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EVERYTHING YOU ALWAYS WANTED
TO KNOW ABOUT
PRISONS
but COULD NOT FIND OUT

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EVERYTHING YOU ALWAYS WANTED TO KNOW
ABOUT PRISONS but COULD NOT FIND OUT

By
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And
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With Chapters On
Prisoner Rights and Rehabilitation

By
F. R. Hartz

NCJRS

APR 24 1994

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P. O. Box 52
Lyons, Georgia 30436

"... Why should men thoroughly accustomed and habituated to crime and to dissipated and deteriorating habits of living, men interested in no honest work, in no harmless recreation, men with but the feeblest of home ties -- why, I say, should such men change all their bad habits and acquire good ones merely because they are confined ... in an institution where they are forced to do work in which they have little or no interest, work chosen almost without reference to their future career or to their present tastes, and pursued, not principally for its educational value, but for its economic results, for which the prisoners care nothing? ... Valuable though this work may be as an alternative to complete idleness, as a means of preserving discipline, and as an economic asset to the State ... there is no reason to believe that it exerts a reformatory influence on any considerable fraction of the men or that it favors their entering honest industry or sticking to it after their release ... Wherever lies wisdom in the treatment of crime, here certainly lies crass stupidity, based in the first instance on the state's short-sighted policy of economy and beneath that on public ignorance, inattention, and apathy."

Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck --
500 Criminal Careers -- 1930

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FOREWORD

Enlightened penology at best is bureaucratic window-dressing couched in the language of sociology. The latest terminology, taken from the literature of corrections, describes prisons, prison functions, and prisoners in grand euphemisms: prison/CORRECTIONAL FACILITY, initial lockup/RECEPTION MEDICAL AND GUIDANCE CENTER, guard/CORRECTIONAL OFFICER, disciplinary squad/DIVERSIONARY SQUAD, work squad/MOTIVATIONAL SQUAD, solitary confinement/MEDITATION CELL, prisoner/INMATE-CLIENT. This rhetoric of reform has been devised to impress the public, placate the critics, entice legislative appropriation and meet the standards of accrediting agencies. Mind-glazing language, however, does not change the stark realities of prison - - violent repressive places that breed resentment and mistrust. Institutions where officials warn you not to believe what convicts tell you, and by convicts not to believe their keepers.

Historically, prisons have been viewed as secret places sealed off from public and judicial scrutiny; administered by wardens bent on maintaining security and control through a system of "rewards and punishments." A system designed for a few to control the very many. This method of controlling prisoners, prevalent throughout the penal community, has been, perhaps unwittingly, further necessitated by the supporting society. This society, as it speaks through its legislative bodies, often seems only interested in forgetting about its prisoner problems. Additionally, the courts have played a role; they have been hesitant to interfere in the daily operation of prisons or in the treatment of inmates. It was not until 1974 (Wolff v. McDonnell) that the Supreme Court of the United States felt compelled to address itself to the rights of prisoners. Lower state and federal courts have consistently ruled that responsible state officials cannot be allowed to operate prison facilities that are barbaric and inhumane, albeit that prisoners are not to be coddled and that prisons are not to be operated as hotels or country clubs.

When the public and the courts do venture behind prison walls, they are aghast at the things that they see. Violent inmates are not isolated from those who are passive or weak. Consequently, the latter inmates are repeatedly victimized (as were those they victimized) by those who are stronger and more aggressive. Robbery, rape, extortion, theft, and assault (the very things they did on the streets) are everyday occurrences among the general

inmate population. The mentally retarded and those inmates suffering from some mental disorder often go unidentified and are dispersed throughout the prison population without receiving treatment. One inmate, after relating that he had been told by medical experts that he had the mind of a five year old, testified that he was raped by a group of inmates on the first night he spent in prison. On the second night he was almost strangled by two other inmates who decided instead that they could use him to make a profit, selling his body to other inmates. Official statements often neglect to mention that rehabilitative programs are a delusion, and fail also to note the active nature of the human destruction that occurs in prisons.

Each of these failings in the penal system is compounded by the most pervasive and most obvious problem: the overcrowding with which all prisoners must live. Yet even if the inmate population were reduced to design capacity, the system would still be woefully understaffed. The extremely high inmate-to-staff ratio makes personal interaction between the two virtually impossible because staff members must spend all their time attempting to maintain control or to protect themselves. Guards rarely enter cell blocks and dormitories, particularly at night when their presence is most needed. As a result of understaffing some inmates have been allowed to assume positions of authority and control over other inmates, creating opportunities for blackmail, bribery, and extortion. Some prisoners are used as "strikers" to guard other inmates on outside work assignments and as "cell flunkies" to maintain order and perform tasks for prison staff. They are afforded special privileges, including freedom to ignore prison regulations and to abuse other inmates. Inmate clerks have access to the institutional files and mail of other inmates; inmate medical aides are used to dispense some medication, which they may withhold at will.

Given the foregoing, the rampant violence and jungle atmosphere existing throughout penal institutions, most prisoners carry some form of homemade or contraband weapon, which they consider to be necessary for self-protection. Shakedowns to remove weapons are neither sufficiently thorough nor frequent enough to significantly reduce the number of weapons. There are too few guards to prevent outbreaks of violence, or even to stop those which occur.

An inmate required to live in these circumstances stands no

chance of leaving a penal institution with a more positive and constructive attitude than the one he or she brought in. The evidence reflects that even if rehabilitative programs, adequate in number and quality, were available, whatever benefit might be derived from them could be undone quickly by this inhumane environment. These conditions make it impossible for inmates to rehabilitate themselves -- or to preserve skills and constructive attitudes already possessed -- even for those inclined to do so. The prison environment makes debilitation inevitable.

Rather than generalize the known violence, intimidation of the weak, inmate gamesmanship, racial tensions and atmosphere of resentment, repression and mistrust found in penal institutions; this book is intended, instead, to examine the above mentioned aspects of prison life in great detail. The authors also take a critical look at correctional staffs, and prisoner education, religion, homosexuality, civil rights and rehabilitative programs. The sights and sounds of prison are recorded here in the vernacular of the prison community in an effort to preserve authenticity.

Some readers may find the language indelicate and the descriptions of certain illegal activities coarse or obscene, even indicative of racial overtones. Our defense is that we have striven to present a valid, accurate, unbiased, and realistic account of life inside a prison. Members of a lawless society do not speak the same language as that spoken by folks attending a Sunday School picnic.

Recorded here are patterns of behavior, both inmate and staff, that have been observed by the authors during their working careers in youthful offender corrections (ages 15 to 25). Remember, that all of these documented instances of inmate behavior are occurring on a daily basis, in all prisons, throughout the American penal system. Therefore, the reader should not be misled by the connotation "our institution" or "our compound," two phrases used repeatedly in the text that follows. "Our," in this case, does not mean a particular institution within a single state correctional system, but rather a composite of observations gleaned from a number of youthful offender prisons within the total penal system.

The incidents depicted in this book have been selected to portray the truth. All characters, named to enhance the narrative, are entirely fictitious, and no reference is intended to any actual person, living or dead.

Spring
1983

J.G.L.-C.
V.E.v.S.

Chapter 1

HOW TO MISFIT INTO THE SYSTEM

"Ten miles past town," said the slightly officious clerk in the state employment office, "out on U. S. highway 101 you'll come to a group of buildings which closely resemble a Holiday Inn - - except it has a fence around it." This rather innocuous description of a close-custody youthful offender prison, proffered by the secretary, almost immediately brought to mind a collection of clean housing units which because of their warm hospitable accommodations provide comfort and tranquility to hundreds of thousands of people who are spending time away from their homes. Perhaps we had inadvertently reached the pot of gold at the end of the correctional rainbow, and discovered a truly modern facility, recently designed and constructed, with provisions for the comfort and needs of both the staff and inmates alike. Although it sounded too good to be true; it appeared worth the fifty mile trip to discover, for ourselves, if the woman in the employment office was really telling it like it is.

As we drove toward the institution we were struck by the bleakness of the surrounding countryside. Nothing but miles and miles of miles and miles comprised of arid, treeless flatland could be seen. The dull monotony of the scenery did, however, serve to prepare us for the visage of the small hamlet which was now about two miles farther down the highway. Several antiquated two and three story buildings together with one flashing amber traffic signal and a recently opened pizzeria were the only landmarks to distinguish this place as the cultural capital of the South. Being confirmed optimists we naively thought that just because the town, and its surrounding landscape, resembled a remote outpost on the surface of the moon that was no reason to expect, or suspect, that the prison's appearance might turn out to be a disappointment. As we drove into the institution's parking lot we were relieved to see that, in fact, at a distance the compound buildings (their physical arrangement) and apparent good condition did not look unlike a Holiday Inn, circa 1960. As we exited the car we stood approximately 500 feet from what appeared to be a modern, clean, well landscaped administration building. Perhaps had we been more perceptive the rust stains left on our palms as we pushed open the massive front gate might have served as

a forewarning of the fate that was to befall us. However, the flowers in the administration building's planters smelled sweet, the sun was high in a cloudless sky and for all we knew two dollars worth of Rust-oleum might be all that was needed to make this an ideal place in which to work.

