F. Barr, referred to as the "father of the United States Disciplinary Barracks."[6] Serving in his capacity as Judge Advocate, Department of the East, Major Barr submitted a report to General McDowell, Department Commander, recommending changes in the prison system. The report was approved and forwarded to Secretary of War Belknap who investigated and substantiated Barr's findings.[7] Ex-President Garfield, then a representative, commented on these conditions after visiting a prison where military personnel were confined: "I do not believe a man can well see a sadder sight and one that will make him more

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[3]"The United States Disciplinary Barracks", p.1.

[4]Henry Shindler, History of the United States Military Prison, (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: Foreman Army Service School Press, 1911)pp. 1-23.

[5]Harrison S. Kerrick, Captain, "The United States Disciplinary Barracks, Its History, Methods and Results", Journal of the Military Service, Vol. 59, No. 204,(November-December, 1916) p. 361.

[6]"The United States Disciplinary Barracks", p. 3.

[7]Harrison S. Kerrick, p. 362.

Winston, 1965), p. 50.



indignant at our system of military discipline and punishment."[8] To correct these abuses, a military prison was established at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, on May 27, 1874.[9] While the purpose of establishing the military prison was to insure humane treatment, little in the way of rehabilitation could be provided. Its original guard detail of sixty-one enlisted men and two non-commissioned officers could do little more than insure the control of prisoners.[10] This highly focused duty had an adverse effect on guard personnel with the "guards beginning to feel as punished as the prisoner."[11]

Though the USDB has on occasion reverted to Department of Justice control for the confinement of civilian prisoners, the installation has continually been operated by the Department of the Army since 1940.[12] Today, the USDB is well established as a rehabilitative facility for long term offenders. Its average prisoner population is 900-1000, with a military and civilian staff in excess of 750 personnel. Colonel Francis E. Payne, USDB Commandant, describes the installations current philosophy:

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[8]Harrison S. Kerrick, "The United States Disciplinary Barracks, Its History, Methods and Results", p. 364.

[9]"The United States Disciplinary Barracks", p. 3.

[10]Henry Shindler, History of the United States Military Prison, p. 27

[11]Ibid, p. 112.

[12]Ibid, p. 113

Houghton Mifflin Co., 1964) p. 187.



> The United States Disciplinary Barracks presently offers an effective program of rehabilitation with trained personnel, professional support, and physical facilities, often lacking at post confinement facilities. USDB policy is based upon the assumption that most deviant attitudes can be corrected and that most offenders in the Armed Forces can be successfully restored to duty or returned to civilian life as useful citizens. Opportunities for rehabilitation are offered through education, religion, mental hygiene, vocational training, and community programs. Standards of discipline and military motivation are emphasized and practiced in principle and daily life. The USDB program and facilities are available to assist commanders with effective corrective treatment for individuals amenable to rehabilitative measures.[13]

Recently, a civilian commission appointed by the President to investigate conditions in Army confinement facilities reported that they were favorably impressed with the operation of the USDB and the competency of its staff.[14] In contrasting the ratio of psychiatrists to prisoners at the USDB with other federal and state correctional systems, the USDB's treatment philosophy is emphasized. In the federal prison system, the ratio is 1 to 1,500 prisoners. In the state prison system, the ratio is 1 to 5,000.[15] At the USDB, the ratio is 1 to 129 prisoners.

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[13]Francis E. Payne, Colonel, MPC, Letter, PMGK-DB, dated 26 February 1971.

[14]Peg McMahon, "Inside the Castle at Fort Leavenworth", The Star Sunday Magazine, Kansas City Star, Vol. 1, No. 42 (October 18, 1970) p. 16.

[15]Stephen Lervin, ed., Crime and Its Prevention, The Reference Shelf, Vol. 40, No. 4 (New York: H.W. Wilson Co., 1968), p. 198.

USDB Prisoner Profile

Analysis of USDB prisoner data revealed that as of 1 May 1971, sixty-three percent were Caucasian, with the Negro population at thirty-six percent. The remaining one percent of the population is composed of other ethnic groups. Fifty-seven percent of the prisoners have completed high school, and the average GT (General Technical) Score for the prison population is 95. Seventy-one percent are unmarried; ninety-seven percent are Army enlisted men approximately 22 years old. The average sentence of these prisoners is 54 months and the predominant incarcerating offense is for AWOL. Only nine percent of the population entered the military through Project 100,000. Over fifty percent of the population has 22 months of creditable service. Average profiles can be misleading, and it is important to understand that the USDB is a maximum security facility, and as such receives prisoners convicted of serious offenses.[16]

Divergence of prisoner profiles within the USDB poses special problems for the guard. Most guards felt that AWOL's should not be confined at the USDB. Non-commissioned officers were particularly critical of this practice. They felt a maximum security facility should exist solely for those convicted of major crimes. Another source of irritation to guards was the insistence by prisoners that they were confined because of a "bum rap." If guards fully understood prisoner

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[16]Statistics provided by Office of the Chief of Staff, United States Disciplinary Barracks, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

culture as codified by Galtung in a system of norms, this particular irritant, though minor in nature, would not seem important. Galtung observed that prisoner culture developed the following norms:[17]

> You shall not ask another prisoner why he is here!
>
> You shall never openly say that your are guilty!
>
> You shall never moralize!
>
> You shall never claim that you are morally superior to another prisoner!
>
> You shall never openly say that the sentence was correct!
>
> You may say that your status as a criminal is undesirable, but not that the prison is a means to resocialization!
>
> You shall say that the prison either has no effect on you or harmful effects only!
>
> You shall express as your opinion that the guards and partly the officials are inferior human beings!
>
> You shall be on the prisoners side in all conflicts!
>
> You shall exploit the prison to your own advantage!
>
> You shall never be an informer!
>
> You shall never directly contradict another prisoner in his intepretation of his own situation, if he likes his own interpretation!
>
> You shall tolerate deviance from usual social norms but never deviance from these norms! (Refers above all to deviance from sex norms).
>
> You shall talk about the outside world in such a way as not to increase the frustrations for another prisoner!
>
> You shall not be different from other prisoners!

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[17]Johan Galtung, "The Social Functions of A Prison", Prison Within Society, ed. Lawrence Hazelrigg, (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Co, Inc., 1969) p. 38.

The prisoners's norms clash with those of the administration and custodial staff. Galtung, using Parson's analysis of norms developed in a mental hospital environment, structured the prison administrations' expectations of a prisoner.[18]

> You shall recognize that you are guilty!
>
> You shall recognize that it was correct to take you out of your social context and imprison you!
>
> You shall perceive your status as a criminal as undesirable!
>
> You shall do your best to 'pull yourself together'!
>
> You shall perceive the stay in prison and the services offered as a means to rehabilitation, and utilize the possibilities maximally!
>
> You shall obey the prison regulations!

The complexity of the guard's task becomes evident as he is interposed between the norms of the prisoner and the expectations of the administration. Particularly frustrating is the knowledge by the guard that his task of confrontation management will not be significantly altered. Grosser emphasizes this point:[19]

> No matter what the stated aims of a correctional system or prison administrator, the effect of imprisonment on the individual is frustration, through the restriction of participation in the society and the imposition of special rules, among which the prohibition of freedom of movement is only one. From the viewpoint of the prison as a relatively isolated social system, it is a structure composed of a ruling caste and a subordinate caste. There is virtually no aspect of a prisoners life that permits non-regulated activity.

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[18] Johan Galtung, "The Social Functions of A Prison", p.33.

[19] George Grosser, "External Setting and Internal Relations of the Prison", p. 9.

## THE ROLE OF THE GUARD

"In the prison community, there are three main statuses: the prisoners, the guards, and the administration."[20] Prisoners and the administration have been discussed, and attention is now focused on one of the most important rehabilitative elements in the correctional facility--the guard. This observation is reinforced by a prison worker who stated:[21]

> When we talk with alumni from the correctional institutions which boast the finest diagnostic and treatment facilities, we find that the person who exerted the greater influence on the thinking of these boys were not from the professional groups. The man who fired the boiler, the institutional baker, or a certain officer, influenced the thinking of many more boys than did the sociologist or psychologist.

The preceeding statement is a reflection of the favorable impact of guards on prisoners, however as Sutherland and Cressey point out, "it is probable that the number of inmates unfavorably influenced by guards is at least as high as the number favorably influenced."[22] Prisoners departing the USDB upon sentence termination are interviewed and asked to rate the prison staff with regards to those who helped them the most. Guards were rated as being of little help, with the chaplain receiving the most

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[20] Johan Galtung, "The Social Functions of a Prison", p. 32.

[21] Edwin Sutherland and Donald Cressey, Principles of Criminology, p. 539.

[22] Ibid.

recognition for assistance.[23] To understand the prisoners' negative rating of guard personnel at the USDB, it is necessary to understand the functions and complexities of the guard's role in a correctional facility and to appreciate his relative position within the overall structure.

> Prisons differ significantly from other organizations because their personnel hierarchies are organized down to the lowest level for the administration of the daily activities of men. In a factory, for example, there are hierarchies of management personnel and of the workers. By way of contrast, the guard, who is the lowest level worker in a prison, is both a worker and a manager. He is managed in a system of regulations and controls from above, but he also manages, in a corresponding system of regulations, the inmates who are in his charge. He is a low status worker in interactions with administrators, but a higher-status foreman or officer in interaction with inmates. He has no exact counterpart in the business and industrial world. The closest analogy is the overseer of a crew of slaves who are viewed as being 'outside' the organization designed to use their labor. Even here, however, the analogy is fallacious except as it refers to the guards who serve as foreman of inmate or industrial crews. Most guards do not use inmates productively any more than they, in their role as guards, are used productively by prison wardens. They manage and are managed in an organization where management is an end, not a means. This fact makes the guard's job an extraordinarily difficult one. Unlike popular sterotypes which picture the guard as either a brutal sadist with a club or as a robot standing on a wall with a rifle, guards are managers of men. They are responsible for keeping convicted criminals quiet and secure, and for supervising groups of men who have no loyalty to the prison.[24]

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[23] The Council for Research, Evaluation and Staff Development, United States Disciplinary Barracks, "Analysis of Attitudes Expressed by Prisoners Leaving the US Disciplinary Barracks", Project 8-67-B, Quarterly Report II, Hq USDB.

[24] Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, Principles of Criminology, p. 540.

Compounding the guards' problems are the special constraints imposed by a treatment-oriented facility--restrictions that he would not normally face in a custody-oriented installation. Recognition of these differences is important to the functioning of the facility, for the guard is crucial, not only to control, but a vital link in the rehabilitation process.

> We may disagree in regard to the function of the institution in the work of rehabilitation, but we are in complete accord in believing that success in rehabilitation can be attained only when an intelligent and sustained effort is contributed by the guard. His position, with regard to the latter responsibility is unique in itself and in many respects unlike that of the policeman, probation officer, parole officer, or social worker.[25]

Guards are well aware that the fundamental responsibility of prison management is the secure custody and control of inmates as universally prescribed by law, custom and public opinion, even though this basic obligation is at variance with rehabilitative programs on many occasions.[26] With this in mind, guards shoulder the serious responsibility of achieving a balance between security and control and rehabilitative programs.[27] Whether this balance should

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[25]Walter M. Walleck, The Training of Prison Guards, (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1938), p. v.

[26]American Correctional Association, Manual of Correctional Standards, Washington, D.C., 1969), pp. 366-369

[27]Ibid.

or should not be sought is not only a point of debate for guard personnel, but is argued by many of this nation's leading penologists. Professor Howard F. Gill, noted penologist, reflects a very liberal approach when he states that "centuries of hangings, floggings, and jailings have failed to eliminate crime, and stiffer punishment never helped anybody."[28] A mid-spectrum position on this debate is taken by Warden Jack Johnson of Chicago's Cook County Jail, who feels that only a certain percentage of prisoners are reachable, and the rehabilitative effort should be concentrated on those amenable to treatment.[29] A totally opposite view is taken by Seymour Gelhan who states that "those who believe in the Age of Enlightenment have been no more successful; punishment is a deterrent."[30]

Though the controversy rages, the Department of Defense has long pursued a rehabilitative philosophy, and personnel charged with implementing this policy must be cooperatively competent to perform in a rehabilitative mode. The implications and requirements for guards operating in a treatment oriented facility are best summarized by Sutherland:

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[28]Stephen Lervin, ed. Crime and Its Prevention, (New York: H.W. Wilson, Company, 1968), p. 186.

[29]Ibid, p. 185

[30]Ibid,pp. 185-186

Guards control prisoners who must be handled humanely and permitted to work togehter and in other ways consort with each other. Guards maintain discipline, but they must do this by means which do not arouse antagonism, hostility and uncooperativeness in inmate populations. When treatment is stressed, the guard's job is more difficult. They must preserve some order and discipline since this is essential to the prisoner's custodial goal. Generally speaking, it is believed that for effective treatment, guards must relax in custodial and disciplinary matters, to take the personality needs of each inmate into account, and to individualize the handling of inmates accordingly. These practices are viewed either as constituting treatment itself or as a means of assisting (or at least not hindering) the treatment practices of professional personnel such as social workers and psychologists. The introduction of humanitarianism and treatment in prisons has therefore had one of its effects, the introduction of conflicting directives for guards. They are expected to enforce rules and maintain discipline but at the same time, they are to minimize friction among inmates, and between the staff. They are to contribute to inmate rehabilitation by relaxing, being non-directive, and showing concern for inmate problems, but they are also expected to maintain order, keep inmates busy at maintenance, housekeeping, and production tasks, administer justice, and see that escapes do not occur. These conflicting directives make it almost impossible for the guard to do anything that will be judged to be correct by his superiors. If guards attempt to get strict conformity to institutional rules, they risk being accused of antagonizing inmates. Rules must be enforced, but the enforcement must not be so rigid and arbitrary that the inmates are stimulated to riot or rebel. If they attempt to use common sense and discretion in attempting to get conformity to rules, then they risk being accused of not being alert to potential danger or even of corruption. If they enforce discipline and insist on inmate orderliness, they risk undesirable diagnosis as 'rigid', 'punitive', or 'neurotic', for such enforcement theoretically interferes with individualized treatment. But if they relax to a degree that institutional security and organization seems to be threatened, then they risk undesirable diagnosis as lazy or unmotivated.[31]

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[31] Edwin H. Sutherland, Principles of Criminology, p. 541

## GUARD INTERACTION AND PERCEPTIONS

As previously noted, the guard interacts with both the prisoner and the administration. In addition, he is subjected to certain pressures from other guards, particularly guard supervisors. These three forces or interactions determine to a large extent the degree of hostility a guard will possess toward the correctional environment, both prisoner and administration. While normal behavior patterns, personality, and background will contribute to the guards hostility, the entire correctional community plays a significant role in determining how the guard will perform.

While studying guard hostility at military correctional facilities, Hankoff found that in some instances, the guard's hostility toward prisoners was in direct proportion to the guard's hostility toward the administration. Hankoff reported that one guard felt he was particularly hostile toward prisoners immediately following an inspection by the facility commander. Other factors found to be "hostility generators" were prisoner negativism and malingering, and the guard's fear of the prisoner.[32]

Comments submitted by USDB guards support many of Hankoff's observations:

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[32]Leon D. Hankoff, "Interaction Patterns Among Military Prison Personnel", The Military Prison, ed. Stanley L. Brodsky and Norman E. Eggleston, (Carbondale, Ill: Southern Illinois University Press, 1970), pp. 47-56.

"Discipline at the USDB has deteriorated from a control to a 'slap on the hands.' Prisoners laugh at rehabilitative programs. 'Doing time' still is the major attitude of prisoners. Minority groups are getting too much consideration and recognition. Guard personnel are losing out at the whims and desires of the inmates. Disrespect is the basis for the majority of the prisoners at the USDB."

