

Fall 1963

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### Recommended Citation

Shaw Earl Grigsby, *The Raiford Study: Alcohol and Crime*, 54 *J. Crim. L. Criminology & Police Sci.* 296 (1963)

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## COMMENTS AND RESEARCH REPORTS

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### THE RAIFORD STUDY: ALCOHOL AND CRIME\*

SHAW EARL GRIGSBY†

Although there is general acknowledgement of alcohol as a frequent factor in anti-social or criminal behavior, there has been a surprising paucity of empirical investigation of their interrelations.<sup>1</sup> There has been some notable empirical work done on this general subject, the most frequently cited being that of Bernay<sup>2</sup> and Shupe,<sup>3</sup> still, the area comprises a great deal of public misconception and mythology.

In the past six years, the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Florida has carried on a research program in the sociological aspects of alcohol. The frame of reference adopted by the research staff has been that of the program's initiator, the late Dr. John M. Machlachlan: that excessive and addictive drinking are symptomatic of the existence of frustration and tension within the individual. The pathology lies in alcoholic drinking practiced in excess, eliminating the use of other more appropriate means which might alter the tension-producing situation. It has been felt that the search for a basic cause of alcoholism is futile, because the underlying cause may be any of the tension-producing factors that are found in the experiential field of any person.<sup>4</sup> Thus, our research efforts have been

directed towards what the excessive drinker does, and not specifically why he does it.

A pilot study was initiated in June, 1954, to provide tentative information on chronic alcoholics in State Prison at Raiford, Florida. Data were yielded indicating that of all the individuals admitted to Raiford Prison during the month of June, 1954, 66 percent were either drinking, drunk, or under the influence of alcohol at the time they committed the crimes for which they were imprisoned. Also notable were the data that only 63 percent of the white prisoners, but 77 percent of the nonwhite prisoners, were drinking, drunk, or under the influence of alcohol at the time they committed the crimes for which they were imprisoned. And 93 percent of those under the age of 20 were drinking, drunk, or under the influence of alcohol at such time.

This pilot study was designed to provide tentative information on chronic alcoholics in prison and not information on the role of alcohol in the commission of crime. A research design was initiated to provide the latter information in March, 1955, and this study was commenced during the months of July and August, 1958, when both funds and personnel became available.

There were 2,457 inmates in the prison system at the time the study began. A valid statistical sample was obtained by pulling every seventh folder from the file and transcribing the necessary data to the resulting 351 schedules. The schedule was designed (1) to give a profile picture of the social and demographic characteristics of the total prison population and (2) to secure data related to the previous drinking behavior of the inmates.

The Chi Square Method was used to determine the levels of significance of the data found, and the  $\chi^2$  value plus the level of significance is given for all data that are significant beyond the .10 level of confidence. In calculating the respective contingency tables, the actual numbers of subjects were used. In presenting the data, however, a conversion to percentages is made for clarity of exposition.

\* This paper was presented at the Annual Joint Meeting of the American Society of Criminology and the American Association for the Advancement of Science in December, 1960.

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The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. William P. Lane, Graduate Assistant, Department of Sociology, who assisted in checking the statistical tables; Mr. Detlev L. Lind, Graduate Assistant, Department of Sociology, who checked the statistical correlation; and Mr. Marcello Truzzi, who was very helpful in his editorial suggestions and who organized the references.

<sup>1</sup> Trice & Pittman, *Social Organization and Alcoholism: A Review of Significant Research Since 1940*, 5 SOCIAL PROBLEMS 249 (1958).

<sup>2</sup> Bernay, *Alcoholism and Crime*, 2 Q.J. STUDIES ON ALCOHOL 686 (1941).

<sup>3</sup> Shupe, *Alcohol and Crime: A Study of the Urine Alcohol Correlations Found in 882 Persons Arrested During or Immediately After the Commission of a Felony*, 44 J. CRIM. L., C. & P.S. 661 (1954).

<sup>4</sup> This perspective has been increasingly adopted. See W. & J. McCORD, *ORIGINS OF ALCOHOLISM* 22-44 (1960).

I. SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RAIFORD POPULATION

*Race and Age*

The sample of 351 persons consisted of 216 white and 135 nonwhite male inmates. Table 1 demonstrates that the Raiford population had a smaller representation of whites and a greater representation of nonwhites than that for the State of Florida as a whole, suggesting that the nonwhite male was a more frequent legal offender than the white male in Florida, or that there was a racial differential regarding arrest and conviction.