After standing, unacknowledged, in front of the girl at the reception desk for more than three minutes we were relieved when she finally hung up the telephone, took a long belt from her economy sized 32 ounce bottle of Coca Cola, stuffed a fist full of goobers into her craw, and said: "you two guys want to work here?" (It wasn't so much the words themselves, but the way in which they were spoken that made us want to respond to her query by saying: "work here?, hell no lady, we just came to fix the toilets"). Ignoring our instincts, we told the receptionist that we were responding to two advertised job vacancies and would like to have some additional information about the positions. "Can't do nothing for you unless you first fill out these here forms," she snapped. With that, the woman reached into the lower recesses of her desk (the resounding clatter of her discarded Coke bottles stored therein was deafening) pulled out what appeared to be a ream of paper, and admonished us with the warning: "don't you all mess these up because I can issue only one set to each applicant." Deciding to risk a hernia we picked up the papers and looked for a seat, none of which were available; so we took our documents outside and worked with them on the steps of the administration building. After answering all the questions (the likes of which had not been seen since the "fun" days of the Spanish Inquisition) we again, rather apprehensively, approached the front desk. This time the receptionist was engrossed in a recent issue of True Detective magazine. Not wishing to have our hair turn gray while waiting for her to speak we, rather forcefully, dropped our completed applications on a half empty bag of peanuts that was before her. Startled at again being jolted into the world of reality the woman looked up and coldly said, "you still here. I thought when you two walked out the front door you'd keep right on going." Now disgruntled, because 1) she had finally emptied her bottle of Coke, 2) we had inadvertently crushed some of her dinner (the peanuts), 3) she now had to abandon her magazine and begin to process our applications; the secretary told us to stand aside until a supervisor could clear some time to speak with us. (Thank goodness we hadn't

screwed up our applications or we probably would have had to spend the night in the confinement unit).

After cooling our heels for over an hour a supervisor finally arrived on the scene. He quickly glanced at our applications, looked at us to make sure we were still breathing and made his official pronouncement to the clerk: "okay these two will do, set them up an appointment with the interview team." The woman opened her combination officer ledger and calendar, shuffled several pages and told us to come back in three weeks for an official interview. We inquired as to whether or not it would be possible for us to make a tour of the compound. "No," she snarled, "having worked in prisons before you two should realize that only employees can come into direct contact with inmates - - insurance regulations you know." We, in fact, were aware of many excuses concocted to keep civilians from inspecting prisons, but this was the first time we ran across the insurance ploy.

The day of the formal interview arrived. We were prepared to put our best foot forward and participate with the hiring team in a meaningful exchange of ideas and philosophies.

We were ushered into a small conference room that was packed to capacity with a rather odd assortment of six people, who in one way or another had survived prison life long enough to become supervisors. The team was comprised of five men and one woman. Upon close examination it became apparent that the panel members were slightly preoccupied with what appeared to be more pressing business. The head of the team, the personnel manager, was carefully contemplating the mathematical relationship of the two spheroid objects neatly tucked away inside the blouse of the woman who was seated directly across from him. A correctional officer, probably a participant in the institution's waste water management program, was keeping a written score of how often the hopper in the toilet next door was being flushed. The chief of the accounting department had his hands buried so deeply inside his trouser pockets that God alone knew what he was up to. An amateur marksman, from the counseling and social services department, was seeing how long it would take for one of his rubber band powered paperclips to find its target - - a three inch long roach trapped between the baseboard and a desk. A tobacco chewer was hard at work on a "cud" that would

have made Elsie the Cow envious. (The chewers immediate problem was trying to differentiate between the paper cup that contained his black coffee and the cup that was overflowing with his own spittle). The sole woman in the group was looking at us in a way which indicated that she was either severely constipated (quite like the expression captured in Rembrandt Peale's portrait of George Washington) or deep in the throes of unrequited love. It was at this point in time that the panel began to exchange, amongst itself, "war stories" that were so boring and contrived of composition that our waste water expert was forced to create a new entry on his ledger to correspond with the sound of vomiting emitted from the adjacent bathroom. After the Nazis had been vanquished, the Koreans devastated and the Vietnamese obliterated the conversation finally turned to the matter at hand - - the interview.

After the usual perfunctory questions (how long have you worked in corrections?, in what states?, etc., etc.) were asked the team decided to reach back for their "ace in the hole," the one question that serves to separate the "unenlightened boys" from the "knowledgeable correctional men," to wit: "do you believe that all inmates can be rehabilitated?" With the obvious exception of the one lady present the men on the team were all shocked out of their "jocks" when they were informed by us, two "outsiders," that because you don't change behavior you can never hope to rehabilitate a single convict. For the first time in thirty minutes the room (with the exception of the big roach that was still clawing frantically at the woodwork in hope of avoiding a fatal collision with a paperclip) was absolutely silent. The people on the panel glared at us, they gazed askance at one another; someone had finally dared mouth the unmentionable - - the delusion of rehabilitation. After further expanding our viewpoints on the sociopathic characteristics of inmates the interview was concluded and we were told to wait outside the meeting room.

We anticipated one of the team members coming out of the room to inform us that we would be notified, in approximately five working days, of the group's decision. To say the least we were slightly taken aback when the personnel manager extended his arm, shook our hands, and said: "glad to have you aboard, can you start work tomorrow?" After deliberating for only five minutes the team, after "careful" review of their employability rating sheets (most of which by the termination of the interview looked as though a chicken with

inked feet had run across them) felt that we, despite our views on rehabilitation, were the men destined for the important work of once again making our young offenders ready to assume a productive role in today's society. It wasn't until months later that we began to fully understand all the ramifications for our apparently hasty hiring. Our findings in a nutshell: somewhere out of a nothing town, with nothing people in a nothing county located in the middle of nowhere, there must be found 240 warm bodies necessary to fully staff our particular institution. Let us briefly look at the town, its people, and the surrounding area in an effort to better understand the predicament of the institution's personnel manager.

The nearest town to the prison (about twelve miles away) might, if you are in a benevolent mood, be described as a one-horse town -- minus the horse. The following distinctive features: a provincial obsolete school system, the total lack of any social activity (other than sex or drinking), a nonexistent library system, an absence of cultural pursuits (other than the town's X-rated cinema), poor municipal government, little highway construction and maintenance, and the prospect for no future improvement all serve to stagnate population growth and drive people away in herds.

The people who chose to inhabit this modern day ghost town are the grandsons and granddaughters of the town's original founding fathers -- the very people who "should" know better than to live amongst the ruins of this societal wasteland. Twenty years ago, before the prison was constructed, the only work for the area residents was in agrarian occupations. Growing cotton, raising cattle and going to church twice on Sunday used to be enough to "keep 'em down on the farm." However, as the town entered the twentieth century (since this town is fifty years behind most of the nation the turn of the century occurred in 1950 rather than 1900) new problems, many of them financial, began to appear. The small family owned farms were gradually acquired by the large agricultural combines. Some families, in order to survive economically, were forced to leave the area. Other people, those few with ambition, left in search of a higher standard of living. Those who stayed were the powerful (the small number of residents who owned most of the remaining land) and the obtuse "good old boys" who chose to continue to live in the "dark ages" rather than face adjustment to the "real world." From time to time talk of opening a phosphate mine,

guaranteed to bring with it many high paying jobs, was heard in the barber shop and general store. However, there are, at the present time, only two prospects for employment other than corrections and farming - - slim and none.

The only thing that really keeps the town alive, at least temporarily, is the recent influx of "sunbelt simpletons." These self-exiled northerners (a.k.a. damn yankees) have come to the South in search of a paradise - - a utopia which simply does not exist. Falsely believing that housing costs, food, property taxes, and energy expenses are considerably reduced; these morons flock to the sunbelt fully accepting as true the propaganda that has bombarded them for years. When that first power bill for \$150.00 comes in the mail, dreams of a carefree financially independent life goes up in the smoke of an oil fired electric power generator. After trying for a period of time to meet pecuniary obligations most newcomers realize (after checking their dwindling savings account balances) that in order to survive they are going to have to find some type of gainful employment. A quick trip to the local State employment office reveals that the sunbelt is a great place to visit, but a hell hole in which to work. Many of the jobs available are for part-time or seasonal employment at the minimum wage. Now, when a prospective job hunter hears of a "soft" position with a fairly decent rate of pay, a good fringe benefit package and the chance for possible advancement he will opt for that job, even if it involves working with society's outcasts (in fact working with their "own kind" should serve to put a majority of these people at ease). In the same manner as the parasitic orange blight attacks the citrus crop these human leeches, who bleed the State financial coffers dry, care only for their own selfish interests and not for the welfare of the "disadvantaged."