"Emphasis seems to be placed on the prisoner's rights. What about ours?"

"This is a super-tough job for any person."

"The DB could get better EM correctional personnel if they could recruit or allow 95B or 95C EM a choice."

"Overall, the attitude of the prisoner is that eventually he will have more authority and conveniences than the guards. This is a morale boost for those threatening minority groups."

"Working at the DB would be more pleasure if we could choose our place of work."

"There should be a more pronounced effort made toward establishing better relations with the high rankings with the EM."

"The whole (profanity) place stinks. I am very hostile against 80% of DB prisoners and I love it."

"Guard personnel should be more carefully selected as to attitudes, psychological background, intelligence, and correctional outlook and philosophy."

"I think that a large portion of the prison population should not be in this facility. If rehabilitation is the true object, confinement does not always serve the purpose. For example, a pot smoker will continue to smoke pot whether or not he has served a year in jail-in most cases."

"Unfortunately, many of the prisoner complaints are true about gaurd harrassment, but it depends on the guard."

"Allowing the senior NCO (capable NCO) to perform his mission without constant rejection and interference from the office personnel-(junior officers- who must stick their noses into everyone's business to seem important). The NCO's in the DB are becoming paperweights."

"I love these poor prisoners just as much as Colonel Payne."

"I feel as though the prisoner knows that the guards come into the DB as the underdog. An for example, the rules which are given out to guide them and rehabilitate them is useless. There's one superior to you always around saying don't write him up. Where-in they don't know half the story. Therefore it makes the guards look bad. It seems as though the guards and their superiors are counterparting the rules and the prisoners are doing their own thing. If you don't want the guards to try and carry out the rules, don't try to apply them. Its just a show in the faces of the guards."

"Guards have fewer rights than prisoners. Adequate leaves or breaks are not being provided for guards or prisoners."

"Commandant is not fair in dealing with guard-prisoner relationships. He feels the prisoner is always right."

"I feel physical force should be used at the guard's discretion. If they can't trust the guards that much they shouldn't be down there in the first place."

"Everything for the prisoner, nothing for the guard."

"I feel the DB would be a better place if when they receive a write-up, the DOC wouldn't void them until they have heard both sides of the story."

"I feel the current programs of humanizing conditions at the DB is highly deserving of praise. The DB is now willing to experiment to find ways to improve the rehabilitation program."

"Along with the greater advantage that could be derived from prisoner and guard conferences, I would suggest contact between the men upstairs and the guards. Open door policies are not as effective in determining general attitudes on the part of guards as would meetings between shifts or platoons and the officers. Since guards implement most policies, I would think that rapport between the policy makers and the guards should be given higher priority."

Using the comments submitted by USDB guards, a set of norms similar to those proposed by Galtung[33] were hypothesized. While based on very limited observation, the following norms seem to express the problems and perceptions of guards:

You shall not allow yourself to be "used by any prisoner."

You shall not be made to look bad by a prisoner.

You shall always remember that you are superior to the prisoner.

You shall resist interference by the administration in the performance of your duties.

You shall expect the administration to back your judgement on the reporting of violations and the application of force.

You shall recognize that your job is extremely difficult and as such, should not be made more difficult by superiors.

You shall expect to receive the benefit of the doubt by any officer or the administration when controversy arises as a result of guard-prisoner confrontation.

You have the solemn obligation to keep your fellow guard informed, and the administration has the obligation to keep you informed.

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[33]Johan Galtung, "The Social Functions of A Prison", p. 38.

Admittedly, the observations and evidence supporting these norms are limited and need further examination and investigation, however, contrasting these norms with those of the prisoner and the expectations of the administration, provides insight into the forces continually impacting on custodial functions.

In 1968, guard workshops were held by the Mental Hygiene Directorate of the USDB. These workshops proved to be a valuable source of information on the guard, and served as an outlet for guard grievances.[34] For the purpose of facilitating review of the problem areas, they have been summarized and placed in Figure 2.

Figure 2

USDB Guard Problem Areas

| Problems Affecting the Guard's Job | Problems Affecting USDB Operations | Problems Affecting Guard Morale |
|---|---|---|
| 1. No effective channel to seek redress of grievances.<br>2. No one listens to suggestions for improvements.<br>3. Non-enforceable rules and impractical changes.<br>4. Lack of continuity in policy and in rules. | 1. No one tells the guard how to handle disturbed prisoners.<br>2. No one consults the guard to determine the progress of the prisoner.<br>3. No one tells the guard which prisoner is dangerous and which one is not. | 1. No one appreciates the guard.<br>2. No one tells the guard when he does a good job.<br>3. Guards trained as "white hat MPs were forced to work at the USDB.<br>4. Guards are scapegoats for administrative failures. |

[34] Emery Jones and Eugene Wulf, "Custodial Workshop Program: A Report", Hq, USDB, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

Summary

Many forces act upon the guard in the performance of his duty, with many of these forces having considerable potential for hostility generation. After examining the history and current operational policies of the USDB and of treatment-oriented facilities in general, there is evidence that the guards job is extremely difficult. While the USDB prisoner profile does not generally indicate the massive presence of hardened criminals, the guard realizes the USDB is a maximum security facility where long term offenders are confined for serious offenses. This diverse prisoner population is an abrasive factor to guards and actually poses difficult response options for them.

When viewing the prisoners norms and the expectations of the administration, the guard is placed at the crossroads of conflict. This conflict is further intensified when the guard's needs are considered.

Clearly, the difficulties and complexities of the guard's task will remain and perhaps intensify so long as the military pursues a strong and vital rehabilitation policy, and guards are assigned to duty at the USDB without careful consideration of their ability to perform effectively and non-abrasively in that environment.

The elimination of counterproductive guards will not only increase the prospects for prisoner rehabilitation, but it will also enhance the contributions of those guards who, day after day, perform creditably in what is often a thankless and unrewarding job.

# CHAPTER III

## REPORT OF THE STUDY

The focal point of the research design was the hostility assessment portion of the questionnaire-survey administered to 188 guards and guard supervisors. Items used to measure guard hostility or to provide a vehicle for the guard to express hostility, were based on unstructured observation of guard-prisoner interaction and the reaction of guards to USDB administration policy and to the military correctional system in general.

Selltiz describes unstructured observation as participant observation with the observer taking on, to some extent, the role of a member of the group, and participating in its functioning.[1] This unstructured observation was accomplished while the researcher was assigned as a custodial officer in the Director of Custody's Office, USDB, and on subsequent observations. The questionnaire method used in this research provided the basis for the investigation, because data was to be collected from a large number of individuals, and because of the limitations previously discussed. Questionnaires provided standardization and uniformity which was essential to the collection of data.

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[1] Claire Selltiz, et al, Research Methods in Social Relations, p. 207.

Hostility assessment was accomplished through the use of fixed alternative questions providing for varying degrees of response (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree), placed on a summated Likert-type scale. This summated scale called only for expression of agreement or disagreement, with no expression of uncertainty or"undecided" included in the response options.

After determining the items considered relevant to the assessment of hostility, numerical evaluations were provided each response in such a way that responses indicative of hostility were given the highest score or numerical value. All guards were ranked from the highest degree of hostility to the lowest. Thirty-six items were given numerical value, with the range of scoring possibilities extending from 36 to 180. Though the purpose of the research was to isolate extreme high-hostiles or low-hostiles for analysis, an overall response or hostility profile was determined for the entire guard sample.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Statements or questions used to assess hostility were divided into several categories to facilitate the construction of a general guard profile. Categories used were; (1) hostility towards corrections and correctional work in general; (2) hostility toward the treatment-orientation of the USDB; (3) hostility toward the general prisoner population; (4) hostility toward minority group

prisoners; (5) guard hostility as a result of voids in prestige and authority; (6) guard hostility toward officer prisoners; and (7) guard hostility toward the USDB administration.

Guard Hostility Toward Corrections and Correctional Work

Some military policemen complain when they are assigned to duty in a correctional facility. Guards at the USDB voiced the same complaint. Certainly this is not true of all guards, however the complaint was a recurring one, and reflected dissatisfaction with correctional work in general. To assess the degree of job dissatisfaction among guards, the following question or situation was posed: with guard responses as indicated.

Table 1

Guard Dissatisfaction With Correctional Work

| STATEMENT: I would readily accept the opportunity to work as a "White Hat MP" if it were offered to me. N=187 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Strongly Agree | 14.89% | Strongly Disagree | 22.87% |
| Agree | 17.02% | Disagree | 44.68% |

Though dissatisfaction with correctional work is an often heard complaint, two-thirds of the guards would not switch jobs if given the opportunity.

Another indication of job dissatisfaction was discontent with the working conditions at the USDB. One of the common complaints of guards was the difficulty in handling prisoners. The author construed this complaint to be the lack of authority for the imposition of sanctions (i.e. placing a prisoner in disciplinary segregation, or other disciplinary measures that

require approval by higher authority. When asked if they were satisfied with working conditions at the USDB, fifty-nine percent stated they were satisfied.

Table 2

Guard Dissatisfaction With Working Conditions

| STATEMENT: Generally speaking, I am satisfied with my working conditions at the DB. N=187 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Strongly Agree | 8.51% | Strongly Disagree | 15.42% |
| Agree | 51.06% | Disagree | 24.46% |

Two items were used to gain insight into hostility toward the correctional system in general. These items dealt with parole for prisoners, and the retention of the death sentence (a military justice function). Guards were strong in their conviction that prisoners should receive parole, with eighty-three percent approving of parole. An individual advocating sentence without parole could be classified as hostile to the correctional or military justice system, in addition to animosity toward the prisoner. At the USDB, there is an automatic yearly consideration for parole. "Prisoners who have completed one-third of their sentences and who have over a year sentence are evaluated for parole."[2] Because the maintenance of a good institutional record is important to the granting of parole, a major leverage for prisoner conformity exists. Often, when serving on the frequent disciplinary boards, or observing prisoners exiting from these boards, the major question asked by other

[2]Brodsky and Eggleston, The Military Prison, p. 17.

prisoners awaiting their hearing was: "did they take away any good time?" If prisoners had to serve their sentences without hope for parole, the guard's problem in the area of control and security could be very difficult. Perhaps this offers some explanation of the guards' overwhelming approval of parole besides whatever humanitarian beliefs they possess. When guards were asked if the military should eliminate the death penalty, fifty-four percent agreed that it should be eliminated.

Responses to questions in this area indicate some dissatisfaction with correctional work and working conditions, however most guards were generally satisfied. An appraisal of the information provided reveals that approximately one-third of the guards are dissatified with their job and with the working conditions prevalent at the USDB. Guards were strong in their support of prisoner parole. Parole and mitigation of sentence are perhaps the major controlling element in a correctional facility, and guards directly or indirectly exert some degree of influence on the granting of parole or the mitigation of sentence.

Positive attitudes toward the correctional system and its rehabilitative philosophy on the part of guard may be a resignation that the system will not change and little can be gained by attempting to contravene the policies. Cooperative attitudes can also be attributed to in-house USDB training programs. Guards receive an intensive two week orientation upon arrival at the DB. Much

is accomplished at this time to smooth the transition from routine police work, stockade duty, or basic training, to the more complex and demanding task of rebuilding men.

Guard Hostility Toward Treatment-Orientation of USDB

One of the basic precepts of treatment-oriented facilities is the minimization of force and the maximum use of reason whenever possible. To determine the "force profile" of USDB guards, the following questions or situations were posed with the guard response as indicated:

Table 3

"Force Profile" of USDB Guards

| N=187 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| STATEMENT: The successful outcome of conflict with a prisoner is largely determined by how forcefully the guard presents himself initially. | | | |
| Strongly Agree | 19.14% | Strongly Disagree | 2.65% |
| Agree | 52.12% | Disagree | 25.53% |
| STATEMENT: More often than not, physical punishment would be more effective than "correctional treatment" in dealing with the "hardened" prisoner. | | | |
| Strongly Agree | 13.29% | Strongly Disagree | 16.48% |
| Agree | 21.80 | Disagree | 47.87% |
| STATEMENT: Guard Personnel are not given enough freedom of action in dealing with unruly or hostile prisoners. | | | |
| Strongly Agree | 23.40% | Strongly Disagree | 3.72% |
| Agree | 34.57% | Disagree | 37.76% |

While most guards did not favor the use of physical punishment in dealing with unruly prisoners, they did display a willingness to initially resort to force to gain compliance. The questionnaire item dealing with physical punishment connoted the deliberate use of physical punishment as a treatment method, while other items in Table 3 addressed the initial use of force in confrontations, and the desire to have the administration grant greater latitude in using force. An ominous statistic, if valid, are the thirty-five percent who stated that physical punishment would be more effective in dealing with the hardened prisoner.

Grosser, in commenting on the use of force in correctional facilities, stated:

> Despite the omnipresent threat of force, it cannot be considered the prime mechanism producing compliance on the part of prisoners. In a number of areas, both the prisoner's self interest and his normative orientation are decisive in guiding his behavior. The application of force and the threat of force are of course prominent features of both administrative rule and inmate dominance. The use of force by the former is legitimized by the legal mandate and the assumption of recalcitrance on the part of the prisoner. Prisons run neither by force nor the threat of force alone, but largely by virtue of acceptance on the part of inmates and their voluntary adherence to rules.[3]

Guards, in responding to the statement, "the best preventive technique against a disorder or riot in the DB is a tough, strong, and forceful guard force", fifty-one percent of the guards agreed with the statement,

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[3]Grosser, "External Setting and Internal Relations of the Prison", p. 15.

One of the features of a treatment-oriented facility is the lack of emphasis on stringent prisoner control in areas that do not affect the basic security mission. One of these areas is control of prisoner messing. One of the major potential trouble spots at the DB or at any correctional facility, is the prisoner mess. Formerly, prisoners were marched into the mess hall and instructed to take a specific seat. This practice has since been discontinued, however some guards felt a more rigid control procedure was needed. When asked if "prisoners should be allowed to sit at any table during meals",sixty-two percent of the guards responded affirmatively. Non-restrictive seating in the mess is popular with the prisoners and it was thought that a desire to support this practice would show support for the relaxing of non-essential controls. While this may be a valid observation, the potential for violence on the part of prisoners is greatest when they are massed, and custodial willingness to accept non-restrictive seating in the mess could be an admission that control is impractical. Even with these considerations, thirty-eight percent favored restrictive seating plans.

The value of workshops or seminars in which guards and prisoners discuss their mutual problems in an effort to communicate and relax tensions was favorably recognized by sixty-five percent of the guards. Even though thirty-five percent dissapproved of the workshops, there is evidence

that guard-prisoner workshops would be supported, and could assist the guard in functioning as a rehabilitative agent.

Fear on the part of the guard as to the resolution of direct guard-prisoner confrontation is constant. In a control-oriented facility, the options are clear--apply the required amount of force to resolve the issue. In a treatment-oriented facility, reason is preferred to force if at all possible. The following item indicates the willingness on the part of the guard to reason with a prisoner.

Table 4

Guard Willingness To Use Reason

As A Control Method

| N=187 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **STATEMENT:** The guard who tries to reason with a hostile prisoner is more likely to be attacked than the guard who makes it clear he will use whatever force is required to gain the prisoners obedience to his order. | | | |
| Strongly Agree | 14.89% | Strongly Disagree | 47.34% |
| Agree | 28.72% | Disagree | 8.51% |

With fifty-five percent of the guards disagreeing with the statement, it might appear that a contradiction has been established with the "force profile" contained in Table 3. In the previous "force item", the situation conveyed by the statement was one of "conflict imminence" while here the statement implies prisoner obedience to guard orders. Noteworthy was the fact that fourty-three percent rejected reason as a method of gaining compliance from a hostile prisoner.