TABLE 1  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL MALE POPULATION (15 YEARS AND OLDER) BY RACE FOR FLORIDA (1950) AND RAIFORD

Race	Per Cent State	Per Cent Raiford
White.....	79.6	61.5
Nonwhite.....	20.4	38.5

TABLE 2  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL MALE POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS AND RACE FOR FLORIDA (1950) AND RAIFORD

Age Group	Per Cent Total		Per Cent White		Per Cent Non-white	
	State	Raiford	State	Raiford	State	Raiford
10-19	17.4	18.5	16.5	20.4	20.7	15.6
20-29	19.3	33.0	18.9	34.3	20.7	31.1
30-39	18.8	27.0	18.6	25.0	19.9	30.4
40-49	16.6	15.7	16.4	15.3	17.6	16.3
50-59	12.5	4.6	13.0	4.1	10.6	5.2
60-69	9.2	0.9	9.8	0.9	6.7	0.7
70-79	6.2	0.3	6.8	0.0	3.8	0.7

$\chi^2 = 77.50; P < .001.$

The white male in the sample was almost two years younger in age than the nonwhite. The mean age for white males was 30.1 years, while the mean age of the nonwhites was 31.9 years.

Table 2 affirms that the age of Florida's prison population was similar to that of other states. Note that almost one-fifth were under 20 years of age and over one-half were under 30. Seventy-five percent of the Raiford population was in the age group 20 to 49, while only 55 percent of the total male population of the state was in this group. This finding is significant when we recall that this is usually the most productive period in a male's life. For the older inmates, the sample showed a smaller percentage than that for the total state male population. Senior citizens were conspicuously absent from the prison population.

*Marital Status*

The most conspicuous percentage difference with reference to marital status was in the widowed and divorced group (Table 3). Note that the prison population had more than four times its share of men divorced, separated, or widowed. This figure could be interpreted as a somewhat vivid statistical index of the role played by a broken marriage with its subsequent personality disorganization. This finding suggests that marital difficulties may tend to cause more males to resort to crime, and it should be noted that there is a smaller percentage of married males in the prison population than that found in the state population. The data show also, though not so significantly, that the single male is represented in greater percentage in the prison population than is found for the total state population. Sociologists and other groups devoting much time and effort to the study of the family have almost completely neglected the legal offender in their research. It is our conclusion that the prison population exemplifies an arena for the study of

TABLE 3  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL MALE POPULATION BY MARITAL STATUS FOR FLORIDA (1950) AND RAIFORD

Status	Per Cent Total		Per Cent White		Per Cent Nonwhite	
	State	Raiford	State	Raiford	State	Raiford
Single.....	22.7	38.8	21.9	41.7	25.9	34.1
Married.....	70.5	32.2	71.5	28.2	66.9	38.5
Widowed or Divorced.....	6.8	29.0	6.6	30.1	7.2	27.4

$\chi^2 = 28.99; P < .001.$

TABLE 4  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RAIFFORD POPULATION  
BY AMOUNT OF FORMAL EDUCATION  
AND RACE

Amount	Per Cent Total	Per Cent White	Per Cent Nonwhite
None.....	1.9	0.9	3.7
Grades 1-5.....	24.3	13.4	4.14
Grade 6.....	7.9	7.4	8.9
Grades 7-8.....	31.6	34.7	26.7
Grade 9.....	8.6	9.3	7.4
Grades 10-11.....	14.5	19.9	5.9
Grade 12.....	9.4	11.6	5.9
Years 13-14.....	1.7	2.8	0.0
Mean Years of School...	7.4	8.3	5.9

personality disorganization and its relation to marital status.<sup>5</sup>

*Education*

The importance of formal education and the social and occupational disadvantages of little or no formal education are clearly reflected in Table 4. Less than 2 percent of the inmates had any formal education beyond high school, and almost two-thirds of them had eight years or less of elementary schooling. The average number of years of formal education for the entire group was seven and one-half years; the white inmates averaged approximately eight years, while the nonwhite inmates averaged six years of formal schooling.

*Occupation*

Almost half (45 percent) of the inmates were classified as unskilled laborers, and 43 percent as skilled laborers (Table 5). For the state male population, approximately six out of every ten workers were either skilled or unskilled, but in the prison population almost nine out of every ten were either skilled or unskilled. Those occupations requiring years of formal educational training were almost absent from the prison population. The nonwhite prison population was predominately an unskilled group; almost two out of every three nonwhite inmates were classified as unskilled laborers.