To further exacerbate an already serious personnel problem the federal government, in its infinite wisdom, has taken it upon itself, through the ministrations of the affirmative action program, to give jobs to people whose only qualifications lie in their particular sex or handicap. Because of these new programs many women have found corrections to be a particularly rewarding (financially) field of endeavor. Prior to affirmative action, and to a certain degree the E.R.A., women were not allowed to come in contact with inmates on a twenty-four hour a day basis. Today, we have women who

spend an entire work shift (12:00 A.M. to 8:00 A.M.) locked in a dormitory with sixty inmates. In some states the close proximity of male inmates to female staff members has led to unstable situations which, given the proper circumstances, might have escalated into full scale riots. To further compound the problem some women officers, because of their inability to control inmates, are often placed in positions where they do not normally come in contact with inmates. These isolated women, nevertheless, are entitled to receive the same hazard pay and retirement benefits as the men they replaced. This inequality in job assignments and financial remuneration contributes to making every man working on the compound feel as though he is a victim of sex discrimination. It also promotes a feeling of hostility that might, in a time of crisis, make a man think twice about defending one of his female counterparts (a situation that conspiring inmates are all too knowledgeable about).

Existing despite the benefits associated with a "career" in corrections is the fact that, at any given time, 25% of the funded positions in our institution remain unfilled. Recently, several ideas have surfaced concerning ways to rectify the existing employment situation. One desperate supervisor recommended that a large geodesic dome be constructed over the neighboring town. Stationed at each of the dome's two exits would be a correctional recruiting officer whose job would consist of coercing people, entering and leaving the confined area, into accepting employment with the department of corrections. A suggested variation on this theme was the implementation of a nightly curfew - - anyone found wondering around outside the dome after 11:30 P.M. would automatically be conscripted into prison service. Since in all likelihood this massive undertaking would require the direct supervision of the dome's creator, Mr. Buckminster Fuller, who is permanently unavailable, this fantasy had to be scrapped (perhaps if a manufacturer of commercial fishing nets could be persuaded to make a net large enough??). A second, equally capricious, plan called for the importation of a band of Delancy Street Jews from Brooklyn, New York. These Jews who have devoted a lifetime to finding unique ways of bringing prospective customers into their emporia would be paid, on a per head basis, for every person they brought into the department of corrections. Using a variety of subtle strategies these bearded Jews would: 1) lay down on the highway in front of the prison

in the hope that some unsuspecting motorist would venture into the institution to inform someone that there was a body in the road, 2) use their infamous "hook" to pull people from the town to the compound, 3) offer to get you a great job - - wholesale, 4) promise to sell you one of their children - - provided you will go to work for the department of corrections. Owing to the prevailing social and religious atmosphere of the area this idea was junked when it was realized that in all probability the Jews would be disposed of long before their talents could be of benefit to our correctional department (besides decaying bodies hanging from telephone poles would definitely violate local town health ordinances). Also proposed was a bounty system that would give each employee who brought a new face into the department a \$100.00 reward. This too failed to materialize when it was discovered that present employees had already exhausted the supply of fresh manpower (in other words they had run out of relatives). As a last ditch effort a giant 10' x 20' sign with the words HELP WANTED emblazoned upon it was to be constructed and placed directly in front of the institution. However, when one of the correctional educators pointed out that a full 50% of the townspeople (the only folks who had occasion to pass in front of the prison on a regular basis) were functionally illiterate, and couldn't read the sign anyhow, this idea was also soon discarded.

It is inevitable that after countless tries the square peg (now well worn and reshaped) will finally, in an awkward way, fit into the round hole. In much the same manner manpower eventually finds its way into the department of corrections. These people who staff our prison are a "unique" potpourri of both physical and mental specimens. The average age is relatively young because the major portion of the work force is comprised of lower echelon Correctional Officer I's (a strenuous job that for the risk involved affords a low rate of pay). These CO I's are, for the most part, fresh out of high school and very anxious to become self-supporting family members. Many of these people have lower than average IQ's (their working in corrections serves to support that point) and because of their limited abilities are unlikely candidates for degrees in higher education. In fact some Correctional Office I positions are filled by people who do not have a high school diploma (they are given twelve months to complete the requirements

for a G.E.D.). When morning (7:00 A.M.) and afternoon counts (12:30 P.M.), and subsequent re-counts, are taken at our institution they generally require between forty-five and sixty minutes to be completed. This unduly long process takes place because when a CO I has to count more than ten inmates he usually resorts to removing his shoes and socks in a vain attempt to bolster his poor mathematical skills. It is also amazing to note how their lack of intellectual ability seems to correlate directly with their outward appearance; unusually small craniums (since thinking is not normally required) attached to bodies with exceptionally large feet (necessary for running from an irate herd of inmates).

To generally educate these "misfits" and introduce them to the benefits offered by a career in a modern penal system our State spares no expense in the funding of programs which "should," if implemented properly, serve to mold even the most remedial employees into "good" enlightened staff members.

The fact that a large percentage of new employees have no concept of what corrections is all about necessitates the need for some form of orientation program. Usually, an eighty hour course consisting of lectures, guided tours, and on the job training is required of all newly employed staff. The class lectures vary greatly in quality of presentation and relevance of content depending upon the ability, experience, and interest of the instructor. Too often the sessions are conducted by the only person available, at the moment, in the department assigned a particular block of instruction. Not infrequently the "drafted" individual had no prior notice that he would be teaching a class on correctional rules and regulations until the very day of the event. After apologizing (laying the foundation for the next offense) for his lack of preparation our would-be instructor warms to his subject by proceeding to read uninterrupted, for the next two hours, from the State statutes and the employee information manual those sections appropriate to the scheduled course. Certainly, a stultifying experience for anyone with a semblance of intelligence.

Guided tours of various institutional departments and functions (hog and cattle farms, kennel, vocational shops, arsenal and range, infirmary) reinforce and supplement the classroom sessions. Here, the added innovative educational dimensions of mobile learn-

ing and observation are relied upon. While ambling about in these respective departmental areas one learns to properly identify an inmate (Gameitus player), a pig (*Sus scrofa*), a cow (*Bos bovine*), a dog (*Canis familiaris*), a car, a truck, a tractor, a small internal combustion engine, an idle instructor (Assitus sitter), a lawn mower, a welding rod, etc. One of the high points of the tour circuit is the visit to the prison arsenal and practice weaponry range. Here, the newly employed (both male and female) custodial officers, cooks, maintenance personnel, secretaries, and professionals such as nurses, physicians, teachers, psychologists, and accountants are given an opportunity to demonstrate their prowess with arms. After seeing, touching, and firing five rounds from both a shotgun and a police service revolver each budding marksman is declared duly qualified to shoot a fleeing inmate. The activity is usually pronounced a successful outing if none of the participants are wounded by an "unloaded" weapon. The grand finale, that is if you have survived the dangers of weaponry, is a trip to the medical center for a complete physical examination. At the infirmary you are certified alive and fit for an eventful career in corrections upon the authority of a passing East Indian swami wearing a white medical coat and a battered stethoscope.

The final two or three days of orientation (the estimate will vary based on the number of times an instructor did not appear to inflict his monologue upon the students) are devoted to on the job training sessions. The whole purpose of this concept is to provide time, under departmental guidance, for the new employee to familiarize himself with his future responsibilities and duties. After "devouring" six thick tomes of standard operating procedures in four hours time, signing each document to denote complete understanding, the novice is at last ushered into the department head's inner sanctuary. Once closeted, the master treats the new employee to an esoteric discourse on the intricacies of corrections and the divine nature of the mission. A student of German history would find these episodes reminiscent of being at Wewelsberg Fortress where Heinrich Himmler, head of the SS (Schutz-Staffel), beleaguered the recruits with his mystical gropings into an obscure Teutonic past. The interview is concluded on the reassuring note that he, the department head, will do all in his power to guide and assist you in the performance of your

duties. Whereupon, the new recruit is assigned to a trusted departmental guardian who will be responsible for the employee's welfare in the difficult weeks ahead. Exactly two days later your protector abruptly terminates his employment, and you are thrown into the fray to flounder alone. The next time you will hear the kindly voice of your boss is when he gives you hell for a rule infraction, or when he berates you publicly at a departmental staff meeting. One cannot underestimate the great importance placed upon the total orientation program by observing that some staff never get to participate until months after their initial employment.

Adjunct to the orientation program are a continuing higher education curriculum and advanced training seminars. Opportunities are provided for employees to pursue Associate in Arts and baccalaureate degrees in criminal justice. Most academic courses never materialize because the high employee turnover rate adversely effects prospective enrollments, and also many workers are truly not college oriented. Some employees will not pursue a degree program because they object to paying tuition fees. The gripe is that inmates are permitted to take on-compound courses free of charge. Other workers do not participate because the curriculum is too narrow in scope, the courses offered do not prepare them for positions outside corrections. It is no secret that many employees do not anticipate making criminal justice a lifetime career, but rather corrections is viewed as a stopgap vocation until a better paying, more rewarding job opportunity comes along.