Regardless of the facility's correctional philosophy, every institution will have its troublemakers and its incorrigibles. Dealing with this type of prisoner can be extremely frustrating for a guard. In a treatment-oriented facility, it becomes difficult to reduce the frustration level of guards, therefore it is incumbent on the military assignment process, to select guards who can best handle frustration and abuse. Not only should this be a prerequisite for custodial duty, but a prerequisite for all military police functions.

Rehabilitative programs are the life-blood of a treatment-oriented facility. Programs such as home leave, conjugal visits, relaxing of rules on special occasions, and other similar programs and practices, are essential if rehabilitation and resocialization of the prisoner is to have a chance of succeeding. To determine the rehabilitative orientation of the guards, several questions or situations were posed with the following results.

Table 5

"Rehabilitation Profile" of the USDB Guard

| N=187 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| STATEMENT: I think prisoners should periodically be allowed to visit alone with their wives for a weekend. | | | |
| Strongly Agree | 14.89% | Strongly Disagree | 13.82% |
| Agree | 37.23% | Disagree | 33.51% |

Table 5 (continued)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| STATEMENT: I feel sorry for most of the prisoners at the DB. | | | |
| Strongly Agree | 4.78% | Strongly Disagree | 17.02% |
| Agree | 18.61% | Disagree | 59.04% |
| STATEMENT: Prisoners should be allowed to stay up and watch special athletic events that are telecast after the normal lights-out time. | | | |
| Strongly Agree | 15.42% | Strongly Disagree | 29.25% |
| Agree | 42.02% | Disagree | 12.76% |
| STATEMENT: The recent Christmas leave policy for prisoners at the DB is a good idea. | | | |
| Strongly Agree | 17.55% | Strongly Disagree | 13.82% |
| Agree | 48.93% | Disagree | 19.14% |
| STATEMENT: With few exceptions, prisoners are not worth the rehabilitative effort that is currently being devoted to them. | | | |
| Strongly Agree | 5.31% | Strongly Disagree | 19.14% |
| Agree | 15.95% | Disagree | 59.04% |

In general, rehabilitative programs were approved of by guards. This approval was reinforced when seventy-eight percent of the guards thought prisoners were worth the rehabilitative efforts of the USDB. When guards were asked if rehabilitative funds should be diverted to improve security and control, sixty-four percent stated they should not be diverted. Guard approval of rehabilitative programs increased as the demonstrated success of programs became evident. Conjugal visits, which have not been instituted as yet, were approved of by fifty-two percent; allowing prisoners to view late telecasts of athletic events, was

approved by fifty-seven percent of the guards; sixty-six percent approved of the recent Christmas leave policy. Though most guards approved of rehabilitation programs, a sizeable percentage disaproved. One possible explanation for this guard disapproval could be the attitude of guard supervisors. When guards were asked if their supervisors shared their views on the treatment of prisoners, sixty-five percent agreed. With this in mind, the role of the guard supervisor in molding opinion and shaping attitudes assumes a greater degree of importance.

Guard Hostility Toward USDB Administration

Though agreeing on the basic precepts and philosophy of rehabilitation, guards were generally antagonistic toward the USDB administration. This antagonism appears to have its roots in the lack of recognition by the administration in supporting them in confrontations with prisoners, and in the reluctance of the administration to give guards greater latitude in dealing with prisoners. Sixty-one percent of the guards felt that rules and regulations governing prisoner conduct were too lenient, and that officer supervisors did not back them up. Guards also felt that the administration cared little for their morale. It was noted previously that Brodsky found hostility toward the administration caused increased hostility toward the prisoner. One of the most common complaints of guards about the administration, was its failure to receive and act on guard suggestions.

Guards felt they had no meaningful role to play in the operation of the USDB, and that their voices had been silenced. These complaints are not surprising in a facility emphasizing treatment of prisoners. The treatment-oriented facility exists for the primary purpose of restructuring the lives and men and preparing them to perform as useful citizens. In such an environment, the needs of guards cannot be considered paramount.

## Guard Hostility Resulting From Prestige and Authority Voids

An outgrowth or continuation of the hostility expressed towards the administration are guard complaints over the lack of authority and prestige. To assess this form of hostility, several questions were posed as shown in Table 6.

Table 6

Prestige and Authority Voids of Guards

N=187

| STATEMENT: Rules and regulations governing prisoner conduct and privileges are too lenient at the DB. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Strongly Agree | 23.93% | Strongly Disagree | 6.91% |
| Agree | 37.23% | Disagree | 31.38% |
| **STATEMENT: My officer supervisors are just as concerned with guard morale as they are with prisoner morale and welfare.** | | | |
| Strongly Agree | 10.63% | Strongly Disagree | 13.82% |
| Agree | 35.10% | Disagree | 39.89% |

Table 6 (continued)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| STATEMENT: Most of the criticism of guard personnel is false or unjustified. | | | |
| Strongly Agree | 15.95% | Strongly Disagree | 3.72% |
| Agree | 45.74% | Disagree | 34.04% |
| STATEMENT: Officer supervisors at the DB tend to accept the word of the prisoner before they accept the word of the guard. | | | |
| Strongly Agree | 19.68% | Strongly Disagree | 2.12% |
| Agree | 35.10% | Disagree | 42.55% |
| STATEMENT: If guards were given more authority, they would be more effective without really abusing the rights of the prisoner. | | | |
| Strongly Agree | 24.46% | Strongly Disagree | 2.12% |
| Agree | 40.95% | Disagree | 31.91% |
| STATEMENT: The discipline of prisoners would be improved if more severe action was taken against prisoners who break the rules. | | | |
| Strongly Agree | 25.00% | Strongly Disagree | 6.38% |
| Agree | 46.27% | Disagree | 21.80% |
| STATEMENT: It is necessary for a guard to explain the rules only once or twice for prisoners to understand a guard's authority over them. | | | |
| Strongly Agree | 15.95% | Strongly Disagree | 3.19% |
| Agree | 50.53% | Disagree | 29.78% |
| STATEMENT: Guards should teach prisoners obedience and respect for authority. | | | |
| Strongly Agree | 17.55% | Strongly Disagree | 3.72% |
| Agree | 50.00% | Disagree | 28.72% |

Guards felt that rules and regulations were too lenient, that their officers did not care about their morale, that criticism of guards was unjustified, that officers accepted the word of the prisoner before they accepted the word of the guard, that more authority could be granted without abusing the rights of the prisoner, that more severe disciplinary action against prisoners was required, and that guards should teach prisoners obedience and respect for authority. The major complaint of guards appeared to be a lack of authority to deal with prisoners who break the rules. Decentralization of authority to the guard level for enforcement of discipline could be counterproductive to rehabilitative aims. Each guard would handle prisoner discipline as he saw fit which could result in an emphasis on control and a deemphasis on treatment.

Guard Hostility Toward Minority Groups

One of the major efforts of the USDB administration has been the reduction of racial tension. Many programs have been initiated by the Commandant in recognition of minority group needs. From my observation, no area has received greater attention. Not all of these programs have been fully accepted by guard personnel. Since Negroes comprise the bulk of minority group prisoners at the USDB, any discussion of guard-minority group confrontation must be evaluated in terms of the Negro population.

Whatever arguments are made for redress of grievances by the Negro in America, these arguments are intensified in a correctional setting where the lack of freedom is a reality. The demand for expression of black pride, and the feeling by blacks that they are victims of a racist society, are easily justified and rationalized in a legally restricted environment. It becomes easier to forget the offense that imposed the restriction and concentrate wrath on "the ruling caste." Guards must understand that incarceration intensifies grievances. In working with minority groups, particularly black prisoners, guards might be forced to overcompensate as espoused by General Michael Davison, USAREUR Commander:

> I think you have to discriminate in favor of, and overcompensate for, the blacks. Here's a guy who's been deliberately degraded and deprived for 300 years. He's got so many hang-ups as a result of the conditions he finds himself in today, in order to make him feel like he's being treated fairly, you just have to overcompensate.[4]

While it is not the intent of this paper to discuss race relations in the military, it is important to understand the degree of hostility existing among guards toward minority groups or toward policies impacting on minority groups. Several questions were posed to determine the degree of hostility among guards toward minority groups or minority group policy. When guards were asked if compensating with or yielding to requests made by minority groups would only lead to problems for guard personnel, sixty-three percent stated it would lead to guard problems. Fifty-four percent of

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[4]Hugh A. Mulligan, "Trying Times for Army Officers", The Kansas City Times, Vol 103, No. 237 (June 3, 1971)

the guards were opposed to the issuance of special grooming equipment or toilet articles for minority group prisoners. While guard attitudes can be attributed to the guard opposition of preferential treatment, they can equally be attributed to racial hostility.

Most guards stated their relationship with minority groups had been favorable prior to entrance into military service. Unfortunately, the author did not qualify favorable contact with frequency of contact. Guards were almost equally divided on prohibiting the "black power" salute at the USDB, with fifty-one percent stating the salute should not be prohibited. Caucasian guards felt the salute should be abolished, with minority group guards supporting its retention. All guards, regardless of race, thought minority group prisoners were more hostile than other prisoners, however when asked to accurately state that minority groups were more hostile than other prisoners, most guards indicated they could not.

Guard Hostility Toward Officer Prisoners

Guards were asked if officer prisoners should be domiciled seperately from enlisted prisoners because of their background. Most guards stated that officers should be given seperate facilities. Minority group guards rejected this idea, indicating that officers should not receive any special treatment.

## Guard Hostility Toward General Prisoner Population

Guards frequently expressed agitation over the prisoner's refusal to recognize that a rule had been violated or an offense committed. Often the guard complained that "the prisoner broke the rule, and the guard went to trial." This behavior on the part of prisoners appears consistent with their norms. Guards expressed considerable hostility toward the practice of prisoners claiming ignorance of the rules, with eighty percent of the guards agreeing to a statement that "most prisoners who claim ignorance of a rule are trying to put something over on the guard." Sixty-seven percent of the guards felt that prisoners "used" officers by lying about the guard's performance of duty.

An understanding of prisoner culture would serve to reduce guard hostility and frustration. By recognizing that prisoners will usually respond in a given manner because of the culture they develop, guard anxiety can be lowered.

## Summary

Throughout the analysis of the general guard population, about one-third of the guards appear to oppose the rehabilitative efforts of the USDB. There was a reluctance on the part of guard to recognize that strict rule enforcement is not compatible with progressive rehabilitation programs. Though generally supportive of USDB programs, this support is most prevalent among

programs that have proven successful. It was difficult to determine if guards were anti-minority group or simply opposed to preferential treatment. Guards appear least tolerant of programs designed to ease racial tension. Officer personnel (supervisors) received criticism from guards for not supporting them in prisoner confrontations. In all fairness, this is not an officer deficiency, but a desire on the part of guards for unquestioned authority. From my observations, officer personnel "agonize" over disciplinary reports to insure that guard reports on prisoner violations are not capricious and unreasonable. This close scrutiny of guard reports is necessary to insure justice.

## GUARDS HIGH OR LOW IN RACIAL HOSTILITY

Six items were included in the questionnaire to assess guard attitudes toward minority groups and special minority group needs. Three guard groups were isolated from the general sample to determine if guards high or low in "racial hostility" had common background characteristics or were similar in other variables. Racial tension is a major problem to the military, however it is of special concern to the correctional administrator. Racial friction in a correctional facility assumes a magnitude far beyond its normal explosive nature. If guards possessing a high degree of animosity toward minority groups can be identified, a major obstacle to efficient and orderly operation of the facility can be removed. For the purposes of this study, racial hostility is hostility felt by the majority group

toward the minority group. Reverse racial hostility was not considered in this study, though it does deserve considerable research.

Selection of the Sample

All guards who answered the six items in a manner construed as hostile to minority groups or minority group policies were selected and termed "racially high-hostiles." A second group identified as "racially hostile" was selected on the basis of hostile responses to four of the six items. The third group identified as "racially non-hostile" was selected on the basis of non-hostile responses to four of the six items.

Characteristics of the Racially High-Hostile

Only six guards could be placed in this group, therefore any meaningful analysis would be invalid. Background similarites of the group were insignificant. All were Caucasians varying in rank from E-3 to E-6. The mean anomia score for the group was 15.4, and they were generally more hostile than the total guard sample. Only one factor emerged as being possibly significant. This factor was the statement by all six guards of unfavorable racial contact prior to entering the military service.

Comparisons of Racially-Hostile and Racially Non-Hostiles

Seventy-nine guards were identified as being racially non-hostile and sixty-nine were identified as being racially hostile. Analysis of background information revealed few

differences. The non-racially hostile group had achieved a higher educational level than racially-hostiles and had more military service. Racially-hostiles had more service at the USDB than did non-racially-hostiles. Table 7 contrasts the responses of the two groups.

Table 7

Responses of Racially-Hostile and Racially-Non-Hostile Guards

| Statement | Non-Racially Hostiles N=79 | Racially Hostiles N=69 |
|---|---|---|
| To prevent a disorder or riot a strong and forceful guard force is required. | Disagree 70% | Agree 66% |
| Most of the criticism of guards is false or unjustified. | Agree 57% | Agree 69% |
| Officer supervisors accept the prisoners word before they accept the word of the guard. | Disagree 63% | Agree 69% |
| The successful outcome of conflict with a prisoner is largely determined by how forcefully the guard presents himself initially. | Agree 65% | Agree 78% |
| I feel sorry for most of the prisoners at the DB | Disagree 71% | Disagree 82% |
| Prisoners should be allowed to stay up and watch special athletic events that are telecast after the normal lights-out time. | Agree 68% | Agree 53% |
| The Christmas leave policy for prisoners at the DB is a good idea. | Agree 83% | Disagree 51% |
| My officer supervisors are just as concerned with guard morale as they are with prisoner morale and welfare. | Agree 56% | Disagree 62% |
| Generally speaking, I am satisfied with my working conditions at the DB. | Agree 72% | Disagree 51% |

Table 7 (continued)

| Statement | Non-Racially Hostiles N=79 | Racially Hostiles N=69 |
|---|---|---|
| I would readily accept the opportunity to work as a "White Hat MP" if it were offered to me. | Disagree 73% | Disagree 60% |
| Generally, minority group prisoners are more hostile to guard personnel than are prisoners of other races. | Disagree 51% | Agree 91% |
| A prisoner should be required to serve his entire sentence without parole. | Disagree 92% | Disagree 85% |
| Compromising or yielding to any request of minority group prisoners at the DB will only lead to problems for guard personnel. | Disagree 59% | Agree 88% |
| Rules and regulations governing prisoner conduct and privileges are too lenient at the DB. | Disagree 63% | Agree 81% |
| Issuing special grooming equipment and toilet articles to a small percentage of minority group prisoners is unjustified. | Disagree 77% | Agree 82% |
| More often than not, physical punishment would be more effective than correctional treatment in dealing with the hardened prisoner. | Disagree 84% | Agree 51% |
| Guard personnel are not given enough freedom of action in dealing with unruly or hostile prisoners. | Disagree 63% | Agree 73% |
| Prisoners take every opportunity to "use" DB commissioned officers by lying to them about the guards performance of duty. | Agree 54% | Agree 76% |
| Because of their rank and background, officer prisoners should be domiciled seperately from enlisted prisoners. | Agree 54% | Agree 51% |
| The military should eliminate the death penalty. | Agree 67% | Agree 52% |
| I would classify my experience with minority groups prior to my entrance into military service as favorable. | Agree 93% | Agree 63% |

Table 7 (continued)

| Statement | Non-Racially Hostiles N=79 | Racially Hostiles N=69 |
|---|---|---|
| Prisoners should be permitted to sit at any table during meals. | Agree 68% | Agree 58% |
| The length of a prisoners' hair is not an indication of his basic character. | Agree 81% | Agree 60% |
| Prisoners should periodically be allowed to visit alone with their wives for a weekend. | Agree 65% | Disagree 57% |
| Programs in which guards and prisoners openly discuss their mutual concern and problems would be beneficial toward the improvement of guard prisoner relations. | Agree 74% | Agree 59% |
| It is necessary for a guard to explain the rules only once or twice for prisoners to understand a guard's authority over them. | Agree 64% | Agree 69% |
| The "Black Power" salute should be prohibited at the DB. | Disagree 78% | Agree 78% |
| Military funds spent on the rehabilitation of prisoners should be spent on improving security and control. | Disagree 81% | Disagree 51% |
| Guards should teach prisoners obedience and respect for authority. | Agree 63% | Agree 68% |
| With few exceptions, prisoners are not worth the rehabilitative effort that is currently being devoted to them. | Disagree 89% | Disagree 73% |
| The use of curse words by a prisoner should justify that prisoner receiving disciplinary action. | Disagree 70% | Agree 51% |
| The guard who tries to reason with a hostile prisoner is more likely to be attacked than the guard who makes it clear he will use whatever force is required to gain the prisoners obedience to his orders. | Disagree 68% | Agree 56% |
| It is not possible to accurately identify prisoners of a specific race as having more hostility toward guards. | Agree 79% | Disagree 71% |

Table 7 (continued)

| Statement | Non-Racially Hostiles N=79 | Racially Hostiles N=69 |
|---|---|---|
| If guards were given more authority they could be more effective without really abusing the rights of the prisoner. | Disagree 54% | Agree 78% |
| The discipline of prisoners would be improved if more severe action was taken against prisoners who break the rules. | Agree 51% | Agree 88% |

Guards high in racial hostility were more hostile overall. Significant differences between the two groups were high-hostiles were much less supportive of rehabilitative programs, more hostile toward officers and the USDB administration, rejected reason as a control method for prisoners, and saw physical punishment as an effective method of dealing with hostile or unruly prisoners.