<sup>5</sup> For the most recent data available on prisoners' marital status, see NAT'L PRISONERS STATISTICS, PRISONERS IN STATE AND FEDERAL INSTITUTIONS, Tables 4, 23 & 24 (1950). For discussion, see TAPPAN, CRIME, JUSTICE AND CORRECTION 196-99 (1960).

*Type of Offense*

In Table 6 we attempt to classify into four groups the various offenses for which the inmates were sent to prison. Armed robbery, breaking and entering, forgery, burglary, and similar offenses are classified as economic crimes; arson, assault, murder, and the like are classified as crimes of passion; and rape, statutory rape, and other sex offenses are classified as sex crimes. The "other" group includes mostly the "non-passion" types of manslaughter.

The type of offense committed by the inmate gives us, indirectly, a penetrating insight into the fierceness of our highly competitive economic society. Three-fourths of all the Raifford inmates were in prison for committing a crime which yielded or would have yielded an economic gain. Note the significant percentage differences between white and nonwhite inmates in the commission of economic crimes and in the commission of crimes of passion. Seemingly the white is somewhat more economically motivated and conscious of our highly competitive economic society than the

TABLE 5  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL MALE  
POPULATION BY OCCUPATION AND RACE  
FOR FLORIDA (1950) AND RAIFFORD

Occupation	Per Cent Total		Per Cent White Raifford	Per Cent Nonwhite Raifford*
	State	Raifford		
Unskilled.....	27.5	45.0	34.3	62.2
Skilled.....	33.3	42.7	48.2	34.1
Clerical & Sales....	13.0	9.7	13.9	2.9
Prof. & Manag....	26.2	1.4	1.8	0.8
Student and Other†.	0.0	1.2	1.8	0.0

$\chi^2 = 13.22; P < .02.$

\* Analysis of State by Race not available.

† This category was not used in state analysis.

TABLE 6  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RAIFFORD POPULATION  
BY TYPE OF OFFENSE AND RACE

Type of Offense	Per Cent Total	Per Cent White	Per Cent Nonwhite
Economic.....	75.5	82.4	64.4
Passion.....	17.1	9.7	28.9
Sex.....	6.6	6.5	6.7
Other.....	0.8	1.4	0.0

nonwhite. Likewise, we can infer that the nonwhite may not be as thoroughly socialized as the white in terms of his internalization of emotional controls. Analysis of selected records of the nonwhite sample frequently showed gross discrepancy between the inmates' versions of their crimes and the seemingly minor incidents that provoked rage, violence, and subsequent illegal acts.

It is noteworthy that our study indicated that there was no significant statistical difference between the white and nonwhite in the commission of sex crimes.

*Regional Origins*

Table 7 indicates that 70 percent of the male inmates in the state prison were born outside the State of Florida. The adjoining states of Alabama and Georgia furnished approximately 30 percent of these, and other states furnished approximately 40 percent. We should note, however, that the nonwhite inmates are slightly more representative of the native born than white inmates.

Table 8 modifies this picture, since over two-thirds of the inmates claimed Florida as their state of legal residence. Conspicuous again is the

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RAIFORD POPULATION BY LOCATION OF PLACE OF BIRTH AND RACE

Location of Place of Birth (State or Region)	Per Cent Total	Per Cent White	Per Cent Nonwhite
Florida.....	29.1	23.6	37.8
Alabama or Georgia.....	29.1	25.5	34.8
Other Southern States...	15.4	13.4	18.5
Elsewhere in USA.....	23.0	33.3	6.7
Outside USA.....	3.4	4.2	2.2

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RAIFORD POPULATION BY LOCATION OF LEGAL RESIDENCE AND RACE

Location of Legal Residence	Per Cent Total	Per Cent White	Per Cent Nonwhite
Florida.....	68.1	59.3	82.2
Alabama or Georgia.....	7.7	8.3	6.7
Other Southern States...	8.3	9.3	6.7
Elsewhere in USA.....	14.5	21.3	3.7
Terr. & Foreign Countries.....	1.4	1.8	0.7

$\chi^2 = 11.42; P < .10.$

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RAIFORD POPULATION BY SIZE OF PLACE OF BIRTH AND RACE

Place of Birth by Size of Community	Per Cent Total	Per Cent White	Per Cent Nonwhite
Less than 2,500.....	39.9	43.1	34.8
2,500 to 9,999.....	14.2	11.1	19.3
10,000 to 99,999.....	25.4	23.1	28.9
100,000 and over.....	20.5	22.7	17.0

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RAIFORD POPULATION BY SIZE OF LEGAL RESIDENCE AND RACE

Legal Residence by Size	Per Cent Total	Per Cent White	Per Cent Nonwhite
Less than 2,500.....	20.8	22.2	18.5
2,500-9,999.....	13.1	11.1	15.3
100,000 and over.....	34.5	36.1	31.9

percentage difference between white and nonwhite: only 53 percent of the white inmates claimed Florida, as compared with 82 percent of the nonwhites.