Advanced training seminars suffer from some of the same maladies as the degree program, with the added problems of insufficient instructional staff and inadequate funding. Many large penal systems find it necessary to share three or four training officers, on a rotating basis, statewide among twenty or twenty-five institutions. Often, also, funds to support these seminars are depleted several months before the fiscal year closes and scheduled sessions are simply canceled with no prospect of their being reinstated until the next budget year. Then too, there is usually some vigorous objection to the content of certain training courses. The staff is not inclined to look favorably upon "sensitivity" training sessions conducted by ex-convicts, who basically imply that poor prisoner/staff relationships are caused and compounded

by employees who are not responsive to inmate attitudes and feelings. Most staff members who are in daily contact with prisoners resent this supposition especially since it is being expressed by persons whom they consider to be prime examples of prison "game" players. No one needs to tell staff how prisoners think, most already feel they know all the ramifications of inmate mentality. Forcing staff to participate in a series of contrived inmate/employee confrontations is only useful in so far as convincing inmates that we really can be manipulated into accepting and endorsing their antisocial behavior.

General disinterest by employees in degree programs, coupled with the objection to paying for college courses which limit career opportunities to the criminal justice system, results in very few people participating in this optional effort to upgrade the educational level of prison workers. Mandatory advanced training, on the other hand, is tolerated only as time away from assigned "work" - - there are worse places one could be than sitting in an air conditioned classroom. Therefore, the end product of these "expansive" educational programs is what might be expected, misfits continue to function as misfits and inmates rarely benefit from treatment and guidance techniques prescribed by instructors. Employees appear bent on only helping themselves while preserving the status quo.

The lack of participation in formal self-improvement programs geared to help the individual employee cope with the institutional atmosphere has serious negative long-term consequences for most correctional staff. Failing to maintain and acquire any useful positive offsetting values, the internalized negative attitudes projected by inmates are readily observed in staff interaction. Routine work related contact among employees, and between worker and supervisor, become less than honest and open. A supervisor's personal vendetta against a particular employee is satisfied with a poor service evaluation and written incident reports. Fellow workers "snitch" on each other and, not uncommonly, small cliques accuse one another of conspiracy. Given the prevailing atmosphere it is little wonder that employees become over-protective of their positions, and look upon management suggestions, no matter how legitimate, as encroachment on their sphere of influence. One begins to sense

there is a general state of paranoia permeating the staff. What is more, personal attributes and social graces ingrained since childhood vanish almost unobtrusively. It becomes difficult to articulate in English, and unless the individual makes a concerted effort in that direction, profanity becomes a second fluent language. Keepers gradually acquire the same social (antisocial) and moral (amoral) standards as the kept. The Zimbardo Study (guards vs. inmates in a laboratory setting) substantiates this charge of dehumanization; the experiment had to be abruptly terminated because the value system of the guards became indistinguishable from that of the inmates. Having been exposed to the prison experience it is not an inaccurate estimate to say that employees (misfits) leave the institution in worse condition than when they arrived. What will their next job be, and how will they function in that job?

Correctional staffs appear to have about the same recidivism rate as do inmate populations. Perhaps as many as 80% of the prison work force make the full circle from correctional institutions to employment in road prisons, to community work release centers, to headstart projects, to local law enforcement agencies, and back to work again in prisons. And because of their instilled conservative "backwoods" attitudes, their reluctance to change, they make no positive contribution to any of the organizations that hire them. These social and intellectual outcasts have no desire to change or advance in the work place, and make little pretense concerning their motives. Like bored children who inadvertently pick up candy from the corner store, these employees "steal" their pay checks. They "back in" to the accounting office to retrieve their salary vouchers by numbers, names are not used because of the high turnover rate. The system is self perpetuating - - maintaining mediocrity is the mainstay of the institution.

The penal system has slugged along for the past century with inadequate number of staff and untrained personnel, and the prospect for change during the next decade or two, if left to the system to implement, seems unlikely. The only pronounced effort, thus far, for promoting change in the number and quality of staff has come through judicial intervention on behalf of inmates. Prison officials are under a duty to provide inmates

reasonable protection from constant threat of violence. While occasional, isolated attacks by one prisoner on another may not constitute cruel and unusual punishment, confinement in a prison where violence and terror reign is actionable. A prisoner has a right, secured by the eighth and fourteenth amendments, to be reasonably protected from constant threat of violence and sexual assault by his fellow inmates. State and federal courts have ruled in at least six cases, and more recently in Pugh v. Locke (406 F. Supp. 318 (1976)), that qualified staff sufficient to maintain institutional order and to administer programs, including a custodial staff large enough to enforce prison regulations - - rules against fighting, possession of weapons, gambling, or possession of currency - - must be on duty within institutions. Further, with the exception of isolation units, the courts have directed that guards, in sufficient numbers, shall be stationed inside living areas, including dormitories, at all times. Likewise, at least one guard must be on duty outside all living areas at all times. As to isolation units, guards must be stationed at all times so as to have visual and voice contact with the isolated prisoners. Additionally, prisons should have sufficient staff to keep accurate records of incidents of violence which come to their attention.

It is a rare phenomenon, indeed, to find a correctional institution that meets the staffing requirements mandated by the courts. More commonly, prisons operate with a staff at least 15% under allocated complement. It is truly amazing that prisons are able to fill even 85% of their authorized positions given the stigma attached to working in corrections. How do they manage to accomplish this feat?

It is not necessary to ponder this seemingly "magnificent" achievement for any extended length of time. In the case of most employees their reasons for accepting and remaining in correctional positions are rather obvious: lack of initiative and desire to engage in work with less job security; decent enough pay for doing very little physical labor; minimal mental and intellectual requirements; liberal fringe benefits - - retirement plan, health and life insurance. One could categorize this group as the lower echelon misfit - - the typical custodial officer. Retired ex-military personnel comprise a second group of prison

personnel who take employment to supplement their federal pensions. They know that by appearing for work everyday, like in the military, their positions are safe. Having been acclimated to subservience, they are considered valued employees because they rarely circumvent work rules or "make waves." The main objective for many ex-military employees is to work just long enough to benefit from a second retirement, a state pension. A third group, the working career professional, sacrifices prestige for above average financial remuneration. Given the generally poor salaries paid to most sunbelt workers, state or local government employment offers professionals an opportunity to work for double the minimum wage and above the poverty level. Job security in corrections is also appealing to most professional and middle management personnel, who, like most lower echelon workers, are conformists at heart.

The final group of prison employees is composed of a small number of curious misfits who have a "morbid" fascination in seeing how far the human organism can descend into the depths of depravity. Just when you think you have seen the ultimate in moral corruption you discover that you have only scratched the surface - - certainly, incentive enough to remain on the job. These misfits continue to operate effectively and successfully within the system because they are capable of functioning normally outside the institutional environment. Unlike their counterparts, who are limited in their capacity to divorce themselves from the institutional setting, these folks become deinstitutionalized at least for sixteen hours of every day; cultivating social contacts outside the prison system.

Since there is, however, no real plausible "excuse" for working in a prison most people quit at the first opportune moment.

Chapter 2

DUDES AND DUDS

There are some 390,000 plus inmates serving sentences in the prisons of this country. Throughout this volume we will be continually disclosing character and personality traits peculiar to many members of this total prison population. In the chapters that follow attitudes expressed, and often displayed, by inmates regarding education, religion, homosexuality, civil rights, and self-help rehabilitative programs will be revealed. Here, in these immediate pages, it is our purpose to concentrate our discussion on the more general pattern of collective character, behavioral, temperamental, emotional, and mental traits of prisoners.

Correctional institutions are inhabited almost exclusively by sociopaths - - inadequate personalities who find extreme difficulty in striking up normal social relationships. Consequently, because of his poor societal adjustment, the typical inmate has consistently experienced failure at home, in school, in sexual and job relationships, and even in his chosen field of endeavor - - crime. It should be made clear, however, that people with sociopathic disturbances are not mentally ill in the sense that they experience anxiety or have constant bizarre thoughts. According to psychoanalytic theory, neurosis and personality disorder may have the same background. A person with a character neurosis has conflicts which make it difficult for him to adapt to his own drives, his family, and job relationships. If such conflicts become incapacitating in others, rather than to himself, the person is said to have a personality disorder. Thus, neurosis and personality disorder differ only in their end product - - the symptoms - - but they have the same dynamics. Sociopathic behavior disorders are more common than psychoses but less crippling. The psychotic individual has lost contact with everyday reality and the neurotic suffers from his inappropriate attempts to reduce anxiety. The sociopathic personality, however, deals excellently with what HE considers the world, and therefore he has no feelings of anxiety. Most prisoners we know would rather be thought bad than mad.