Enforcement Profiles

Guards were asked to select from a series of institutional infractions, the infraction that should be reported first. The question posed was:

"If the USDB had a television monitoring system and you could observe several rule infractions simultaneously, which of the following violations or rule infractions would you report first?"

| | |
|---|---|
| Smoking pot | Defacing property |
| Using Narcotics | Fighting |
| Homosexual activity | A prisoner taking advantage of another prisoner |
| Drinking alcoholic beverages | |

One of the most serious violations in a correctional facility is fighting, not because of the act itself, but because of the repercussions for escalated violence. Other offenses listed above, though serious, do not have the threatening connotations and implications for the facility in general. "Enforcement profiles" or "enforcement orientations" for both groups are shown in Table 8 below. The two types of "profiles" are "affectively neutral" or "highly specific" as discussed in Chapter I of this study.

Table 8

Enforcement Profile of Guards High and Low In Racial Hostility

| STATEMENT: If the USDB had a television monitoring system and you could observe several rule infractions simultaneously, which of the following violations would you report first? | | |
|---|---|---|
| Infraction | Non-Racially Hostiles | Racially Hostiles |
| | N=79 | N=69 |
| Smoking "pot" | 3.79% | 2.89% |
| Using Narcotics | 16.45% | 21.73% |
| Homosexual activity | 15.18% | 28.98% |
| Drinking alcoholic beverages | 1.26% | 1,44% |
| Defacing property | 5.06% | 1.44% |
| Fighting | 44.30% | 28.98% |
| A prisoner taking advantage of another prisoner | 8.86% | 10.14% |

Racially-hostile guards were "highly specific" in the enforcement of institutional rules, while non-racially hostiles were "affectively neutral" in enforcement oreintation.

## MAJORITY VS MINORITY GROUP HOSTILITY

To determine if hostility was more pronounced among the majority group (Causasians) or minority groups, three samples were selected; (1) Negro guards; (2) Caucasian guards; (3) other minority groups. Because of the vast difference in sample sizes, observations will be very impressionistic. Table 9 contrasts the responses of the three groups.

Table 9

Responses of Majority vs Minority Group Guards

| Statement | Negroes N=23 | Other Minorities N=16 | Caucasians N=149 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Most prisoners who claim ignorance of a rule are trying to put something over on a guard. | Agree 82% | Agree 93% | Agree 78% |
| The best preventive technique against a disorder or riot in the DB is a tough, strong, and forceful guard force | Disagree 65% | Disagree 61% | Agree 54% |
| Most of the criticism of guard personnel is false or unjustified | Agree 65% | Agree 56% | Agree 61% |
| Officers accept the word of the prisoner before they accept the word of the guard. | Disagree 60% | 50/50 | Agree 57% |
| Successful outcome of conflict with prisoners is largely determined by how forcefully the guard presents himself initially | Agree 82% | Agree 75% | Agree 69% |

Table 9 (continued)

| Statement | Negroes N=23 | Other Minorities N=16 | Caucasians N=149 |
|---|---|---|---|
| I feel sorry for most of the prisoners at the DB. | Disagree 65% | Disagree 75% | Disagree 77% |
| Prisoners should be allowed to stay up and watch special athletic events that are telecast after the normal lights out period. | Agree 56% | 50/50 | Agree 56% |
| The recent Christmas leave policy for prisoners at the DB is a good idea. | Agree 82% | Agree 66% | Agree 65% |
| Officer supervisors are just as concerned with guard morale as they are with prisoner morale | Agree 56% | Agree 56% | Disagree 56% |
| Generally speaking, I am satisfied with my working conditions at the DB. | Agree 56% | Disagree 60% | Agree 61% |
| I would readily accept the opportunity to work as a white hat MP if it were offered to me. | Disagree 56% | Disagree 75% | Disagree 68% |
| Generally, minority group prisoners are more hostile to guards then are prisoners of other races. | Agree 52% | Agree 56% | Agree 65% |
| A prisoner should serve his entire sentence without parole. | Disagree 86% | Disagree 75% | Disagree 62% |
| Compromising with, or yielding to any request of minority group prisoners in the DB will only lead to problems for guard personnel. | Agree 69% | Agree 75% | Agree 61% |
| Rules and regulations governing prisoner conduct at the DB are too lenient. | Disagree 52% | Agree 62% | Agree 63% |
| Issuing special grooming equipment or toilet articles to a small percentage of minority group prisoners is unjustified. | Disagree 69% | Agree 62% | Agree 56% |

Table 9 (continued)

| Statement | Negroes N=23 | Other Minorities N=16 | Caucasians N=149 |
|---|---|---|---|
| More often than not, physical punishment would be more effective than correctional treatment in dealing with the "hardened" prisoner. | Disagree 86% | Disagree 62% | Disagree 56% |
| Guard personnel are not given enough freedom of action in dealing with the hostile or unruly prisoner. | Disagree 56% | Agree 62% | Agree 59% |
| Prisoners take every opportunity to "use" DB commissioned officers by lying to them about the guards performance of duty. | Agree 73% | Agree 68% | Agree 65% |
| Because of their rank and background, officer prisoners should be domiciled seperately from enlisted prisoners. | Disagree 60% | Disagree 56% | Agree 55% |
| The military should eliminate the death penalty. | Agree 65% | Agree 56% | Agree 62% |
| I would classify my experience with minority groups prior to my entrance into the service as favorable. | Agree 86% | Agree 81% | Agree 76% |
| Prisoners should be allowed to sit at any table during meals. | Agree 65% | Agree 56% | Agree 62% |
| The length of a prisoners' hair is not an indication of his basic character. | Agree 82% | Agree 68% | Agree 68% |
| Prisoners should be allowed to visit alone with their wives over a weekend. | Agree 73% | 50/50 | Disagree 51% |
| Programs in which guards and prisoners openly discuss their mutual problems would be beneficial to improving guard-prisoner relations. | Agree 88% | Agree 62% | Agree 64% |

Table 9 (continued)

| Statement | Negroes N=23 | Other Minorities N=16 | Caucasians N=149 |
|---|---|---|---|
| It is necessary for guards to explain the rules only once or twice for prisoners to understand a guards authority over them. | Agree 52% | Agree 56% | Agree 69% |
| The "Black Power" salute should be prohibited at the DB. | Disagree 73% | Disagree 68% | Agree 53% |
| Military funds spent on rehabilitation should be spent on improving security and control. | Disagree 59% | Disagree 60% | Disagree 66% |
| Prisoners are not worth the rehabilitative effort currently being devoted to them. | Disagree | Disagree | Disagree |
| The use of curse words by a prisoner should justify that prisoner receiving disciplinary action. | Disagree 60% | 50/50 | Disagree 57% |
| Guards should teach prisoners obedience and respect for authority. | Agree 52% | Agree 81% | Agree 68% |
| The guard who tries to reason with a prisoner is more likely to be attacked than the guard who makes it clear he will use whatever force is required to gain obedience to his order. | Disagree 56% | Agree 56% | Agree 57% |
| Prisoners of a specific race cannot be accurately identified as more hostile to guard personnel. | Agree 91% | 50/50 | Disagree 52% |
| If guards were given more authority, they could be more effective without abusing the rights of prisoners. | Agree 56% | Agree 75% | Agree 65% |
| Discipline would be improved if more severe action was taken against prisoners who break rules. | Agree 56% | Agree 62% | Agree 74% |

The major differences between the three groups were: (1) Negro guards agreed with conjugal visits while other groups did not; (2) Negro guards did not feel the "Black Power" salute should be abolished, nor did other minority groups. Caucasian guards felt the salute should be abolished; (3) Negro guards were more prone to use reason than were other groups; (4) Negroes did not feel USDB rules were too lenient, but other groups did; (5) Negroes felt special grooming equipment should be issued to minority groups while other groups did not; (6) Negroes were satisfied with their freedom of action in dealing with hostile prisoners while other groups were not; (7) both Negroes and other minority groups did not feel that a strong and forceful guard force was the key to riot prevention while Caucasians did; (8) Negroes were satisfied with their treatment by officers as were other minority groups; (9) only members of other minority groups were dissatisfied with their working conditions.

## ANOMIC AND NON-ANOMIC GUARDS

One of the major postulations of this study stated that guards high in anomia would score higher on the hostility assessment portion of the questionnaire than would guards low in anomia. To determine the accuracy of this hypothesis, all guards who answered every item on the Srole Anomie Scale in an anomic manner, and all guards who answered every items on the Srole Scale in a non-anomic manner were identified and their responses contrasted. Non-anomics scored from 5 to

10 points on the scale, and anomics scored from 20 to 25.

Background of Anomic and Non-Anomic Guards

The anomic sample consisted of eighteen guards with ranks varying from E-4 to E-7, and was composed of fourteen Caucasians, three Negroes, and one Spanish American. Most had volunteered for the military, however no additional significant patterns or groupings were found.

Background data for the non-anomic sample revealed they had attained a higher level of education, but had less service at the DB than anomics. The non-anomic sample consisted of thirty-two guards with varying racial composition. With the exception of education and the amount of service at the USDB, both groups compared favorably with respect to their background. Table 10 contrasts the responses of the two groups.

Table 10

Responses of Anomic and Non-Anomic Guards

| Statement | Non-Anomic N=32 | Anomic N=18 |
|---|---|---|
| Most prisoners who claim ignorance of a rule are trying to put something over on a guard. | Agree 65% | Agree 88% |
| The best preventive techniques against a disorder or riot in the DB is a tough, strong, and forceful guard force. | Disagree 78% | Agree 88% |
| Most of the criticism of guards is false or unjustified. | Agree 56% | Agree 56% |
| Officer supervisors tend to accept the word of the prisoner before they accept the word of the guard. | Disagree 66% | Agree 83% |

Table 10 (continued)

| Statement | Non-Anomic | Anomic |
|---|---|---|
| The successful outcome of conflict with a prisoner is largely determined by how forcefully the guard presents himself initially. | Disagree 53% | Agree 78% |
| I feel sorry for most of the prisoners at the DB. | Disagree 72% | Disagree 61% |
| Prisoners should be allowed to stay up and watch special athletic events that are telecast after the normal lights-out time. | Agree 78% | Disagree 56% |
| The recent Christmas leave policy for prisoners at the DB is a good idea. | Agree 81% | Disagree 55% |
| My officer supervisors are just as concerned with guard morale as they are with prisoner morale and welfare. | Agree 63% | Disagree 61% |
| Generally speaking, I am satisfied with my working conditions at the DB. | Agree 78% | 50/50 |
| I would readily accept the opportunity to work as a "white hat MP" if it were offered to me. | Disagree 84% | Agree 66% |
| Generally, minority group prisoners are more hostile to guard personnel than are prisoners of other races. | Agree 56% | Agree 61% |
| A prisoner should be required to serve his entire sentence without parole. | Disagree 100% | Disagree 61% |
| Compromising with or yielding to any request of minority group prisoners in the DB will only lead to problems for guard personnel. | Disagree 62% | Agree 72% |
| Rules and regulations governing prisoner conduct and privilege are too lenient. | Disagree 53% | Agree 72% |
| Issuing special grooming equipment or toilet articles to a small group of minority group prisoners is unjustifed. | Disagree 62% | Agree 83% |
| More often than not, physical punishment would be more effective than "correctional treatment" in dealing with the hardenad prisoner. | Disagree 78% | Agree 54% |
| Guard personnel are not given enough freedom of action in dealing with unruly or hostile prisoners. | Disagree 69% | Agree 66% |

Table 10 (continued)

| Statement | Non-Anomic | Anomic |
|---|---|---|
| Prisoners take every opportunity to "use" DB commissioned officers by lying to them about the guard's performance of duty. | Disagree 59% | Agree 83% |
| Because of their rank and background, officer prisoners should be domiciled seperately from enlisted prisoners. | Disagree 53% | Agree 55% |
| The military should eliminate the death penalty. | Agree 53% | Disagree 55% |
| I would classify my experience with minority groups prior to my entrance into military service as favorable. | Agree 90% | Agree 72% |
| Prisoners should be allowed to sit at any table during meals. | Agree 62% | Disagree 61% |
| The length of a prisoners' hair is not an indication of his basic character. | Agree 84% | Agree 58% |
| I think prisoners should periodically be allowed to visit alone with their wives for a weekend. | Agree | 50/50 |
| Programs in which guards and prisoners openly discuss their mutual concern and problems would be beneficial toward improving guard-prisoner relationship. | Agree 65% | 50/50 |
| It is necessary for a guard to explain the rules only once or twice for prisoners to understand a guard's authority over them. | Disagree 63% | Agree 61% |
| The "Black Power" salute should be prohibited at the DB. | 50/50 | Agree 72% |
| Military funds spent on the rehabilitation of prisoners should be spent on improving security and control. | Disagree 81% | Agree 61% |
| Guards should teach prisoners obedience and respect for authority. | Agree 63% | Agree 72% |
| With few exceptions, prisoners are not worth the rehabilitative effort that is currently being devoted to them. | Disagree 88% | Agree 55% |
| The use of curse words by a prisoner should justify that prisoner receiving disciplinary action. | Disagree 72% | Agree 78% |
| Discipline would be improved if more severe action was taken against prisoners who break the rules. | 50/50 | Agree 72% |

Table 10 (continued)

| Statement | Non-Anomic | Anomic |
|---|---|---|
| The guard who tries to reason with a hostile prisoner is more likely to be attacked than the guard who makes it clear he will use whatever force is required to gain the prisoners obedience. | Disagree 78% | Agree 66% |
| It is not possible to accurately identify prisoners of a specific race as having more hostility toward guards than prisoners of another race. | Disagree 53% | 50/50 |
| If guards were given more authority they would be more effective without really abusing the rights of the inmate. | Disagree 53% | Agree 83% |

Table 11 reflects the "enforcement profile" of anomic and non-anomic guards.