*Residence*

It has long been held that urban areas are more conducive to crime than rural areas, and that crime rates increase with a rise in population density.<sup>6</sup> Tables 9 and 10 indicate that this generalization must be modified somewhat with reference to the male inmates in the state prison in Florida. It is quite significant (Table 9) that almost 40 percent of the inmates at Raiford were born in rural communities, while only 20 percent were born in large urban areas. Furthermore, it was the small towns and not the rural areas that were least conducive to criminal behavior. Table 10, giving the size of the community claimed as legal residence, further indicates that the rural community is somewhat more conducive to criminal behavior than the small town. This table also reaffirms that the densely populated areas are very conducive to criminal behavior.

*Recidivism*

Almost 90 percent of the inmates at Raiford prison had been arrested one or more times prior

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., BARNES & TEETERS, *NEW HORIZONS IN CRIMINOLOGY* 144-46 (3d ed. 1960). For a notable exception to this usual analysis, see LINDSTROM, *AMERICAN RURAL LIFE* 335-36 (1948).

to their present commitment (Table 11). Furthermore, over one-third had been previously arrested five or more times; the "dean" of these professional failures had amassed a record of 39 previous arrests.

The FBI report of arrest was more reliable than that of the local law enforcement agency (Table 12). The superior accuracy and reliability of the Federal Bureau of Investigation Reports is verified by the fact that in approximately 99.5 percent of all the cases there was an FBI Report on the inmate, and the prisoner's current commitment appeared on 99 percent of the FBI Reports. The FBI Report indicated that the average inmate had been arrested approximately 8 times. In general, the inmates at Raiford were characterized by previous careers of arrests and confinements.

II. DRINKING BEHAVIOR

In order to secure information on the relationship between alcohol and the offender, the selected records were classified according to whether the individual was (1) an abstainer, (2) an occasional

TABLE 11  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RAIFORD POPULATION  
BY NUMBER OF PRIOR ARRESTS AND RACE

Number of Prior Arrests	Per Cent Total	Per Cent White	Per Cent Nonwhite
None.....	10.6	10.6	10.4
1 or 2.....	25.9	28.2	22.2
3 or 4.....	25.9	25.0	27.4
5 or 6.....	13.4	11.6	16.3
7 to 10.....	12.5	12.1	13.3
11 or more.....	11.7	12.5	10.4

$\chi^2 = 60.35; P < .001.$

TABLE 12  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RAIFORD POPULATION  
BY NUMBER OF PRIOR ARRESTS (FBI  
RECORDS) AND RACE

FBI Records Number of Prior Arrests	Per Cent Total	Per Cent White	Per Cent Nonwhite
Not available.....	0.5	0.9	0.0
None.....	0.6	0.9	0.0
1 or 2.....	21.4	23.6	17.8
3 or 4.....	18.5	16.2	22.2
5 or 6.....	18.8	18.1	20.0
7 to 10.....	17.7	16.7	19.3
11 or more.....	22.5	23.6	20.7

$\chi^2 = 57.83; P < .001.$

TABLE 13  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RAIFORD POPULATION  
BY FREQUENCY OF DRINKING AND RACE

Group	Per Cent Abstainers	Per Cent Occasional	Per Cent Regular
Total.....	16.5	40.5	43.0
Whites.....	17.1	37.5	45.4
Nonwhites.....	15.5	45.2	39.3

drinker, or (3) a regular drinker. The abstainer was defined as an individual who did not use alcohol in any form. An occasional drinker was defined as an individual who drank occasionally, but not more than three times per week. The regular drinker was defined as an individual who drank according to a set pattern that consisted of drinking more than three times per week. Any such operational definitions are subject to criticism, but these were used to obtain comparability with the results of other previous studies on drinking behavior.

The Maxwell study of drinking behavior in the State of Washington in 1952 found that 24 percent of the adult males classified themselves as drinkers,<sup>7</sup> the Riley and Marden study of 1946 found 75 percent of the males were drinkers,<sup>8</sup> and Gallup in his national polls of 1939 reported 70 percent of the males as drinkers.<sup>9</sup> Our study, which used essentially the identical definitions for classifying drinkers and nondrinkers, found that 84 percent of the prisoners were drinkers. This suggests the conclusion that there is a positive relationship between drinking and the commission of crime.