Persons diagnosed as sociopathic personalities are charac-

terized by emotional immaturity, with pronounced defects in judgment. Self-centered, overbearing individuals who must have their own wants satisfied immediately regardless of consequences to other people. In this respect the sociopath is correctly described as immature. Like the young infant he cannot postpone immediate gratification even when, in his own interests, self-restraint would be more advantageous. He cannot tolerate present frustration for the sake of future benefit, and so, for example, lacks the patience necessary to scholastic learning. Because he lacks the restraining force of a guilt-inducing conscience, he succumbs to the temptation of the moment, truanting, lying, or cheating as occasion arises, and suffering no remorse afterwards. As a group they are generally speaking, without conscience. They tend to be selfish and are quite good at rationalizing their immoral behavior - - sordid, irresponsible, impulsive episodes - - which often places them in constant and direct conflict with society's laws, culminating in arrest after arrest. Although they may simulate normal concern, these individuals are callously indifferent to the welfare of others.

Sociopathic reactions against behavioral standards and the social order are exemplified in the lawbreaker - - the habitual thief, bigamist or swindler. Various types of sexual deviations are also considered to be sociopathic behaviors including infidelity, prostitution, exhibitionism, voyeurism, fetishism, sadism, masochism, homosexuality, pedophilia, and zoophilia. The psychodynamics of these sexual deviations are quite complicated. For instance, voyeurism is widespread and most members of the male population have such tendencies. Although we might still wish to pass moral judgment on such behavior, it is difficult to apply the term "deviation" to such common behavior. (We might very well socially approve voyeurism - - the compulsion to look at scantily clothed or naked bodies, usually of the opposite sex - - by inmates since we know of none, depending upon their sexual persuasion, who do not delight in a "pussy book" or a "muscle fag"). But, on the other hand, would you consider an inmate a sexual deviant if he told you: "I'm not like most people when I jerk-off, I never think about pussy, I think about mass murder." Further, drug or alcohol dependence is also a common and troublesome problem for most sociopaths.

While these are some of the more prevalent symptomatic characteristics of the sociopathic personality; the sociopath may adhere to almost any type of other irresponsible act caused by his impulsive tendencies. However, it is important to remember that certain general characteristics distinguish the sociopath from the neurotic. Sociopathy seems to depend more on the individual's constitution than his environment. Unlike the neurotic who often seeks help, the sociopath does not consider himself abnormal or ill. At present, therapy is generally unsuccessful, although the condition appears to improve with age. Yet, sociopathic behavior may persist well into a person's forties, or even fifties. This inability to change deviant behavior early, even by psychiatrists or psychologists, may account in large part for the dismal failure of rehabilitative programs and the persistent high rate of recidivism.

An infinitesimal number, within this large group of prison sociopaths, display some semblance of innate intelligence which renders them capable of limited scholastic achievement and the ability to master subtle vocational skills. (Intellectual capacity, or lack of it, appears to be the common denominator effecting a prisoner's demeanor and attitudes, his habits and his mental processes). This minute group, known in prison language as DUDES; those possessing some smattering of intelligence and who feel they are superior to the average inmate, are predominantly white, "super cons" -- the game players. Superficially, these people are quite convincing, their behavior is bland, they are glib talkers, and they can even appear quite "charming." They know how "to walk that walk, talk that talk, and voice what prison officials want to hear." DUDS, a group comprised almost totally of black intellectual cripples, are diametrically opposite to the DUDES. They are in the low normal IQ range with the greater concentration at the lower level of the scale. Their vocabularies are limited (a generous estimation), consisting of only one word -- mother-fucker, possibly two, if you wish to treat mother fucker as separate entities. At best they are limited to performing single, independent tasks -- most would find walking and chewing gum, at the same time, an impossibility. DUDS are predominant in number, but because of their recalcitrancy (always "pumping up some guard's nuts") they contribute nothing of a positive nature to institutional life.

Members of both groups share one common characteristic -- none are constrained by conscience.

What follows is a comparative examination of the characteristics of both groups -- the DUDES and the DUDS. Since DUDS comprise by far the largest class of inmate we prefer to treat them first, as they are more representative of the total prison population.

Prison DUDS, 98% black, are the embodiment of the typical negro stereotypes portrayed in the movies of the 1930's -- dumb, shiftless, dishonest, dirty clods -- come to life. Their casual slovenly dress and unkempt appearance exemplify the easy going manner of a resurrected "Steppin Fetchet" prototype. Even though institutional regulations regarding personal hygiene and appearance are quite explicit, an overwhelming number of DUDS choose to ignore (usually with a large measure of success) dress and grooming codes. Custodial staff have grown weary trying to enforce rules designed to effect positive behavior in individuals who have no desire, or need, to change their ingrained life styles.

As one observes prisoners on a daily basis he acquires the ability to readily distinguish a DUD from a DUDE merely by perusing an inmate's physical appearance. First, you will usually notice an excessive abundance of cranial and facial hair. Despite regulations prohibiting lavish Afro hair styles, exquisite beards and goatees; these abound in sufficient enough numbers to help you make an initial positive identification. If queried about his cultivation of facial fur, a black inmate will invariably present you with a "shaving pass." This document, issued by the medical department, attests an inmate's allergic reaction to shaving. The pathological reaction to the allergen causes eruption of unattractive protuberances of the face whenever a razor is sighted. If you fail to identify a DUD using the "over-abundant hair" criterion, no need to fret, there are several other standard methodology that may be applied. These are your basic "appalling apparel" and "onerous odor" tests, two fail-safe procedures that will guarantee identification beyond a reasonable doubt.

DUDS prefer to be scantily clad, and generally present an image of having attended an all night orgy. Shirts are never

worn buttoned, and if worn at all are altered to resemble a Nehru coat (the collar and collar labels turned under the garment). Trousers are usually worn three inches below the waist with the fly-front left partially undone, the top three buttons are never closed, leaving the inmates' bright colored undershorts and some of his pubic hair exposed (this type exhibitionism is considered "cool"). The DUDS feet are mostly unshod, and at best may have some limited form of cover - - shower slides or sandals. Socks are never worn except when one is required to wear prison brogans (ankle-high heavy work shoes) to protect the feet during outside job assignments. The top of the faculty of "reason" is adorned by a hat or some other form of assorted head gear - - the remnants of a pair of pantyhose, or a pillow slip arranged to simulate a "kuffiyah" (headcloth) worn by nomadic Bedouin tribesmen.

To embellish his resplendent finery many DUDS rely upon the generous use of gold necklaces, chains, watches, and a miscellanea of trinkets. Large gold crosses, for example, are an extremely popular item, worn by many inmates who want to tell the world that they are following in HIS footsteps along the path to righteousness. (Jesus was somewhat of an outlaw also - - not particularly inclined to gainful employment, and, at times, prone to "running" his mouth). Otherwise, when not worn for purposes of emulation, inmates wear these oversized representations of the cross, upon which Jesus was crucified, to repel vampires and "flying" faggots. Add, to all these seamy characteristics a broad smile accentuated by six monogrammed gold teeth (very similar to the grille of a 1949 Roadmaster Buick) and the downwind smell of a neglected stockyard, and you have the ultimate well-groomed DUD. One cautionary note - - because of their "seedy" nature it is advisable to keep DUDS away from large deposits of soil. It has been reported that should a DUD accidentally fall into a dirt pile he may take root and sprout.

One reason the DUD develops his own unique mode of dress is to set himself apart from the white members of the prison population, both staff and inmate. Living in an authoritarian white supremacist atmosphere the DUD, if he hopes to keep his sense of community and culture, engages in a variety of behavioral practices designed to help him retain his

black identity and acquire some degree of social recognition. A pattern not unlike that of his street heroes - - pimps, pushers, and panderers - - who all convey a high ascribed status by wearing mink coats, leopard-skin hats, diamond rings, and heavy gold chains. Besides the distinguishing characteristics of dress, the DUD has conceived a number of other useful devices designed to maintain his "cool" self-image and his separatist racial views.

This easy, nonchalant, imperturbable "cool" demeanor, though superficial to some extent, is frequently observed in the daily personal relationships among DUDS; it is also evident in their casual conversation and body movements. The typical greeting, one DUD to another, consists of an inordinate amount of handshaking, unrestrained palm slapping, and a number of playful wrestling holds. Verbal communication is achieved by mouthing a linguistic abomination of prison jargon spoken in a singsong patter. Apparently, inmates feel compelled to converse in this "secretive" private language; necessitated by ever-present eavesdropping guards. The use of all this "ying yang" double talk is superfluous - - DUDS only need to speak their usual inarticulate English to have an incomprehensible conversation. After exchanging social pleasantries our DUDS meander, strut, stroll or shuffle off into the sunset. The "black strut" is particularly noteworthy since it is the only form of locomotion that can be performed in a sitting position.