Table 11

Enforcement Profile of Anomic and Non-Anomic Guards

| STATEMENT: If the USDB had a television monitoring system and you could observe several rule infractions simultaneously, which of the following violations or rule infractions would you report first? | | |
|---|---|---|
| Infraction | Non-Anomic | Anomic |
| Smoking "pot" | 0.00% | 11.11% |
| Using Narcotics | 25.00% | 11.11% |
| Homosexual Activity | 18.75% | 27.77% |
| Drinking Alcoholic beverages | 0.00% | 0.00% |
| Defacing property | 3.12% | 0.00% |
| Fighting | 43.75% | 0.00% |
| A prisoner taking advantage of another prisoner | 3.12% | 22.22% |

Though twenty-eight percent of anomic guards did not respond to the enforcement profile statement, the "highly specific" orientation of anomic guards is clear, just as the "affectively neutral orientation" on non-anomics is evident.

Summary

The contrast in responses between anomic and non-anomic guards is so pronounced that discussion of differences is virtually unnecessary. Anomic guards were advocates of force, physical punishment, and suppression of prisoner privilege and rehabilitation. They rejected reason as a means of control, were basically against minority groups and diliked their job to the degree that they would readily accept the opportunity to change jobs. Anomic guards were "highly specific" in their enforcement profile. To summarize the non-anomic guard, one need only contrast or reverse the description of the anomic guard. Anomia among guards appears to be a significant factor in hostility, with the mean hostility score of anomics being 126, and non-anomics, 90.

## ANALYSIS OF OTHER VARIABLES IN HOSTILITY

Additional variables were analyzed in an attempt to identify significant factors in hostility. Such comparisons were responses of draftees and volunteers; guards from large and small families; guards raised in closed and open communities; guards raised by both parents, one parent, and by foster parents; guards having large physical profiles as

opposed to those having small physical profiles; guards whose parents or family's had difficulty with the law as opposed to those who had no such difficulty; guards having achieved low or high educational levels; comparison of guards by frequency of church attendance; demographic guard comparisons; comparison of guards by age, by goal attainment preference, and by other variables. Unless specifically stated to the contrary, comments appropriate to one group are not applicable to the contrast group. Only those comparisons which revealed major contrasts will be discussed.

Differences Among Guards Raised by Both Parents, By One Parent and By Foster Parents

Significant differences between these three groups were: (1) guards raised by foster parents opposed special prisoner privilege; (2) guards raised by foster parents were dissatisfied with their working conditions; (3) guards raised by one parent were more supportive of DB officers; (4) guards raised by foster parents would switch jobs; (5) guards raised by both parents were more racially hostile than were other groups; (6) guards raised by foster parents felt that rules should be more rigidly enforced, to include disciplinary action for prisoners using profanity.

Differences in Responses by Family Size

This sample was selected by identifying those guards who stated they were from families of four or more siblings and those who were from families in which they were the only

child. Significant response differences between these two groups were: (1) guards from large families were sensitive to guard criticism, less control-oriented, uncertain on the elimination of the death penalty, and in favor of guard-prisoner discussion programs; (2) guards who had no siblings desired more freedom of action in dealing with hostile prisoners, were hostile toward DB officers, felt that the death penalty should be eliminated, were opposed to conjugal visits, uncertain on guard-prisoner discussion programs, felt the "Black Power" salute should be prohibited, approved of the transfer of funds from rehabilitation programs to improve security and control, approved of disciplinary action for the use of profanity, were "highly specific" in their enforcement profile, and felt that more severe disciplinary measures were needed.

Differences Among Guards According to Physical Profile

The two groups selected for this comparison were guards over 6'1" and weighing 188 pounds or more, and guards who were 5'8" and under, and weighed 150 pounds or less. Differences between the groups were: (1) large guards were more disposed to physical punishment as a means of dealing with the "hardened prisoner;" (2) small guards felt the best preventive technique or measure against a riot was force, that officers accepted the prisoners word before the guard's, that officers were not concerned with the guard's morale, that the rules at the DB were too lenient, that prisoners did not "use officers by lying about the guards' performance, and that minority groups were not more hostile, but the "Black Power"

salute should be abolished.

Differences Among Guards By Educational Level

Three groups were identified for this comparison. They were guards who had not completed high school, guards who had completed high school only, and guards who had completed college and beyond. Differences between the three groups were: (1) guards who had not completed high school were opposed to special prisoner privilege, opposed to minority group privileges and to conjugal visits, but were in favor of special treatment for officer prisoners; (2) guards having only a high school education were in favor of issuing special grooming equipment to minority groups, opposed to the "Black Power" salute, opposed to special treatment for officers, and opposed to conjugal visits; (3) guards who had college degrees or beyond did not feel force was the best preventive method against a riot, were supportive of DB officers, did not feel that rules were too lenient, did not desire increased freedom of action to deal with problem prisoners, approved of special treatment for officers, advocated the use of reason before force, opposed severe disciplinary action, and were the least opposed to minority group privilege.

Differences Among Guards by Frequency of Church Attendance

The number of guards who attended church frequently were limited (45); however guards who did attend church frequently were opposed to force, supported DB officers, and did not feel DB rules were too lenient.

Characteristics of Guards Most Hostile to the Administration

Guards who responded to items dealing with the USDB administration in a highly hostile manner comprised this group. Of all the groups compared, this group had the highest mean hostility score, 130. Analysis of background information for this sample revealed no significant differences, however the common trait for this group was anomia. The mean anomia score for the sample was 19.2, which approaches total anomia on the Srole Anomie Scale.

Summary

Because of the difference in sample size, and the limited intergroup comparisons, it would be fallacious to positively state that one group was more hostile than another, however, based on the comparisons conducted, and the calculation of mean hostility scores for each group (Table 12), certain findings are strongly impressionistic of hostility. Emerging from the analyses that were conducted, is the fact that anomia is present to a large degree where hostility is evident. Another major factor that appeared in excessive hostility was the "enforcement profile"; where hostility was highest, there was a "highly specific" enforcement profile, and conversely where hostility was lowest, there was an "affectively neutral" enforcement profile. Table 12 below, lists and compares the mean hostility scores of each group considered. To provide a base for comparison, the mean hostility score for the entire 188 guard sample was 109, the median score 110, and the modal score 101.

Table 12

Mean Hostility Scores for Group Comparisons

| Group Variable | Mean Hostility Score | N= |
|---|---|---|
| Guards most hostile toward USDB administration | 130 | 22 |
| Guards with highest racial hostility | 128 | 6 |
| Guards with high racial hostility | 122 | 69 |
| Guards with low racial hostility | 86 | 79 |
| Guards who had no siblings | 115 | 12 |
| Guards who had four or more siblings | 104 | 76 |
| Guards whose families had difficulty with the law | 114 | 17 |
| Guards whose families had no difficulty with the law | 105 | 168 |
| Guards who did not complete high school | 110 | 15 |
| Guards who completed high school only | 116 | 101 |
| Guards who completed college or beyond | 85 | 20 |
| Guards who are divorced | 116 | 15 |
| Guards who have never married | 107 | 68 |
| Married guards | 105 | 104 |
| Guards raised by both mother and father | 109 | 145 |
| Guards raised by one parent only | 102 | 33 |
| Guards raised by foster parents & others | 113 | 9 |
| Guards with large physical profiles | 106 | 22 |
| Guards with small physical profiles | 104 | 15 |
| Guards raised in an open community | 106 | 99 |
| Guards raised in a closed community | 106 | 82 |
| Guards (E-1, E-2, E-3) | 96 | 92 |
| Guards (E-6, E-7, E-8, E-9) | 104 | 63 |
| Guards, 24 years old and younger | 108 | 116 |
| Guards, 25 years old and older | 102 | 72 |
| Guards who rated themselves outstanding or excellent in athletic ability | 110 | 71 |
| Guards who rated themselves fair or poor in athletic ability | 102 | 118 |
| Guards with 2 years of service or less | 106 | 106 |
| Guards with 8 years of serviceor more | 99 | 58 |
| Caucasian Guards | 108 | 149 |
| Minority Group (-Negroes) Guards | 111 | 12 |
| Negro Guards | 96 | 23 |
| Anomic Guards | 126 | 18 |
| Non-Anomic Guards | 90 | 32 |

Table 12 (continued)

| Group Variable | Mean Hostility Score | N= |
|---|---|---|
| Guards who stated the most important requirement for getting ahead in the world was, having an "in", good luck, or money | 103 | 59 |
| Guards who stated the most important requirement for getting ahead in the world was, hard work or brains | 107 | 128 |
| Guards from large metropolitan areas or suburbs of large metropolitan areas | 107 | 73 |
| Guards from small towns or cities | 104 | 68 |
| Guards from rural or farm communities | 111 | 47 |
| Guards who attend church regularly | 97 | 45 |
| Guards who attend church infrequently or not at all | 107 | 132 |
| Guards who volunteered for the military | 107 | 105 |
| Guards who were drafted into service | 106 | 80 |

Significant indicators of hostility resulting from this analysis are anomia, racial hostility, and education. While other deviations are apparent, the size of the sample or proximity of scores precludes identification as a hostility indicator.

# CHAPTER IV

## GUARDS HIGH AND LOW IN HOSTILITY

The purpose of this chapter is to determine what differences exist among guards high or low in expressed hostility, and to determine the source of these differences. Previous chapters have reported on the total sample and have analyzed individual group variables. This chapter concentrates on guards who rated themselves high in hostility and those who rated themselves low in hostility.

To identify guards high or low in hostility, all guards were ranked from the highest hostile to the lowest. Procedures used to determine hostility scores were discussed previously. With a possible scoring range of 36 (lowest) to 180 (highest), the score of the most hostile guard was 164, and the score of the least hostile guard was 62. The mean score for the sample was 109, the median score was 110, and the modal score was 101. A total of 188 guards were ranked and the upper and lower 20% were selected and identified as high-hostiles and low-hostiles respectively. The range of scores for the 31 guards in the high group was 164-130, with the scoring range for the low group, 62-90.

### Background Comparisons

Differences in background among high and low-hostile

guards revealed that highs slightly outranked lows, were younger, had larger physical profiles, had less service, had spent fewer months at the USDB, came from slightly more affluent families(income sufficiency), were predominantly from rural or farm areas, had achieved a lower educational level than low-hostiles, attended church less frequently, and rated their athletic ability as outstanding or excellent. Analysis of these major differences will be discussed later in the chapter.

Anomia Among High-Hostiles and Low-Hostiles

Throughout this study, anomia has continually surfaced as a factor in high hostility. Guards who were racially hostile scored higher on the anomia scale than did guards who were low in racial hostility. Anomic guards and non-anomic guards contrasted sharply in hostility levels. Guards who were most hostile toward the USDB administration were also high scorers on the anomia scale. One of the basic postualtions of this research was--guards high in anomia would be high in hostility and that guards low in hostility would be low in anomia.

The mean anomia score for the high-hostile group was 16.3, with the mean score for the low-hostile group, 11.8 In comparing high-hostile anomia scores with the "known" prisoner group, guards were slightly more anomic. The mean anomia score for prisoners was 16.1. In the low-hostile group, there were no anomic guards according to Srole's interpretation which requires that a score of 20 be attained

for classification as fully anomic. In the high-hostile group, there were 9 guards considered fully anomic, or one-third of the total sample.

From the evidence available, anomia is a significant factor in guard hostility toward prisoners, toward the USDB administration, and in hostility toward minority groups.

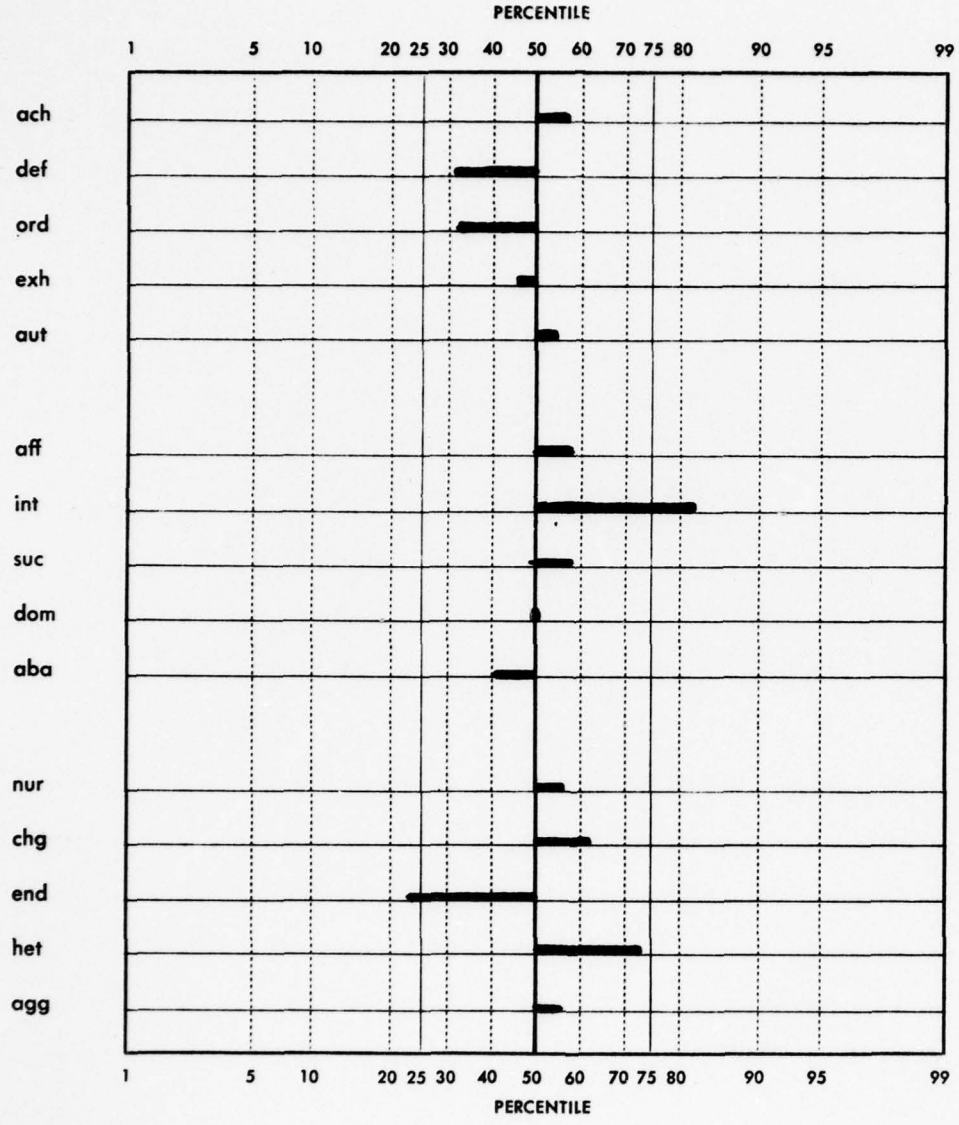
Edwards Personal Preference Schedule

To determine if high-hostiles and low-hostiles differed in personality traits, the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule was administered. Fifteen personality variables are measured by the EPPS as defined in Appendix 3. While the EPPS does offer an interpretive scale, the test advises the researcher to make his own interpretation of scores based on the group under observation. While it is desirable to include all EPPS test results, the consistency factor of some tests were beneath the recommended reliability or consistency level as prescribed by EPPS tables and were eliminated, hence the disparity between the number of guards in the groups under study, and the number of tests for each group.

Scores for low-hostiles and high-hostiles are plotted on EPPS profile charts, and a comparison profile is provided to contrast the profiles of each group. Figures 3, 4, and 5 contain these profiles.