Race

Table 13 indicates that there is no statistically significant difference between the white and nonwhite abstainers, refuting the commonly expressed stereotype of nonwhites as more frequent and heavier drinkers than whites. There was a difference in the drinking pattern, however. Almost half (45 percent) of the nonwhites were occasional drinkers, while almost half (45 percent) of the white inmates were regular drinkers. The occupational status of the nonwhite and the prevailing method of paying the skilled and unskilled laborer on

<sup>7</sup> Maxwell, *Drinking Behavior in the State of Washington*, 13 Q.J. STUDIES ON ALCOHOL 219 (1952).

<sup>8</sup> Riley & Marden, *The Social Pattern of Alcoholic Drinking*, 8 Q.J. STUDIES ON ALCOHOL 265 (1947).

<sup>9</sup> PUBLIC OPINION, 1935-1946 (Cantril ed. 1951).

Friday, plus a pattern within the nonwhite subculture regarding the proper entertainment on Saturday night, may explain the relatively high incidence of occasional drinkers in the nonwhite group. Investigation would seem to indicate a tendency for many unskilled laborers to "spend everything on Saturday night and be flat broke from Monday until payday"; the same explanation might partially account for the relatively large number of occasional drinkers among the white inmates.

*Age*

Table 14 shows the drinking behavior as related to age. As the age of the offender increased, the incidence of drinking increased. Sixty-seven percent of the offenders under 20 years of age were classified as drinkers, compared with 82 percent of those 20 to 29 years, 94 percent of those 30 to 39 years,

TABLE 14  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL RAIFORD POPULATION BY FREQUENCY OF DRINKING AND AGE GROUPS

Age Group	White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Groupings			White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Total		
	Abstainers	Occasional	Regular	Abstainers	Occasional	Regular
10-19	32.3	56.9	10.8	36.2	26.1	4.6
20-29	18.1	53.5	28.4	36.2	43.7	21.8
30-39	6.3	30.5	63.2	10.4	20.4	39.7
40-49	10.9	14.5	74.6	10.4	5.6	27.2
50-59	18.8	31.2	50.0	5.1	3.5	5.3
60-69	33.3	33.3	33.4	1.7	0.7	0.7
70-79	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.7

and 89 percent of those 40 to 49 years of age. As the age increased there was a decrease in the proportion of occasional drinkers and an increase in the proportion of regular drinkers. The statistical evidence indicated in general that the older offenders engaged more frequently in regular drinking than did the young offenders. It can be inferred from this relationship that perhaps the aging offenders may feel increased tensions as a result of their repeated criminal behavior and may resort more frequently to alcohol as an escape from reality.

*Marital Status*

Table 15 shows that the single and married offenders had the lowest proportion of drinkers, while the divorced and separated offenders had the highest proportion of drinkers. The unmarried male group had the largest percentage of abstainers. In normal society, marriage is usually considered to be relatively more enjoyable and happier than bachelorhood. In the offender's society, this may not be true if we assume that frequent and regular consumption of alcohol is related to maladjustment and frustration. In our sample, the married inmates were characterized by a much larger percentage of regular drinkers than were the bachelor inmates. Divorce or separation is frequently justified in normal society because it allows the individuals to escape a frustrating and tensional relationship. In the offender's society, divorce and separation seemingly increases the frustration, as it was this group that had the highest percentage of regular drinkers.

*Education*

Table 16 reveals the significant relationship that as the amount of formal education increased, the

TABLE 15  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL RAIFORD POPULATION BY FREQUENCY OF DRINKING AND MARITAL STATUS

Marital Status	White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Groupings			White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Total		
	Abstainers	Occasional	Regular	Abstainers	Occasional	Regular
Single.....	19.8	52.2	28.0	46.5	50.0	25.2
Common Law.....	16.7	33.3	50.0	8.6	7.0	9.9
Married.....	18.1	38.5	43.4	25.9	22.6	23.9
Separated.....	5.5	27.8	66.7	3.4	7.0	15.9
Divorced.....	13.3	26.7	60.0	13.8	11.3	23.8
Widowed.....	16.7	50.0	33.3	1.8	2.1	1.3

percentage of regular drinkers tended to decrease. The educational group with less than 7 grades had the highest percentage of regular drinkers, while the educational group with 9 or more grades had the lowest percentage of regular drinkers.

holds true for the apprehended offender. This is partially substantiated by the figures in Table 17 which show that as occupational status of the offenders improved, from unskilled to skilled, the proportion of regular drinkers increased.