The "cool" attitude, prevalent among DUDS, is reflected not only in their dress and speech, but is also observed in their attention to other common routines of daily living. Eating habits, hygienic practices, and general compound behavior being the most notable among these activities. The inmate dining facility is literally and figuratively a "mess-hall." Here, the "mischievous" cretins of the underworld demonstrate the essential elements of table etiquette peculiar to medieval repasts. (Most DUDS would make Tom-Jones and his bawdy wench look like Sunday School picnickers). Amidst this circus atmosphere more food is thrown about than consumed, especially if the main entree does not entice the palate. The flying nutrients pierce the air with such velocity that safety can only be assured to those persons wearing flak jackets and shatter-proof industrial eyeglasses. Food not eaten or used for target

practice automatically becomes an artistic mixed-medium mess tray original (ala Jackson Pollock). Institutional food, never adjudged by private kitchen standards as being of high quality, is even less palatable when served and eaten in an area manifesting all the conditions of a dog kennel. Our prison mess-hall, at mealtime, is comparable to slopping hogs in the barnyard - - each pig running helter-skelter to the trough. DUDS, demanding their victuals immediately and before anyone else, shove most noncombative whites out of the serving line; when the "bird" (fried chicken) is the main course they consistently buck the line to be fed over and over again. Consequently, those inmates who refuse to act like swine are denied the scheduled meal and relegated to a peanut butter and jelly sandwich.

Nowhere, is this inclination toward impropriety (decadence, if you will) more evident than in a DUDS performance of intimate bodily functions and in his wanton destruction of prison property. No shame is attached to urinating or defecating publicly without benefit of sanitary receptacles. Likewise, acts of masturbation and homosexuality are performed publicly rather than privately or clandestinely. The willful destruction of state owned property can only be described as horrendous. Everything that can be defaced or devastated is considered fair game. The resulting debris, of every conceivable nature, is strewn about giving the compound the appearance of a land fill. The walls of buildings, inside and out, are marred with obscene "witticisms" and assorted graffiti du jour. Water coolers, window screens, plumbing, electrical wiring, lockers, bedding, etc., are all destroyed at will; flowers and bushes are stomped upon or pulled from the soil. Even small wild carnivorous animals do not escape the DUDS passion for indiscriminate destruction and devastation; these unfortunate creatures are captured, tormented and, in a final ritual, dissected with crude "surgical" instruments.

Why, you may ask, is nothing done to curtail or prevent this deplorable conduct? Actually, attempts are made to modify the criminal behavior of all inmates, particularly this unruly class of prisoner. Historically, prisons have offered rehabilitative programs of academic and vocational education, life skills, human relations, drug and alcohol counseling, crafts, and recreation. These self-help activities are designed to enable pris-

oners, once released, to find gainful employment and become a productive, law-abiding member of society. The high recidivism rate indicates that, very simply, these motivational programs have failed to change or alter the behavior of career criminals. Rehabilitation has been unsuccessful for two basic reasons: first, the programs are designed and controlled by the white authority; secondly, inmates reject those activities predicated upon long-range goals. The criminal, by his very nature, is primarily interested in the "here and now" and not too distant future - - his own immediate self-gratification. Therefore, his expressed desire is to carry on in prison the same antisocial acts as he perpetrated on the streets. The three R's of crime - - robbing, raping, and rioting - - are continually practiced in prison, and the only "intellectual" enrichment is sought in those activities which will enable the inmate to become a better criminal. DUDS spend excessive time on physical improvement - - lifting weights, running, jumping, and climbing - - in an effort to make themselves stronger and more agile; attributes necessary to avoid capture during the commission of crimes. These people function as true outlaws (not of the Robin Hood variety) who will continue their criminal roles until the day they die, either by natural causes or other terminal misadventures.

All one needs do to make a Caucasian feel the true import of his whiteness is to put him in the close proximity of a black man. In a world where being free, white, and twenty-one is the preliminary criteria for total personal independence we find that the white convict, while not presently free or in most cases over twenty-one is at least Caucasian (this advantage will always ascribe to him a higher status than the black inmate who obviously is a total wash-out in all areas of the above mentioned criteria). The trashiest of white inmates on the compound (and they are abundant) no matter how low his perceived social standing might be will always look upon himself as superior to the best black inmate (the ones who are closest to being white) in the prison. It is this basic belief, and the actions that are predicated upon it, that affords the white inmate the opportunities necessary to transform himself from a DUD into a DUDE.

We have already described, in some detail, the attitudes and behavior displayed by a great majority of the blacks on the compound. The simplest way to contrast the actions of the Caucasians to the Negroes is by saying that the whites are a total antithesis of

the blacks. In the form of a lowest common denominator the social characteristic manifested by the two groups comes down to a comparison between civilized and uncivilized actions. The whites are willing and able to conform to what mass society would call "accepted standards of human social behavior."

If a staff member is able to gain the trust of a white inmate, and questions him as to the most serious problem on the compound the answer will invariably come back: "the fuckin' niggers." This ingrained feeling of total animosity will, as we will later demonstrate, allow the white inmate to rationalize the exploitation of his black "chain gang partner."

Most states spend a considerable amount of their tax revenues in an attempt to provide the convict with unlimited opportunity for self-improvement. Every type of social rehabilitation program known to exist has, at one time or another, been employed by some correctional system in an effort to "reform" prison convicts. It must be clearly understood, however, that since all inmates have certain "inalienable" rights they cannot be coerced into participating in programs that hold no interest for them. The educationally disadvantaged inmate, on our compound, is given the opportunity, at State expense: to go to academic school, to participate in one-on-one educational situations, to use sophisticated (and costly) audio-visual instructional materials all in preparation for the taking of his high school equivalency examination. Of the students who wholeheartedly participate in this program and successfully complete their final test, 82% are white and 18% are black or of Hispanic origin. For the inmate who already has his high school diploma, college courses are offered each semester (typical enrollment, 90% white, 10% black). In the case of the intellectually curious a complete 15,000 volume library, under the management of a qualified librarian, is available to quench the intelligent inmates' thirst for knowledge. When a Caucasian enters the library he usually selects a hard-bound book (whites charge out hardcover books in a ratio of five to one over blacks) quietly sits down and reads. When a typical black enters the library he runs pell-mell to the magazine rack, looks over the selection, gripes loudly about not seeing any "pussy books," passes several snide remarks to the librarian, makes homosexual overtures to the "sissy" library aides (all of whom are white), decides to select a Jet, Black Stars or "muscle fag" magazine and then promptly proceeds to destroy it by removing pictures and pages

that have a special interest for him. The statistics show that unless forced to participate only 20% of the blacks on the compound will take part in any type of self-help program.

When it is time to hand out work assignments it comes as no surprise to see the best jobs on the compound going to the person who appears to be educated, alert, interested, articulate, and civilized - - the white inmate. In almost all instances the development of the DUDE (or super con) can be traced to his ability to use his mind, as opposed to other parts of his anatomy, to adapt to the hostile environment of prison life.

Shortly after their arrival on the compound most white inmates are faced with trying to find a solution to the problem of how to deal with the blacks' apparent bestiality. The scared young whites often subscribe to the "fuck or fight" theory of prison survival. However, the more educated mature whites know that the way to control the blacks is not to be found in their rectums, but rather in their brains. By being acutely aware of his rather unique predicament the soon to be DUDE begins laying the foundation which will later, hopefully, establish him as a power on the compound.

The first major discovery made by the Caucasian is that he is much more adept at manipulating staff members than are his black counterparts. By behaving himself, being polite, and appearing as truly sincere the white prisoner, in a relatively short time span, can earn himself the reputation of being a "good" inmate. By going through the motions of what in reality is a sophisticated mind game the DUDE can virtually insure that he will be given preferential treatment in all aspects of his prison life.

It should be noted at this time that in all actuality the Caucasian intellect is not, in fact, the most important criteria in establishing their rapport with the staff - - their skin color is the vital factor. Most of the correctional staff (80% to be exact) happen to be, in essence, what can best be described as being dyed-in-the-wool good old boys; Confederate flag waving, tobacco chewing, redneck crackers. Hence, by the sum total of their life experience they are not exactly, even in this enlightened day and age, disposed to getting along with people they would laughingly call: rug heads, tar babies, coons, jungle bunnies, shines, herbs, yard apes, boogies, night crawlers, sambo, cotton choppers, porch monkeys, and

the old standby motherfuckin' niggers. On the streets of most deep south towns the black is looked upon as being a second-class citizen; in southern prisons he (if he is acknowledged at all) is looked upon as a potential source of cannon fodder.

As a microcosm of "free" society the incarcerated Negro closely parallels the whites stereotyped perception of his lifestyle. Compound blacks appear as being basically dumb, often aggressive, frequently violent, abusive to whites, and in general serve as a confirmation of the ideas held true by your average, everyday, white supremacist. Whenever blacks congregate on the compound one is quick to notice that there are no whites to be found in that immediate area. The blacks profession of universal brotherhood to others of his own kind (hey bro . . . whats happening baby) by implication voices a profound desire for racial separation - - a desire that appears mutual on the part of the whites. According to the perceptions of the staff, blacks, like children, are seemingly content with preserving the status quo which exists within their animalistic culture, therefore, we will try to make every effort to accommodate their striving for social inferiority. Since the operation of the compound, by necessity, requires the staffing of certain responsible positions it is assumed that when a "trustee" like job becomes available it will be awarded to a Caucasian inmate. By looking at some of the institution's more prestigious work assignments we will endeavor to show how the emerging DUDE uses his position, and subsequent power, to make other people (both convicts and staff) do his bidding.