# Edwards Personal Preference Schedule

NAME _____ SEX _____ NORMS USED General Adult Sample
LAST FIRST




| | Percentile | Raw Score |
|---|---|---|
| ach | 56 | 311 |
| def | 32 | 246 |
| ord | 33 | 261 |
| exh | 47 | 247 |
| aut | 54 | 297 |
| aff | 58 | 306 |
| int | 82 | 380 |
| suc | 58 | 234 |
| dom | 50 | 302 |
| aba | 41 | 279 |
| nur | 55 | 329 |
| chg | 62 | 316 |
| end | 23 | 281 |
| het | 73 | 342 |
| agg | 54 | 272 |
| con | ____ | ____ |

Figure 3
Low-Hostile EPPS Scores



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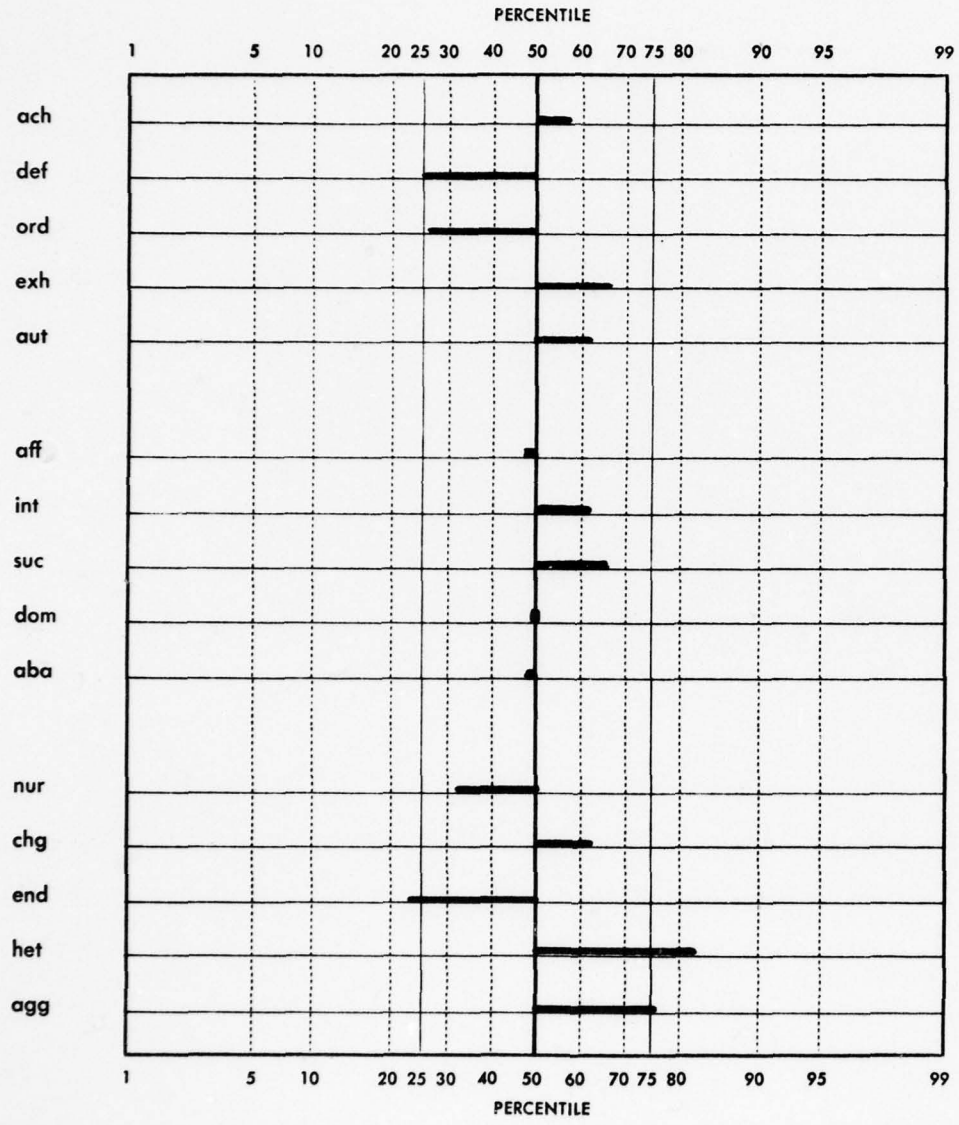
# Edwards Personal Preference Schedule

NAME _____ SEX _____ NORMS USED General Adult Sample

LAST FIRST




| | Percentile | Raw Score |
|---|---|---|
| ach | 56 | 422 |
| def | 25 | 303 |
| ord | 26 | 318 |
| exh | 66 | 386 |
| aut | 62 | 410 |
| aff | 48 | 393 |
| int | 61 | 418 |
| suc | 65 | 329 |
| dom | 50 | 329 |
| aba | 49 | 386 |
| nur | 33 | 366 |
| chg | 62 | 432 |
| end | 23 | 350 |
| het | 82 | 539 |
| agg | 76 | 438 |
| con | | |

Figure 4

High-Hostile EPPS Scores

82

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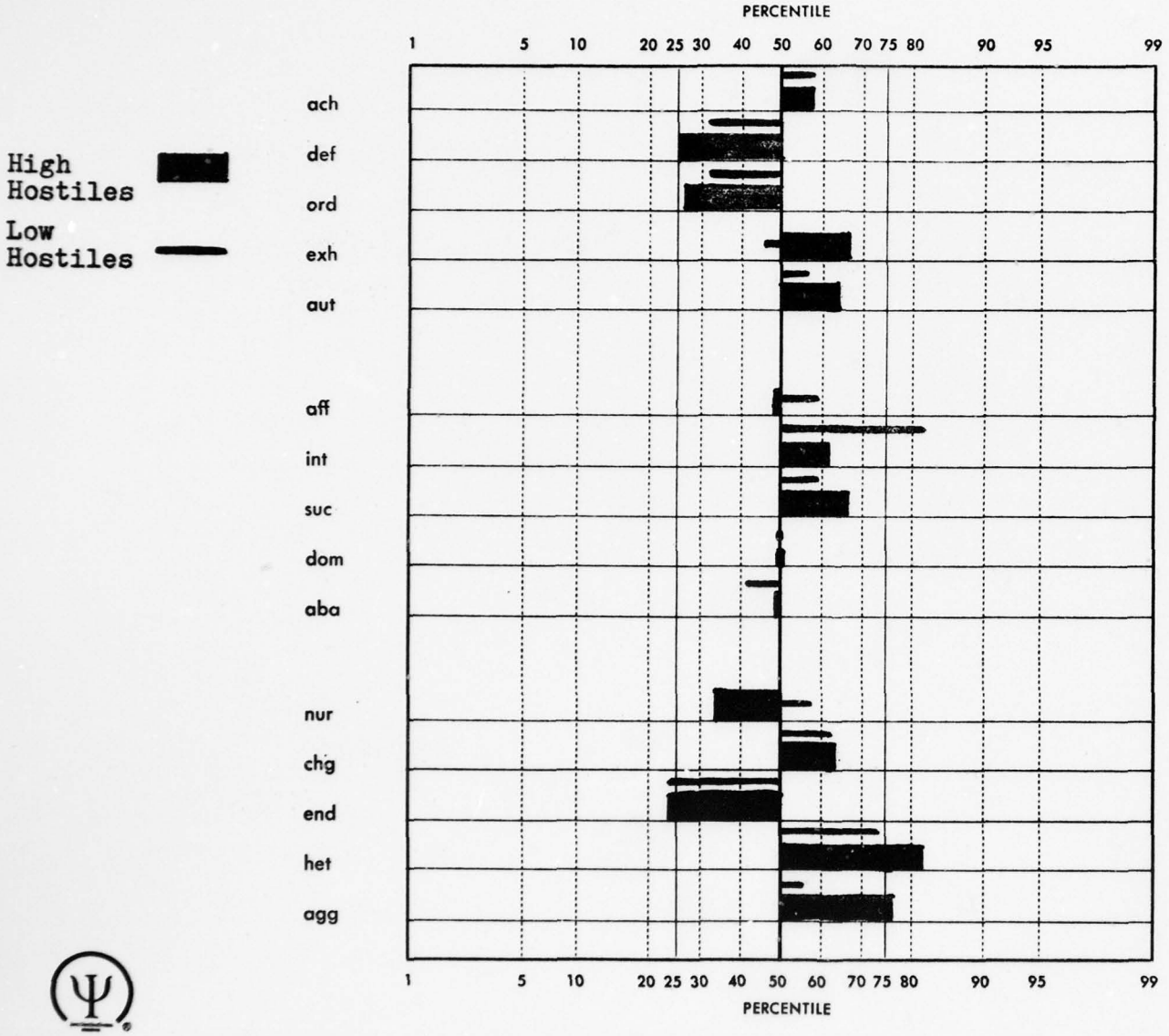
# Edwards Personal Preference Schedule

NAME _____ SEX _____ NORMS USED General Adult Sample

LAST FIRST




| | Percentiles Lows | Highs |
|---|---|---|
| ach | 56 | 56 |
| def | 32 | 25 |
| ord | 33 | 26 |
| exh | 47 | 66 |
| aut | 54 | 62 |
| aff | 58 | 48 |
| int | 82 | 61 |
| suc | 58 | 65 |
| dom | 50 | 50 |
| aba | 41 | 49 |
| nur | 55 | 33 |
| chg | 62 | 62 |
| end | 23 | 23 |
| het | 73 | 82 |
| agg | 54 | 76 |
| con | ____ | ____ |

Figure 5
Comparison of High and Low Hostile EPPS Scores



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AN ANALYSIS OF FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH GUARD-PRISONER HOSTILITY--ETC(U)
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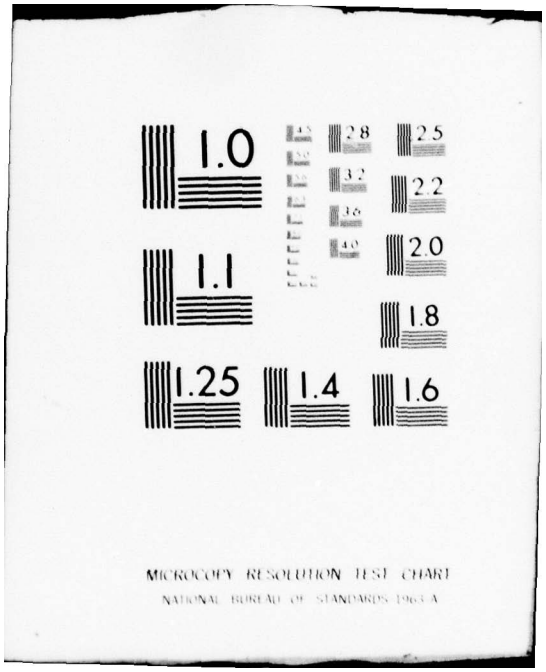
1.0
1.1
1.25
1.4
1.6
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0
2.5
2.2
2.0
1.8
MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS 1963-A

Only those personality traits in which a significant deviation occured were retained for analysis. These traits were exhibition, affiliation, intraception, nurturance, and aggression.

Exhibition. On this variable, highs and lows polarized from the norm, with high-hostiles possessing a mean precentile score of 66, while lows ranked at the 47th percentile. Manifest needs associated with this variable are:

> Exhibition: To say witty and clever things, to tell amusing jokes and stories, to talk about personal adventures and experiences, to have others notice and comment upon one's appearance, to say things just to see what effect it will have on others, to talk about personal achievements, to be the center of attention, to use words that others do not know the meaning of, to ask questions others cannot answer.[1]

A tentative hypothesis might be formulated that guards high in exhibition can least tolerate the frustrations imposed by a treatment-oriented facility--(i.e, prisoners are the center of attention). Another need within this variable having obvious impact in a correctional environment is the need to say things for the purpose of determining what effect it has on another. This practice would be counterproductive in a treatment-oriented facility, but more importantly, it could be inflammatory. Prisoners have commented that the manner in which a guard looks at them or speaks to them can generate anger or cool tempers. For a guard to deliberately make a comment for no other reason than to determine what effect it will have on a prisoner, is intolerable at best.

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[1]Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, Appendix 3.

Affiliation. On this variable, both groups polarized from the norm, with high-hostiles placing at the 48th percentile, and low-hostiles scoring at the 58th percentile. Rather than list the manifiest needs associated with this variable, they may be summarized by defining affiliation as friendliness, or a need for friendship. Low-hostiles were friendlier than high-hostiles. A guard above average in affiliation might find it easier to attempt communication with prisoners, thus becoming an asset in a treatment-oriented facility.

Intraception. Low-hostile guards were very high in intraception, with a mean percentile rating of 82, while high-hostile guards placed at the 61st percentile. This variable is defined as follows:

> Intraception: To analyze one's motives and feelings, to observe others, to understand how others feel about problems, to put one's self in anothers place, to judge people by why they do things rather than by what they do, to analyze the behavior of others, to analyze the motives of others, to predict how others will act.[2]

All of the manifest needs associated with intraception are qualities needed by a guard to complement rehabilitative programs. Of the 15 personality variables, low-hostile guards scored highest in this trait.

Nurturance. Once again, both groups polarized from the norm, with low-hostiles placing at the 55th percentile and high-hostiles scoring at the 33rd percentile. The manifest needs associated with this variable are:

> Nurturance: To help friends when they are in trouble, to assist others less fortunate, to treat others with kindness and sympathy, to forgive others, to be generous and sympathize with others, to show

---

[2]Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, Appendix 3.

> a great deal of affection for others, to have others confide in one about personal problems.[3]

This trait generally indicates willingness on the part of an individual to help another and to be concerned about another's welfare. These needs are compatible with a guard's performance of duty in a treatment-oriented facility. A guard possessing nurturance to a positive degree would be a rehabilitative assest if he could apply this trait in a correctional environment.

Aggression. This variable needs minimum discussion to understand its relationship to a correctional setting in general, and a rehabilitative correctional environment, specifically. High-hostiles placed at the 76th percentile in this trait, while low-hostiles were at the 54th percentile.

Summary. All of the traits retained for analysis were traits involving interaction with people. Admittedly, the sample sizes preclude well defined conclusions, however the significance of EPPS scores, when computed on a mean raw score basis, is worthy of review. Particularly impressive were the polarizations from the norm on three of the five variables, with two of these, nurturance and affiliation, bearing clear implications for a treatment-oriented facility. Most impressive was the percentile ranking of low-hostiles on intraception, and the high percentile rating on aggression obtained by high-hostiles.

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[3]Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, Appendix 3.

Responses of High and Low Hostiles

Responses of high-hostiles and low-hostiles closely resemble responses of anomic and non-anomic guards. Table 13 contains responses of both groups.