*Occupation*

We have previously noted that the economic factor seemed to be related to the drinking behavior of offenders. Occupational status closely approximates the income earning ability of an individual in our normal society, and it is the conclusion of this report that this relationship

*Type of Offense*

Table 18, showing the relationship of drinking behavior to the type of offense committed reveals several interesting factors. The regular drinkers committed 56 percent of the sex crimes, 42 percent of the economic crimes, and 37 percent of the crimes of passion; while abstainers committed 26

TABLE 16

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL RAIFFORD POPULATION BY FREQUENCY OF DRINKING AND FORMAL EDUCATION

Formal Education By Grades	White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Groupings			White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Total		
	Abstainers	Occasional	Regular	Abstainers	Occasional	Regular
Less than 7.....	17.5	35.8	46.7	36.2	30.3	37.1
7-8.....	13.5	43.2	43.3	25.9	33.8	31.8
9 or more.....	18.3	42.5	39.2	37.9	35.9	31.1

TABLE 17

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL RAIFFORD POPULATION BY FREQUENCY OF DRINKING AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Groupings			White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Total		
	Abstainers	Occasional	Regular	Abstainers	Occasional	Regular
Unskilled.....	15.8	47.5	36.7	43.1	52.7	38.6
Skilled.....	13.3	36.7	50.0	34.5	39.1	49.8
Clerical & Sales.....	26.5	23.5	50.0	15.5	5.5	10.8
Prof. & Manag.....	20.0	60.0	20.0	1.7	2.0	0.8
Student—Other.....	75.0	25.0	00.0	5.2	0.7	0.0

TABLE 18

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL RAIFFORD POPULATION BY FREQUENCY OF DRINKING AND OFFENSE

Offense	White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Groupings			White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Total		
	Abstainers	Occasional	Regular	Abstainers	Occasional	Regular
Economic Crimes.....	16.6	40.8	42.6	75.9	76.1	74.8
Passion.....	13.3	50.0	36.7	13.8	21.1	14.6
Sex.....	26.1	17.4	56.5	10.3	2.8	8.6
Other.....	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	2.0

$\chi^2 = 490.76; P < .001.$

percent of the sex crimes, 16 percent of the economic crimes, and 13 percent of the crimes of passion.

Three-fourths of the total inmates were sent to prison for committing an economic crime. Seemingly, it made little or no difference whether the offender was an abstainer, an occasional drinker, or a regular drinker, as economic crimes were the most frequently committed by each group. The major motivations in our society are clearly reflected in the behavior of these offenders.

*Origins*

When the previously mentioned data regarding the exceedingly large proportion of inmates born outside the State of Florida are correlated with drinking behavior (Table 19), they take on added significance. Seventy-three percent of the regular drinkers and approximately the same percentage of the occasional drinkers were born outside the State of Florida. The States of Georgia and Alabama and the other states in the South contributed a disproportionately large share of the occasional and regular drinkers. Of the inmates who

were born in Georgia, Alabama, and the other southern states, almost one-half were regular drinkers. Thus, those born outside of Florida had contributed not only considerably to our inmate population, but to the problem of alcohol.

Although two-thirds of the drinkers claimed legal residence in the State of Florida, almost two-thirds of the inmates who claimed sister states as their legal residence were regular drinkers (Table 20).

*Residence*

Contrary to the usually idealized picture of the rural environment, our statistics revealed that rural areas furnished 44 percent of the regular drinkers (Table 21). Furthermore, of those born in rural communities almost half were classified as regular drinkers. It was the small town of less than 10,000 inhabitants that furnished the smallest proportion of drinkers, both occasional and regular. This suggests that those of us who are devoting our time and energies to this broad area of "correction" must take a more critical look at the revolution that is now going on in agriculture and the changes

TABLE 19

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL RAIFORD POPULATION BY FREQUENCY OF DRINKING AND PLACE OF BIRTH (STATE OR REGION)

Place of Birth (State or Region)	White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Groupings			White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Total		
	Abstainers	Occasional	Regular	Abstainers	Occasional	Regular
Florida.....	20.6	39.2	40.2	36.2	28.2	27.2
Alabama or Georgia.....	12.7	40.2	47.1	22.4	28.9	31.8
Other Southern States.....	11.1	40.7	48.2	10.4	15.5	17.2
Elsewhere USA.....	19.8	40.7	39.5	27.6	23.2	21.2
Outside USA.....	16.7	50.0	33.3	3.4	4.2	2.6