The food service department provides two major categories of inmate job classifications - - skilled and unskilled. The skilled positions of grill cook, pot chef, baker, and butcher go to whites in a ratio of nine to one over blacks. The unskilled jobs of working - the serving line, cleaning floors and tables, and washing dishes almost always are awarded to blacks. While the blacks are busy playing with soap and water, Brillo pads, dishrags, and sometimes each other, the whites are enjoying almost unlimited access to vast quantities of foodstuffs. The more enterprising DUDES will spirit luncheon meats, condiments, and bread out of the kitchen and use them to make and sell (for a nominal \$1.00 charge) gourmet club sandwiches. These illicit sales are made mostly to black inmates who are too ignorant to realize that they are paying for food that had been stolen from them in the first place. Addi-

tionally, these culinary creations go a long way towards warming the heart of a young correctional officer, who, when assigned to the midnight to eight shift, finds himself victim to a seemingly terminal attack of the "munchies." As an investment in his future, a DUDE will gladly donate a homemade sandwich to the famished guard in the hope that his kindness will be reciprocated at a later date. The inmate bakers also have access to several of the most prized possessions on the compound - - sugar and yeast. As necessary ingredients to the fermentation process both sugar and yeast are vital to the production of prison moonshine, better known as "buck." When combined in proper measure with some type of fruit juice these stolen kitchen supplies produce a beverage that is guaranteed to soothe even the most savage of Neanderthal. Using the blacks as scavengers the whites direct their helpers to find suitable containers for processing their home-brew. "Buck" has been brewed in discarded bleach bottles, specimen bottles stolen from the infirmary, empty aftershave bottles, a rubber boot, and baby bottles. Because the "buck" must "age" for a specific number of days (usually three) a hiding place for the liquid contraband must be located. Since whites roaming about the compound are looked upon with less suspicion they find it a simple task to find hiding places for their prized booty. Fermenting "buck" has been found secreted inside toilet tanks, in the rafters of buildings, inside washing machines, buried in flower beds, on the top of lighting fixtures, in filing cabinets, under the hoods of trucks, and practically every other conceivable place. When it comes time to decant the heady liquor the whites, because of the economic law of supply and demand, are forced to turn many of the blacks (and their money) away. However, the promise of some five-star "buck" (aged in genuine plastic casks for a full five days) to be delivered at a future date is usually enough to keep the thirsty blacks from taking out their disappointment on their white brewmasters. Further, the kitchen serves as an armaments arsenal for the physically weak white inmates. Surrounded by knives, meat cleavers, forks, and other sharp objects the creative Caucasian wastes little time in establishing his stash of defensive weapons. Many of the whites assigned to kitchen duty have more blades in their possession than does a well-equipped circus knife thrower. Also firmly in control of the DUDES is the Compound's "united parcel service," better known as the kitchen garbage disposal unit. When contraband must leave the compound it is discarded in a

specific manner and at a certain place, where later (at the prison land fill) it can be recovered by a co-conspirator. By the same token a resourceful inmate returning from the dump can usually find some way to bring certain "goods" back into the compound. A garbage collector in free society is given a low level of ascribed social status; on a prison compound the exact opposite holds true.

Almost all of the jobs which regularly and routinely require inmates to work outside the compound are controlled by whites. This very exclusive club is directly responsible for much of the contraband that circulates on the compound. Since most of the Caucasian inmates have been "busted" for drug related offenses it is not startling to learn that, when occasion permits, they will immediately revert to plying their old stock in trade inside the fence. By cultivating and maintaining their previous street contacts the white is able to gain access to an almost limitless supply of assorted drugs. The only deterrent which effectively serves to regulate the amount of drugs on the compound seems to be the DUDES risk-taking threshold. Most whites who are willing to play the game and will abide by the unwritten rules of unauthorized behavior are content with bringing just enough drugs onto the compound to provide them with the items necessary for a "sweet" sentence. Those DUDES who are avaricious and want the whole ball of wax at one time, generally learn, the hard way, that their greed will ultimately be rewarded by betrayal to the authorities. In the highly ordered society of the prison subculture, rocking the boat is just as much a "no no" as it is in the real world.

Institutional inmate aides are the modern day counterparts of what were, in the early days of corrections, known as "trustees." Each of the compound's major departments - - education, counseling and social services, custodial, etc., are allocated a specific number of aide positions whose job it is to assist staff members in the performance of their daily activities. As an example, during a typical day an education aide might sweep the classroom floor, alphabetize file folders, retrieve requisitioned materials from the school office, make several "canteen runs," sharpen a dozen pencils, empty trash baskets, and clean the mirror in the bathroom. Even for the slowest aide the aforementioned tasks might require at the very most two hours. For the remaining six hours of the working day an inmate, if he is slick enough, might spend attending to his business enterprises. An inmate DUDE while going to the canteen might stop to chat with friends, inspect his stash of "buck,"

engage in some brief homosexual activity, pass several contraband items out among his fellows; finally arrive at the canteen. When he returns to his assigned teacher (forty-five minutes later) he would not be quizzed as to his lengthy absence simply because he has earned the reputation for being a "trusted" convict. It should also be noted that many teachers will not "press" an aide because they realize that if they are forced to write their assistant a disciplinary report they would have to run their classrooms by themselves while their "lackeys" are cooling their heels in confinement. The aides, a majority of whom are not held accountable for their time on the job, have formed their own small scale syndicate (patterned after Al Capone's Chicago organization) with specific territories and operations. These trusted DUDES, by mutual agreement decide: who will control the drug operation, who will supervise production and sale of "buck," who will do the stealing, who will bring "goods" into the institution and take out the cash, who will pimp, and who will do loan sharking. This self-imposed system of checks and balances virtually insures that all the DUDES will get an equal share of the compound's ill-gotten gains. The inmate Mafia (a subculture existing within a subculture), a microcosm of crime and corruption is so powerful and unified (like a Cosa Nostra family) that their main concern is not detection, but rather what to do with their accumulated illicit wealth.

The Protestant Work Ethic tells us that if you labor diligently, have specific goals in life; you will be successful in your quest - - no matter what it may be. Because of the unique positions shared by the white DUDES, in combination with stealth and total dedication to criminal principles, approximately 85% of the money circulating on the compound at any given time is in their hands. The vast wealth, however, does to a degree serve to complicate the lives of our dollar dealing DUDES. In accordance with institutional rules and regulations no inmate, at any time, may have in his possession more than twenty-five one dollar bills. In fact no denomination larger than a one dollar bill is even allowed on the compound. In reality though everyone has heard stories concerning a "trusted" staff member who was approached by an inmate with a one hundred dollar bill who said: "if you take this out and change it for me you can keep twenty of it for yourself" (not a bad rate of exchange). All these "loose" dollars also allow our convicts to learn about our economy by participation in one of the cornerstones of the free enterprise system - - banking. The blacks

on the compound, because of a penchant for gambling and general mismanagement of personal finances, are perpetually "tapped out" and the compounds DUDES have a surplus of cash. Consequently, as the law of supply and demand dictates, some form of trade that would be beneficial to both parties concerned is destined to come about. Loan sharking, the solution to the institutions complex inmate financial problems, has become (with the possible exception of sex) the prisons primary leisure time activity. The DUDES lend out their money at a usurious "six for five" weekly, hire black enforcers to collect their interest and principal, and then plow back their profits into other equally illegal activities. In a self-perpetuating cycle the white DUDES, because of the base desires expressed by the majority of other prisoners, have found a way to make incarceration a truly profitable experience.

As a result of their power and influence some DUDES are able to have one or two staff members in their back pocket. Using his "smarts" a convict first selects, what he considers to be, a staff member who has the potential of becoming a co-conspirator. The inmate, using his own sources, finds out: what kind of automobile the man drives, if he is married and has any children, where he lives, how long he has been on the job, if he has been turned down for a promotion, etc. The con carefully scrutinizes: any jewelry (watches, rings, gold chains) the man might wear, the kind of shoes he has on his feet, the number of uniforms he has to wear. When this analysis is completed and the DUDE believes that he has found what he is searching for he might go up to the man and say: "this is a tough job you're doing here, its not easy controlling a large number of hostile men, how much do they pay you guys anyway? When the staff member responds by saying \$8,500 a year our crafty DUDE would counter with: "that's a real shame, you know I wouldn't work in this pest hole if they paid me twice your salary." Naturally, the officer in question agrees with this sincere and sympathetic soul. Next, the DUDE would suggest a possible solution that just might solve the staff members financial plight: "if you could take this package out and mail it for me I would gladly give you fifty big ones for your efforts." From that point on it's only a question of time, and circumstances, until the lure of that tax free fifty convinces the "hungry" staff member that no harm could come from taking one small innocent package out the front gate. The inmate is fully aware that once a staff member does his bidding he will "own" him body and soul for as long as the employee remains on the compound. Over a period of time

the DUDE could collect enough incriminating evidence against a guard that he could prevent him, under threat of exposure, from ever leaving his job.