Table 13

Responses of High-Hostiles and Low-Hostiles

| Statement | High-Hostiles | Low-Hostiles |
|---|---|---|
| Most prisoners who claim ignorance of a rule are trying to put something over on a guard. | Agree 97% | Agree 55% |
| The best preventive technique against a riot or disorder in the DB is a tough, strong, and forceful guard force. | Agree 90% | Disagree 90% |
| Most of the criticism of guard personnel is false or unjustified. | Agree 73% | Agree 58% |
| Officer supervisors at the DB tend to accept the word of the prisoner before they accept the word of the guard. | Agree 93% | Disagree 87% |
| The successful outcome of conflict with a prisoner is largely determined by how forcefully the guard presents himself initially. | Agree 77% | Disagree 61% |
| I feel sorry for most of the prisoners at the DB. | Disagree 87% | Disagree 52% |
| Prisoners should be allowed to stay up and watch special athletic events that are telecast after the normal lights out time. | Disagree 84% | Agree 70% |
| The recent Christmas leave policy for prisoners at the DB is a good idea. | Disagree 73% | Agree 97% |
| My officer supervisors are just as concerned with guard morale as they are with prisoner morale and welfare. | Disagree 77% | Agree 77% |
| Generally speaking, I am satisfied with my working conditions at the USDB. | Disagree 70% | Agree 90% |

Table 13 (continued)

| Statement | High-Hostiles | Low Hostiles |
|---|---|---|
| I would readily accept the opportunity to work as a "white hat MP" if it were offered to me. | Agree 53% | Disagree 81% |
| Generally, minority group prisoners are more hostile to guard personnel than are prisoners of other races. | Agree 73% | Disagree 61% |
| A prisoner should be required to serve his entire sentence without parole. | Agree 63% | Disagree 97% |
| Compromising with or yielding to any request of minority group prisoners in the DB will only lead to problems for guard personnel. | Agree 80% | Disagree 69% |
| Rules and regulations governing prisoner conduct and privilege at the DB are too lenient. | Agree 93% | Disagree 87% |
| Issuing special grooming equipment or toilet articles to a small percentage of minority group prisoners is unjustified. | Agree 87% | Disagree 87% |
| More often than not, physical punishment would be more effective than "correctional treatment" in dealing with the hardened prisoner. | Agree 73% | Disagree 93% |
| Guard personnel are not given enough freedom of action in dealing with unruly or hostile prisoners. | Agree 83% | Disagree 84% |
| Prisoners take every opportunity to "use" DB commissioned officers by lying to them about the guard's performance of duty. | Agree 87% | Disagree 90% |
| Because of their rank and background, officer prisoners should be domiciled seperately from enlisted prisoners. | 50/50 | Agree 71% |
| The military should eliminate the death penalty. | Disagree 66% | Agree 77% |
| I would classify my experience with minority groups prior to my entrance into military service as favorable. | Agree 70% | Agree 97% |

Table 13 (continued)

| Statement | High-Hostiles | Low-Hostiles |
|---|---|---|
| Prisoners should be permitted to sit at any table during meals. | Agree 57% | Agree 84% |
| The length of a prisoner's hair is not an indication of his basic character. | Disagree 56% | Agree 90% |
| I think prisoners should be allowed to visit alone with their wives for a weekend. | Disagree 70% | Agree 74% |
| Programs in which guards and prisoners openly discuss their mutual concern and problems would be beneficial to improving guard-prisoner relations. | Disagree 53% | Agree 87% |
| It is necessary for a guard to explain the rules only once or twice for prisoners to understand a guard's authority over them. | Agree 70% | Agree 55% |
| My immediate supervisor's attitude on the way prisoners should be treated is with few exceptions, the same as mine. | Agree 63% | Agree 71% |
| The "Black Power" salute should be prohibited at the DB. | Agree 87% | Disagree 90% |
| Military funds spent on the rehabilitation of prisoners should be spent on improving security and control. | Agree 84% | Disagree 97% |
| Guards should teach prisoners obedience and respect for authority. | Agree 83% | Disagree 58% |
| With few exceptions, prisoners are not worth the rehabilitative effort that is currently being devoted to them. | Disagree 57% | Disagree 97% |
| The use of curse words by a prisoner should justify that prisoner receiving disciplinary action. | Agree 73% | Disagree 81% |
| A guard who reasons with a prisoner is more likely to be attacked than a guard who makes it clear he will use force to gain prisoner obedience. | Agree 68% | Disagree 84% |
| It is not possible to accurately identify prisoners of one race as being more hostile than others. | Disagree 66% | Agree 61% |

Table 13 (continued)

| Statement | High-Hostiles | Low-Hostiles |
|---|---|---|
| If guards were given more authority, they could be more effective without really abusing the rights of the prisoner. | Agree 90% | Disagree 77% |
| The discipline of prisoners would be improved if more severe action was taken against prisoners who break the rules. | Agree 97% | Disagree 84% |

When guards from these two groups were asked to select which incarcerating offense they thought was the most serious, high-hostiles selected crimes against children, while low-hostiles selected crimes against national security. In reviewing the "enforcement profiles" of the two groups, high-hostiles were "highly specific" in their orientation toward the enforcement of institutional rules, while low-hostiles were "affectively neutral". Only thirteen percent of the high-hostiles selected "fighting" as their first reporting choice, while fifty-two percent of the low-hostile group selected "fighting" as their first choice.

Analysis of Differences Between High-Hostiles and Low-Hostiles

Rank. At the USDB, there is wide-spread belief that the primary opposition to rehabilitative programs come from the "old NCO" who had previous tours at the USDB and thought "the old way of doing things" was more effective. While the NCO with previous tours may in fact be the primary barrier to progress, data collected during this research does not support the allegation. In the high-hostile sample, fifty-eight percent were NCO's, however only one of these NCO's had a previous tour at the USDB. In the entire high-hostile

sample, only five guards admitted to previous assignments at the USDB. Though high-hostiles did outrank low-hostiles, previous assignments at the USDB did not emerge as a significant factor. The rank most over-represented in the high-hostile group was the Sergeant E-5. When comparing the overall sample representation of E-5's (18%), with E-5 high-hostile representation (34%), clearly, the E-5 emerges as the most hostile guard at the USDB, not the higher ranking NCO with previous USDB assignments.

Age. High-hostiles were slightly younger than low-hostiles, with seventy-one percent of the highs located in the 20-24 age group.

Height and Weight. High-hostiles were slightly taller and heavier than were low-hostiles, with twenty-three percent of high-hostiles in the 6'1" or taller category, and thirty-four percent in the 181 pounds or heavier grouping. When comparing height and weight information of low-hostiles, the contrast, while not pronounced is evident. Low-hostiles had only sixteen percent in the tall category, and nineteen percent in the 181 pounds or heavier group.

Size of Community In Which Raised. High-hostiles and low-hostiles differed somewhat by area in which raised. While most guards in both groups were from small cities or towns, more high-hostile guards were from rural or farm communities than low-hostiles.

Educational Level. Throughout the study, education has surfaced as a factor in high or low hostility. High-hostiles

were less educated than low-hostiles. In comparing the educational level of anomic and non-anomic guards, and of guards high or low in racial hostility, it was found that anomics and the racially-hostile were less educated than their contrast group.

Anomia. High-hostiles scored higher on the Srole Anomie Scale than did low-hostiles. Where extreme hostility of any type has evolved during this study, high anomia has attended that hostility.

Personality Traits. Five of the fifteen variables in the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule were retained as factors in guard hostility. They were exhibition, intraception, nurturance, aggression, and affiliation. On three of the five traits, highs and lows polarized from the norm, with the remaining two variables, aggression, and intraception, in which polarization did not occur, high-hostiles were high in aggression, and low-hostiles were high in intraception.

Enforcement Profile. High-hostile guards were "highly specific" in the enforcement of institutional rules, with the offense itself being more important than the ramifications of the offense. Low-hostiles were "affectively neutral" in their enforcement orientation. Where hostility has been pronounced, a "highly specific" enforcement profile or orientation has existed. This was true of the anomic guard, and the racially-hostile guard. There appears to be a relationship between enforcement profile and hostility.

# CHAPTER V

## SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### SUMMARY

This study has sought to identify those guards least capable of performing effectively at the USDB, using hostility as the primary determinant for unsuitability. In addition to identifying hostility factors among guards, it has sought to provide the military with a method for preliminary screening of personnel destined for duty at military correctional facilities, particularly the USDB.

Five questions formed the framework of the study. They were:

1. How do guards high and low in expressed hostility differ in background, personality, attitude and other traits?

2. What are the sources of these differences?

3. Are there any working or living conditions that affect guard hostility?

4. What means are available for identifying and screening guard personnel prior to their assignment to the United States Disciplinary Barracks?

What recommendations for future research can be made?

Each question will be discussed seperately. Readers are cautioned that sample size, and the absence of statistical tests of significance and validity will impose certain

evaluative constraints, however the study is exploratory in nature and limited to the USDB.

Measuring Hostility Among Guards

All guards were ranked according to scores obtained on the hostility assessment portion of the questionnaire-survey. The upper and lower 20% of this ranking was identified and considered for further analysis. Because of the need to establish a cut-off score for high and low hostiles, a true 20% was not retained. In effect, high-hostiles consisted of thirty-one guards with scores ranging from 164 to 130, and low-hostiles consisted of twenty-nine guards with scores ranging from 62 to 90. The possible scoring range on the hostility assessment scale was from a low of 36 to a high of 180.

Variability Between High-Hostile and Low-Hostile Guards

In comparing high-hostile and low-hostile guards, the major difference between the two groups was the degree of anomia experienced by each sample. High-hostile guards had a mean anomia score of 16.3, while low-hostile guards had a mean anomia score of 11.8. When anomia scores of a USDB prisoner sample was compared to anomia scores of high-hostile guards, guards were more anomic.

Five personality traits were identified as being of possible significance in hostility. Low-hostile guards were high in intraception, affilation, and nurturance. High hostile guards were high in aggression and exhibition.

A major finding of this study was the enforcement profile of high and low-hostile guards. High-hostile guards were "highly specific" in the enforcement of institutional rules. A "highly specific" enforcement orientation is one in which the guard considers only the offense, and not the severity of the offense or its potential for escalated violence. Low-hostiles were "affectively neutral" in their enforcement of institutional rules. An "affectively neutral" orientation was one in which the guard fully evaluates the offense or violation in terms of its overall effect on the security of the facility before taking action. An "affectively neutral" guard is one who would be least moralistic in the enforcement of rules.

High-Hostile Guards

The high-hostile guard is oriented toward strict security and control of prisoners. He is high in anomia, opposed to preferential treatment of minority groups, "highly specific" in the enforcement of rules, and possesses extreme hostility toward the USDB administration, particularly its officers. The most hostile of this group is likely to be the young Sergeant E-5 with minimum time in grade and in the service, performing in his first assignment at the USDB. The high-hostile guard will give verbal support to rehabilitation policies and programs, but appears unwilling to support the active implementation of progressive programs.

Personality traits of the high-hostile guard having impact in a correctional setting are high aggression and

and exhibition, and low nurturance, affiliation, and intraception. The high-hostile guard will have little empathy with or sympathy for prisoners, is basically a "loner" with respect to needing friendship or making friends, however when in contact with others, he has a strong desire to be the center of attention. He has a tendency to attempt humiliation of others, and his primary reliance on prisoner obedience rests with force or the threat of force. Not being disposed to reasoning with prisoners, he will rely very heavily on disciplinary reports, to include the reporting of very minor offenses. Despite his petty enforcement of the rules, he will expect to be fully backed by the administration and by his officer superiors. Any arbitration over a violation report must be resolved in his favor. He does not discriminate among the rules, or consider the circumstances surrounding the infraction. To him,"a rule is a rule." He is convinced that his officer superiors coddle prisoners at the expense of his morale and welfare, and is unhappy with his working conditions. Minority group needs are particularly offensive to him.

Physical punsihment is prefered by the high-hostile guard in dealing with "hardened" prisoners. The fixation on the need for prisoner punishment is evidenced by the hostile guard's belief that prisoners should serve their sentence without the hope of parole. The high-hostile guard only relents in his control-orientation when it is apparent that collective control is impossible. He tends to prejudge

prisoners on their appearance, and desires more authority to enforce rules which should be made more stringent.

Low-Hostile Guard

The guard low in hostility is better educated than the high-hostile guard, smaller in physical stature, lower in anomia, lower in racial hostility, and more supportive of the USDB administration. He does not feel mistreated by his officer supervisors, but does resent criticism. He supports the rehabilitation programs, and rejects force as an effective control mechanism.

His personality traits having impact in the correctional environment are, high intraception, nurturance, and affiliation. The low-hostile guard is generally willing to give of himself in the attainment of organizational goals, and makes every attempt to understand others. He is "affectively neutral" in the enforcement of institutional rules, concentrating on major violations having the propensity for escalted violence.

Sources of Individual Differences

The primary difference between high-hostiles and low-hostiles was the presence of anomia. In every instance where hostility was high, anomia was also high. Personality differences as measured by the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, appeared to be a source of hostility, as was education. The educational level of guard samples appears

to be significant in the degree of hostility expressed by guards, with low-hostiles having achieved a slightly higher educational level.

Working or Living Conditions Impacting on Hostility

Living Conditions. A primary source of discontent among guards are their living quarters. The barracks of the First Guard Company, USDB, is located adjacent to the main USDB compound. Cramped living conditions, lack of privacy, and the oppressive heat in the summer, and poorly distributed heat in the winter, make the barracks a very unpleasant place at best. Most attempts to correct these conditions have failed because of budgetary constraints. Because of these living conditions, the normal hostility of the guard may be increased.

Working Conditions. Though many vocational programs exist at the USDB, the physical plant poses certain problems which appear to be without remedy in the immediate future. The intense heat and humidity inside the "castle" or main building, is a catalyst for inflaming normal guard-prisoner confrontation.

## CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions of this study are:

1. Anomia is the major indicator of guard hostility. With the use of the Leo Srole Anomie Scale or other tests of anomie, a rapid assessment can be made of a guard's hostility potential.

2. Guards high in hostility possess distinctive personality traits as indicated below:

a. A high degree of aggression

b. Above normal exhibition

c. Below normal affiliation and nurturance

3. The manner in which guards enforce rules is a predictor of hostility, with high-hostiles being "highly specific" in the enforcement of rules, and low-hostiles possessing an "affectively neutral" enforcement orientation.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### Hostility Questionnaire

Based on this research, a questionnaire has been designed to assist the Commandant, USDB, in predicting or identifying hostility potential among guards. Guards newly assigned to the USDB should be administered the questionnaire and the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule. Six months after their initial assignment, these guards should be re-evaluated, with a primary consideration being the types of offenses reported and the number of offenses. Supervisor evaluations can also be used to evaluate the guard's performance. In this manner, a typology of the hostile guard can be structured. With some modification, the questionnaire may have application for military policemen as an occupational group. Appendix 1 contains the proposed research questionnaire.

### Guard-Prisoner Workshops

Consideration should be given to the establishment of

a program in which guards and prisoners, under the monitorship of staff sociologists, discuss their mutual problems. Most guards seemed willing to participate in such a program. In addition to improving guard-prisoner relations, such a workshop could prove instrumental in advising the USDB staff of problems that require immediate attention.

Improve Guard Recognition and Prestige

Recommend that incentive and award programs be established to afford recognition to guard personnel for special achievement or service. A guard of the month program might prove beneficial. One of the major complaints of guards has been a lack of appreciation for their efforts. While guards must recognize that the primary function of the USDB is prisoner rehabilitation, every attempt should be made to expand existing recognition of outstanding service.

Establish a Position-Custodial Personnel Officer

Consideration should be given to establishing a position--Custodial Personnel Officer. This position should be filled by a senior Captain or junior field grade officer. The primary responsibilities of this officer would be communication of guard problem areas to the Director of Custody, evaluate guard performance, act on guard suggestions, and issue policy and rule statements on behalf of the Commandant and the Director of Custody. Prior to the implementation of policies or rules, the Correctional Personnel Officer could assess the impact these rules will have on the guard force,

with special attention given the feasibility and practicality of enforcement. This position should in no way be considered a lobby for guard personnel, as the officer manning this position must be attuned to the goals and policies of the USDB. One officer, responsible for close monitorship of guard functions, could assist tremendously in identifying those guards unsuited for duty, and recognize those fully contributing to the overall mission. A visible channel of communication for guards to the administration would have a mitigating effect on guard hostility.

Improve Guard Understanding of Prisoner Behavioral Norms

With increased understanding of prisoner culture and norms, guard hostility could be reduced. Use of the prisoner norms as developed by Galtung and Parsons (Chapter II) would be an ideal focal or starting point.