TABLE 20

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL RAIFORD POPULATION BY FREQUENCY OF DRINKING AND LOCATION OF LEGAL RESIDENCE

Location of Legal Residence	White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Groupings			White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Total		
	Abstainers	Occasional	Regular	Abstainers	Occasional	Regular
Florida.....	17.6	38.9	43.5	72.4	65.5	68.9
Alabama or Georgia.....	3.7	33.3	62.9	1.7	6.3	11.2
Other Southern States.....	10.4	41.3	48.3	5.2	8.5	9.3
Elsewhere in USA.....	21.6	49.0	29.4	18.9	17.6	9.9

TABLE 21

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL RAIFORD POPULATION BY FREQUENCY OF DRINKING AND PLACE OF BIRTH BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

Place of Birth by Size of Community	White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Groupings			White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Total		
	Abstainers	Occasional	Regular	Abstainers	Occasional	Regular
Less than 2,500.....	14.3	38.6	47.1	34.5	38.0	43.7
2,500-9,999.....	14.0	48.0	38.0	12.1	16.9	12.6
10,000-99,999.....	19.1	40.5	40.4	29.3	25.4	23.8
100,000 and over.....	19.4	38.9	41.7	24.1	19.7	19.9

TABLE 22

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL RAIFORD POPULATION BY FREQUENCY OF DRINKING AND LEGAL RESIDENCE BY SIZE

Legal Residence by Size of Community	White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Groupings			White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Total		
	Abstainers	Occasional	Regular	Abstainers	Occasional	Regular
Less than 2,500.....	15.1	41.1	43.8	18.9	21.1	21.2
2,500-9,999.....	15.2	41.3	43.5	12.1	13.4	13.2
10,000-99,000.....	13.5	45.0	41.5	25.9	35.2	30.5
100,000 and over.....	20.7	35.5	43.8	43.1	30.3	35.1

in the structure and function of the rural community.

Perhaps the most interesting relationship found was that approximately 44 percent of those claiming rural areas as their place of legal residence were classified as regular drinkers (Table 22). Note also that the proportion of drinkers does not vary significantly between the various community types. Furthermore, almost two-thirds of the regular drinkers and occasional drinkers gave urban areas as their place of legal residence. These data point out somewhat clearly the mass migration that has been going on within our society during the recent decades.

*Recidivism*

Statistically speaking, the highest correlations were found to be between the number of previous arrests and drinking behavior. Tables 23 and 24 indicate that as the number of previous arrests increased, the percentage of regular drinkers increased while the percentage of occasional drinkers and abstainers decreased. This statistical relationship permits us to infer that each additional arrest increases the frustrations, anxieties, and

tensions within the offender and, thus, produces subsequent increases in the employment of alcohol as a means of altering his frustrations and tensions.

*Relation to the Pilot Study*

The data presented in Tables 25 and 26 were designed to check on the validity of the pilot study of 1954. The reader will recall that approximately two-thirds of the individuals admitted to Raiford Prison in June, 1954, were either drinking, drunk, or under the influence of alcohol at the time they committed the crimes for which they were sent to prison. The data from our present study suggest that either the inmates admitted to Raiford during the month of June, 1954, were not representative of the entire prison population or that the records now employed by the Admission and Classification Office at Raiford are more accurate and complete than those available in 1954. It is our opinion that both of these statements are correct. June is probably not a truly representative month because of the characteristics of Florida's population during the tourist season. The Admission and Classification Records were completely revised between 1954 and 1958, so that currently the new

TABLE 23

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RAIFORD POPULATION BY FREQUENCY OF DRINKING AND NUMBER OF PRIOR ARRESTS

Number of Prior Arrests	White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Groupings			White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Total		
	Ab-stain-ers	Occa-sional	Regu-lar	Ab-stain-ers	Occa-sional	Regu-lar
None . . . .	24.3	56.8	18.9	15.5	14.8	4.6
1 or 2 . . . .	23.1	49.4	27.5	36.2	31.7	16.6
3 or 4 . . . .	16.5	50.5	33.0	25.8	32.4	19.9
5 or 6 . . . .	14.9	29.8	55.3	12.1	9.9	17.2
7-10 . . . .	6.8	20.5	72.7	5.2	6.3	21.2
11 and over . . . .	7.3	17.1	75.6	5.2	4.9	20.5

TABLE 24

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RAIFORD POPULATION BY FREQUENCY OF DRINKING AND NUMBER OF ARRESTS (FBI RECORDS)

Number of Arrests from FBI Records	White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Groupings			White & Nonwhite Per Cent Frequency of Drinking Within Total		
	Ab-stain-ers	Occa-sional	Regu-lar	Ab-stain-ers	Occa-sional	Regu-lar
Not Avail-able . . . . .	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0
None . . . . .	50.0	50.0	0.0	1.7	0.7	0.0
1-2 . . . . .	25.3	54.7	20.0	32.8	28.9	9.9
3-4 . . . . .	16.9	52.3	30.8	18.9	23.9	13.3
5-6 . . . . .	18.2	43.9	37.9	20.7	20.4	16.6
7-10 . . . . .	14.5	35.5	50.0	15.5	15.5	20.5
11 or more . . . .	7.6	16.4	76.0	10.4	9.2	39.7

files and records at Raiford are equal to the best in the country.

Note the difference between the inmates' versions of their crimes and the official versions. The inmate in his version of the crime more frequently associated alcohol with the commission than did the official version. Any explanation based on our data and observation would be purely speculative; however, one can safely assume that the offender might feel he would receive a more lenient sentence if he associated alcohol with the commission of his crime,<sup>10</sup> or you may assume

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Watt, *Alcohol and Crime*, 2 J. FORENS. MED. 164 (1955).

than the state in presenting its case feels that the prisoner will receive a more severe sentence if alcohol is not associated with the crime. The important conclusion is that according to the official version of the crime, less than one-third of the inmates were drinking, drunk, or intoxicated at the time they committed the crimes for which they were sent to prison. This is considerably less than that reported in the June, 1954, study.

Finally, in concluding this statistical analysis, it might be noted that less than 3 percent of the inmates had alcohol associated illnesses.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The findings of this study add statistical support to previous studies of inmates regarding: (1) the youthfulness of the prison population; (2) the large number of unmarried inmates; (3) the low educational attainment; (4) the low occupational status; and (5) the high incidence of previous arrests.

The study presents statistical data which support the apparently new findings as follows: (1) there was no significant statistical difference between the white and nonwhite inmates in the commission of sex crimes; (2) rural areas furnished a disproportionately large share of the total inmate

TABLE 25

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RAIFORD POPULATION BY DEGREE OF INTOXICATION (INMATE'S VERSION) WHILE COMMITTING LAST OFFENSE AND BY RACE

Inmate's Version	Per Cent Total	Per Cent White	Per Cent Nonwhite
Not Drinking or Not Indicated . . . . .	61.3	60.2	63.0
Drinking, Intoxicated, or Drunk . . . . .	38.7	39.8	37.0

TABLE 26

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF RAIFORD POPULATION BY DEGREE OF INTOXICATION (OFFICIAL VERSION) WHILE COMMITTING LAST OFFENSE AND BY RACE

Official Version	Per Cent Total	Per Cent White	Per Cent Nonwhite
Not Drinking or Not Indicated . . . . .	70.1	67.6	74.1
Drinking, Intoxicated, or Drunk . . . . .	29.9	32.4	25.9

population; (3) a disproportionately large share of the inmates that were classified as drinkers had migrated into the state from other states; (4) a disproportionately large share of the regular drinkers were born in a rural environment; (5) an increasing frequency of prior arrests was highly correlated with increased incidence of drinking behavior; (6) the white male in the Raiford sample population was almost two years younger in age than the nonwhite male in the sample; (7) the majority of the male inmates in the Florida Prison System were born outside the State of Florida; and (8) a minority of the inmates were drinking, drunk, or under the influence of alcohol at the time they committed the crimes for which they were imprisoned.

In concluding this report a few general observations might be added. Perusal of the 351 folders emphasized the import of gathering places where society has relinquished much of its control. Beer joints, bars, taverns, nightclubs, and the like are too frequently found in areas of transiency or isolation, in politically independent suburbs where through corruption a more organized form of crime has achieved some control of the political machinery, and in rural areas where political control has been weakened by corruption and crime. The offenders are the teammates of the hustlers, the narcotic addicts, the alcoholics, and the professional criminals.<sup>11</sup>

These areas where society's deviates gather and learn and plan their crimes appear to be increasing at a very steady rate. Society seems to be relinquishing more and more of its formal control. The formal control has become weaker not only in certain geographic areas, but also in the institutional area of the family. Most of the offenders in

this study began their careers of deviant behavior in deviant families. It appears that deviant families, too, are increasing in our society. It is our opinion that not much success can be expected in corrections until society regains its formal control of these crucial areas.

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. MacRory, *The Tavern and the Community*, 12 Q.J. STUDIES ON ALCOHOL 609 (1952).