Maintain Records on Disciplinary Reports

Every item of correspondence pertaining to prisoners is carefully maintained. This includes disciplinary reports, which are a valuable source of information concerning the conduct and adjustment of the prisoner. Not only are these disciplinary reports a valuable source of information on the prisoner, but provide an indication of guard performance as well.

Synopsis

This study has attempted to provide a method for identifying guards least capable of functioning effectively in a treatment-oriented facility--the United States Disciplinary Barracks. It has shown that certain common factors are prevalent among hostile guards, with anomia being the most evident factor. This study has not been a condemnation of the guard, for he has an extremely difficult and complex function. Rather, this study has attempted to focus on the guard who neither contributes to the overall mission of the USDB, nor complements the many effective and highly motivated guards who attempt to do their duty in a commendable and professional manner, which is the heretige of the American soldier. Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Warren E. Burger, perhaps summarizes the intent of this paper when he states:

> Even when we profess rehabilitation and correction as objectives, we probably know to all of us some of the time and some of us all of the time, punishment and retribution are factors. According to some theologists and psychiatrists, this is not necessarily bad. It is only when anger and revenge dominate the process of discipline and correction that we are on a self-defeating course.[1]

[1]Warren E. Burger, "For Whom the Bell Tolls", exerpt from a speech delivered to New York City Bar Association on February 17, 1970.

# APPENDIX 1

## PROPOSED QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FOLLOW-ON STUDY

1. What is your present marital status?

____Single

____Married

____Seperated

____Divorced

____Widower

2. What is your height?

____Under 5'6"

____5'6" to 5'8"

____5'9" to 6'

____6'1" to 6'4"

____Over 6'4"

3. What is your current weight?

____Under 135 lbs

____135-150 lbs

____151-165 lbs

____166-180 lbs

____181-200 lbs

____Over 200 lbs

4. Were you raised as an only child?

_____Yes

_____No

5. You were primarily raised in

____Large metropolitan area (over 300,000); inner city

____Large metropolitan area (over 300,000); suburb

____City of 100,000 to 300,000

____City of 20,000 to 100,000

____Town of less than 20,000 in urban area

____Town of less than 20,000 in rural area

____Farm or country

6. By whom were you primarily raised

____Natural Parents

____Mother only

____Father only

____Foster Parents

____Friends, Institution, relatives, other

7. The most important requirement to get ahead in the world is

____Having an "in" with the right people

____Good luck

____Money

____Brains

____Hardwork

8. How often do you attend church?

____Every Sunday or every day according to my religion

____Regularly, but not every week

____Infrequently

____Never

9. How would you classify your athletic ability?

____Outstanding

____Excellent

____Fair

____Poor

10. What is the highest level of education you have achieved?

____Have not completed high school

____Have completed high school

____Have completed some college

____I am a college graduate

____I have a graduate degree

11. Was one of your parents, brother, sister ever in serious difficulty with the law?

____Yes

____No

Part II. Following are five statements about life. There are no right or wrong answers. Put a check besides the answer you most agree with.

12. There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.

_____Strongly Agree

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Strongly Disagree

13. Nowadays, a person has to live pretty much for today and let tommorow take care of itself.

_____Strongly Agree

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Strongly Disagree

14. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.

_____Strongly Agree

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Strongly Disagree

15. Its hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.

_____Strongly Agree

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Strongly Disagree

16. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.

_____Strongly Agree

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Strongly Disagree

17. Most people really don't care what happens to the next fellow.

_____Strongly Agree

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Strongly Disagree

18. Next to health, money is the most important thing in life.

_____Strongly Agree

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Strongly Disagree

19. You sometimes can't help wondering whether anything is worthwhile.

_____Strongly Agree

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Strongly Disagree

20. To make money there are no right and wrong ways anymore, only easy and hard ways.

_____Strongly Agree

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Strongly Disagree

Part III.

21. If you were assigned as a guard at the United States Disciplinary Barracks, and you observed the below listed offenses occuring simultaneously, which one would you report first:

_____Smoking "pot"

_____The use of narcotics

_____Homosexual Activity

_____Drinking of alcoholic beverages

_____Defacing Property

_____Fighting

_____A prisoner taking advantage of another prisoner

22. Prior to entering the military service, my frequency of contact with minority groups was:

_____Infrequent

_____Occasional

_____Frequent

_____Continual

23. The best preventive technique against a riot or disorder at a correctional facility is a forceful and strong guard force.

_____Strongly Agree

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Strongly Disagree

24. I think that most prisoners who would claim ignorance of a rule would be trying to put something over on the guard.

_____Strongly Agree

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Strongly Disagree

25. I would classify my relations with minority groups prior to my entrance into military service as favorable.

_____Strongly Agree

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Strongly Disagree

26. The military should eliminate the death penalty.

_____Strongly Agree

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Strongly Disagree

27. A prisoner should be required to serve his entire sentence without parole.

____Strongly Agree

____Agree

____Disagree

____Strongly Disagree

28. Rules and regulations governing prisoner conduct and prisoner privilege should be rigid and strict.

____Strongly Agree

____Agree

____Disagree

____Strongly Disagree

29. More often than not, physical punishment would be more effective than correctional treatment in dealing with unruly and hostile prisoners.

____Strongly Agree

____Agree

____Disagree

____Strongly Disagree

30. The length of a persons' hair is an indication of their basic character.

____Strongly Agree

____Agree

____Disagree

____Strongly Disagree

31. I would like to work as a "white hat MP" as opposed to working as a correctional guard.

_____Strongly Agree

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Strongly Disagree

32. If minority group prisoners asked for special grooming equipment (i.e. Afro combs), do you think the request should be approved?

_____Yes

_____No

33. Do you feel that Black prisoners should be allowed to display the "Black Power" salute?

_____Yes

_____No

34. Prisoners should be allowed to go home for Christmas leave or for any other holiday of importance to them if their performance has been outstanding while in the correctional facility.

_____Strongly Agree

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Strongly Disagree

35. Prisoners should be allowed to stay up and watch special athletic events that are telecast after the normal lights out time.

_____Strongly Agree

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Strongly Disagree

36. Prisoners should periodically be allowed to visit alone with their wives over a weekend (conjugal visit).

_____Strongly Agree

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Strongly Disagree

37. Military funds spent on the rehabilitation of prisoners are a waste of money.

_____Strongly Agree

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Strongly Disagree

38. The use of curse words by a prisoner should justify disciplinary action being taken against that prisoner.

_____Strongly Agree

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Strongly Disagree

39. The successful outcome of guard-prisoner conflict is dependent on how much force the guard uses.

_____Strongly Agree

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Strongly Disagree

40. I think prisoners should be permitted to spend one month at home and one month in confinement on an alternate basis throughout their sentence to assist in their rehabilitation as useful citizens.

_____Strongly Agree

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Strongly Disagree

# APPENDIX 2

## THESIS RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

# APPENDIX 3

## EDWARDS PERSONAL PREFERENCE SCHEDULE

PART I. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

INSTRUCTIONS: Circle the letter opposite your response to the questions indicated below:

1. What is your rank?

a. E-1 d. E-4 g. E-7

b. E-2 e. E-5 h. E-8

c. E-3 f. E-6 i. E-9

2. Into which of the following age groups do you fall?

a. 17-19 c. 25-30

b. 20-24 d. Over 30

3. What is your height?

a. Under 5'6" c. 5'9" to 6' e. Over 6'4"

b. 5'6" to 5'8" d. 6'1" to 6'4"

4. What is your current weight?

a. Under 135 lbs c. 151 lbs - 165 lbs e. 181 lbs - 200 lbs

b. 135 lbs - 150 lbs d. 166 lbs - 180 lbs f. Over 200 lbs

5. What is your race?

a. American Indian d. Negro f. Other _____

b. Caucasian e. Spanish or Latin American

c. Chinese or Japanese American

6. Method of entry into military service.

a. Volunteered (RA) b. Drafted (US) c. Reserve on Active Duty

7. What is your marital status?

a. Married c. Legally Separated e. Never Married

b. Divorced d. Widower

8. If you have male children, are any of them in the military service or vulnerable to the draft?

a. Yes b. No

9. How many years of active military service have you completed?

a. Under 1 year
b. 1 - 2 years
c. 2 - 4 years
d. 4 - 8 years
e. 8 - 15 years
f. Over 15 years

10. During most of your childhood and early youth, was your family's income sufficient?

a. Yes
b. No

11. Did you work as a child to help support yourself and your family?

a. Yes
b. No

12. Which of the following areas listed below best describes the type of community in which you were raised?

a. Large metropolitan area
b. Suburb of a large city
c. Small city
d. Town
e. Rural or farm community
f. Other _____

13. Would you classify the neighborhood in which you were raised as a ghetto?

a. Yes
b. No

14. How would you classify most of your childhood?

a. Happy
b. Unhappy

15. In the spaces provided below, indicate the state in which you received your civilian education, and the type of school you attended (public, private, religious) EXAMPLE: Texas - Public

a. Elementary School _____
STATE TYPE SCHOOL

b. Grades 7 - 9 _____
STATE TYPE SCHOOL

c. Grades 10 - 12 _____
STATE TYPE SCHOOL

d. College _____
STATE TYPE SCHOOL

16. What is the highest level of education you have achieved? (Select the one that is appropriate)

a. Have not completed high school
b. Have completed high school
c. Have completed some college
d. Have a Bachelors Degree
e. Have a Masters Degree

17. Is this your first assignment at the USDB?

a. Yes
b. No

18. Considering this, and all other assignments at the USDB, how many (total) months have you served as a Custodial Guard at the USDB?

_____

Fill in Total Number of Months

19. Have you been awarded the 95C MOS?

a. Yes b. No

20. Were you a school trained 95B?

a. Yes b. No

21. What combat assignments have you had (indicate all applicable combat assignments)?

a. World War II
b. Korea
c. Dominican Republic
d. Vietnam (Laos, Cambodia)

22. What is your religious preference?

a. Protestant
b. Jewish
c. Catholic
d. Other _____
e. I don't have a preference.

23. Was the area in which you grew up a closed community (occupied by members of a single race or nationality)?

a. Yes b. No

24. To what social class would you say you now belong?

a. Upper Class
b. Middle Class
c. Working Class
d. Lower Class

25. What do you feel is the most important requirement to get ahead in the world?

a. Having an "In" with the right people
b. Good Luck
c. Brains
d. Hard Work
e. Money

26. How often do you attend church?

a. Every Sunday or every day according to my religion
b. Regularly but not every week
c. Infrequently
d. Never

27. How would you classify your athletic ability?

a. Outstanding
b. Excellent
c. Fair
d. Poor

28. By whom were you primarily raised?

a. Mother and Father
b. Mother
c. Father
d. Foster Parents
e. Relatives
f. Other _____

29. What was the size of your family?

a. Only child
b. Less than 4 brothers/sisters
c. More than 4 brothers/sisters

30. Was one of your parents, brother(s) or sisters(s) ever in serious difficulty with the Law? (Felony charge)

a. Yes
b. No

PART II

INSTRUCTIONS: The following are five statements about life. There are no right or wrong answers. Put a check beside the answer you most agree reflects your attitude or opinion.

31. There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.

a. Strongly Agree _____
b. Agree _____
c. Disagree _____
d. Strongly Disagree _____

32. Nowadays, a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.

a. Strongly Agree _____
b. Agree _____
c. Disagree _____
d. Strongly Disagree _____

33. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.

a. Strongly Agree _____
b. Agree _____
c. Disagree _____
d. Strongly Disagree _____

34. It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.

a. Strongly Agree _____
b. Agree _____
c. Disagree _____
d. Strongly Disagree _____

35. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

PART III

INSTRUCTIONS: Following are statements concerning duty at the USDB or associated issues. There are no right or wrong answers. Put a check beside the answer you believe best reflects your attitude or opinion.

36. Most prisoners who claim ignorance of a rule are trying to put something over on the guard.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

37. The best preventive technique against a disorder or riot in the DB is a tough, strong, and forceful guard force.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

38. Most of the criticism of guard personnel is false or unjustified.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

39. Officer supervisors at the DB tend to accept the word of the prisoner before they accept the word of the guard.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

40. The successful outcome of conflict with a prisoner is largely determined by how forcefully the guard presents himself initially.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

41. I feel sorry for most of the prisoners at the DB.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

42. Prisoners should be allowed to stay up and watch special athletic events that are telecast after the normal lights out time.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

43. The recent Christmas leave policy for prisoners at the DB is a good idea.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

44. My officer supervisors are just as concerned with guard morale as they are with prisoner morale and welfare.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

45. Generally speaking, I am satisfied with my working conditions at the DB.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

46. I would readily accept the opportunity to work as a "White Hat MP" if it were offered to me.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

47. Generally, minority group prisoners are more hostile to guard personnel than are prisoners of other races.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

48. Most of my problem prisoners are those prisoners considered to be "intelligent."

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

49. A prisoner should be required to serve his entire sentence without parole.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

50. Compromising with or yielding to any request of minority group prisoners in the DB will only lead to problems for guard personnel.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

51. Rules and regulations governing prisoner conduct and privileges are too lenient at the DB.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

52. Issuing special grooming equipment or toilet articles to a small percentage of minority group prisoners is unjustified.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

53. More often than not, physical punishment would be more effective than "correctional treatment" in dealing with the "hardened" prisoner.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

54. Guard personnel are not given enough freedom of action in dealing with unruly or hostile prisoners.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

55. Prisoners take every opportunity to "use" DB commissioned officers by lying to them about the guards performance of duty.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

56. Because of their rank and background, officer prisoners should be domiciled separately from enlisted prisoners.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

57. The military should eliminate the death penalty.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

58. I would classify my experience with minority groups prior to my entrance into military service as favorable.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

59. Prisoners should be permitted to sit at any table during meals.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

60. The length of a prisoner's hair is not an indication of his basic character.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

61. I think prisoners should periodically be allowed to visit alone with their wives for a weekend.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

62. Programs in which guards and prisoners openly discuss their mutual concern and problems would be beneficial to improving guard-prisoner relationships.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

63. It is necessary for a guard to explain the rules only once or twice for prisoners to understand a guard's authority over them.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

64. My immediate supervisor's attitude on the way prisoners should be treated is, with few exceptions, the same as mine.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

65. The "Black Power" salute should be prohibited at the DB. (Raised clenched fist)

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

66. Military funds spent on the rehabilitation of prisoners should be spent on improving security and control.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

67. Guards should teach prisoners obedience and respect for authority.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

68. With few exceptions, prisoners are not worth the rehabilitative effort that is currently being devoted to them.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

69. The use of curse words by a prisoner should justify that prisoner receiving disciplinary action.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

70. The guard who tried to reason with a hostile prisoner is more likely to be attacked than the guard who makes it clear he will use whatever force is required to gain the prisoner's obedience to his orders.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

71. It is not possible to accurately identify prisoners of a specific race as having more hostility toward guards than prisoners of another race.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

72. If guards were given more authority, they could be more effective without really abusing the rights of the prisoner.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

73. The discipline of prisoners would be improved if more severe action was taken against prisoners who break the rules.

a. Strongly Agree _____ c. Disagree _____

b. Agree _____ d. Strongly Disagree _____

PART IV

74. Rank the following offenses or crimes in numerical order from 1 - 5. Place a 1 in front of the offense that you believe is most serious, a 2 in front of the next offense you feel is most serious, etc., until you have ranked all 5.

_____ Crimes against national security

_____ Sex crimes

_____ Crimes against children

_____ Crimes against property

_____ Narcotic or alcohol offenses

75. If the USDB had a television monitoring system and you could observe several rule infractions simultaneously, which of the following violations or rule infractions would you report first.

a. Smoking "pot"

b. Using narcotics

c. Homosexual activity

d. Drinking alcoholic beverages

e. Defacing property

f. Fighting

g. A prisoner taking advantage of another prisoner

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COMMENTS (IF DESIRED)