In isolated rural areas ideas and attitudes concerning social change are always slow to come about. Because of a definite lack of exposure to new methods and doctrines the white southerners attitude towards racial equality, social justice, and even enlightened penal reform have been stagnated in a period of time that is approximately thirty years behind the rest of the "civilized" world. There are few, if any, black apologists to be found working in the department of corrections. The white, and perhaps justifiably so, simply is not willing to accept responsibility for the plight of the modern day black. The contemporary Caucasian did not: transport the blacks to this country, sell them into slavery, exploit them (for their own personal profit) to the fullest extent, take away their language, rob them of their native culture, eradicate their deities, and isolate them in their own remote communities. Consequently, the white is, to say the least, reluctant to accept any blame for the so called uncivilized actions of today's blacks. Additionally, since they have internalized their own negative roles and stereotypes, created by the whites, the black DUDS described in this chapter are by comparison racially and culturally inferior to the white DUDES.

This portrayal of the blacks is by no means a figment of the authors fertile imaginations. It is simply and irrefutably one of the many harsh realities to be found in prison life. The long forgotten Civil Rights Act of 1964 was designed to alleviate many of the problems encountered by the blacks who chose to live in the "new" south. Sixteen years after the fact, however, the reality is that the "new" south is nothing more than a subtle version of the old south which, through experience, has learned to play the federal game of appearing to advance the doctrine of equal rights while in fact doing nothing to promote black equality. Imagine, if you will, the treatment of blacks who have, because of a felony conviction, lost their few civil rights and now find themselves isolated within a prison system which allows only a few select individuals to witness the events of his prison life. In this self-perpetuating system of white supremacy the DUDES will continue to use their skin color, and many other advantages, in an attempt to maintain their superiority over the compounds' DUDS. While on the other hand the blacks will resort to one of the few means

they have available to them -- physical force -- in their effort to preserve a place in the sun.

The implication of the preceding statement for corrections is that the gamesmanship of playing one racial group against another will continue to exist, and flourish, as it has since the turn of the century. The laws of group dynamics dictate that it is always easier to control a large group, composed of factionalized elements than it is to maintain order over a unified body of men with strong leadership and common goals. The "unwritten law" of divide and conquer has in the past, and certainly will again in the future, keep many a correctional institution from being enveloped by the destructive forces of organized insurrection. Unfortunately, the by-products of this "law" -- hostility and mistrust -- and the consequent preservation of the status quo will also insure that the rate of recidivism will continue to hover, as it has for the past one hundred years, at the 80% level. Apparently, the fact that you can't change behavior not only applies to the inmates, but to those who administer our correctional institutions as well.

Chapter 3

WHY No.067389 WILL NEVER LEARN TO READ (OR ANYTHING ELSE FOR THAT MATTER)

Critics of American public education have attributed its failure to a host of suspects: integration, segregation, permissiveness, regimentation, the Vietnam War, drugs, television, divorce, the suburbs, the inner city, the massive fraud of teacher education -- everything but phases of the moon and sunspots. This same rhetoric has not been lost on prison educators who, either knowingly or unwittingly, endorse the proposition that inmates never had a chance to make it in the straight world because of early deprivations, discrimination, broken homes, poverty, unemployment, mental health problems, peer pressure and so on. If unemployment and poverty are two of the principal reasons for criminal behavior, as many social scientists suggest, then all we have to do is provide jobs and decent incomes to alleviate crime. Yet, most professional criminals contemptuously reject conventional employment and ridicule those who work for a living. If people become criminals because of emotional instability or psychological disturbances, then we should be able to cure them through a variety of psychotherapies.

Most teachers and prison school administrators accept the notion that better penal facilities, more humane treatment, and stronger rehabilitation programs will purge convicted felons of their criminal habits as they develop long-range release goals and acquire the educational skills necessary for finding steady employment. What most well-intentioned zealots fail to comprehend is that the habitual offender lives in a world with its own rules and values -- he considers himself a legitimate professional who has chosen to be an armed robber the way a conformist might choose to be an attorney -- and a couple of days a week in school is not going to change his behavior. Nor will all the world's known educational innovations improve his scholarship if he chooses not to learn. Education programs in prison fail more often than they succeed -- for reasons we shall discuss -- and most convicted felons leave prison no better versed in the rudimentary three R's than they were when they first arrived on the compound.

The educational process requires a teaching/learning situation. Moments of significant encounters -- processes of personal and moral development. THIS IS WHAT I WANT. THIS IS HOW LIFE

SHOULD BE LIVED. The teacher must love his subject and have the ability to convince his students that what they are being taught is deadly serious. This commonness of purpose, based on our observations, has become lost in a maze of bureaucratic accountability (collective justification for a lack of individual creativity), and a shared apathy on the part of the participants. Both teachers and inmates have made a remarkable adjustment to their lack of ability in portraying their respective educational roles -- teachers to teach, students to learn. In the final analysis a finished product can only be as good as the raw material that went into its' manufacture. Part of that "very" raw material, in this case, is the teacher, the other component is the inmate-student. First, let's examine the potential student.

The typical offender profile of approximately 700 inmates (59% black, 41% white) incarcerated at our all male correctional institution reveals the following statistical information of an educational interest: average age 22, is 96% occupationally unskilled, has an I. Q. of 95 (range from 58 to 123), has an average tested grade level of 7.1. Other statistical data from the same profile suggests the criminal characteristics of the population: has no prior felony 87%, was convicted of either robbery or burglary 57%, sexual battery 12%, murder or attempted murder (first, second, third degree) 12%, aggravated assault and battery 4%, other 15%. Significant also is that 84% of the inmates claim at least occasional use of alcohol and/or drugs -- the accuracy of this figure naturally depends upon actual use and "copping a plea." The average sentence is 19 years, 4 months; life sentences 63, with 68% of the inmate population in close custody. The institution, in any calendar quarter, might receive up to approximately 100 inmates that were management problems in less restrictive facilities. Criminal characteristics are valid here because they do shed some light upon inmate propensity toward violence in the classroom.

To the untrained observer, one without educational or statistical expertise, certain elements of the profile may indicate that inmate learning potential does exist. Would not academic attainment be possible for an inmate population that possesses an average tested grade level of 7.1, and an average I. Q. of 95. Anyone familiar with educational measurements will quickly point out that a portion of the inmates tested must naturally fall below the mean. Those falling below the mean in our academic school comprise 80% of those enrolled in the "triple threat" -- language arts, reading, and social

studies. To flatly charge there is no academic "progress" made by students in the school would be untrue. That some academic attainment does occur can be best illustrated by the three brief essays that follow. The assignment was to write a brief piece about the killing of 21 black children between 1979-1981 in Atlanta, Georgia. The first essay was written by an inmate who has been enrolled in school for six months, the second, by a one year student, the third, by a two year student who is preparing for his GED (General Equivalency Diploma) examination. Two of the inmates are black, the other white -- no need to indicate which essay belongs to whom, the reader will soon become aware of the writer's ethnic background. The essays are recorded here exactly as they were written:

1. WHAT I THINK ABOUT THE CHILDREN KILLER IN ATLANTA

I feel the person or person's, that is in volve in killing inocent little children are sick, and have a bad racial problem. I also fell that there police are not showing any interest because if it was a black man killing little white children they would of been caught him or pinned it on the first black they caught with a gun. I think when they caught him they should chain him in the hot sun where all the little kides can shots there BB gunes.

2. ATLANTA'S KILLER

Atlanta police have found 20th of black kids in Atlanta 2 is still missing. Just a week ago the total was 18. I think they can do a better job than what there doing at this time. If they were white children the F.B.I. would have been on the job and probley have caught him by now before any more was found dead or missing. I think we should put away with this racial conflict and find the killer. Children are being kill, helpless children. Who ever is doing it is sick and need to be torchered real slow, give him a real slow death because he's a coward stinking punk that go around killing babys. He can't be a man. I hope the kill him before he get to the police station. He need to be stone, dip in boiling hot grease, than tar and his ass kick for hours and then shot up, and chop up in tiny pices and then burn.

3. WHAT I THINK TO THE ATLANTA KILLER

If, and when the Atlanta Killer is eventually interupted from his designated duties, he should not be punished,

but instead be commemorated with a Congressional Medal for doing the things that all of us so-called "True Americans" would like to do but, undoubtedly never will. I see the Atlanta Killers' mission as one which seeks out to perform his goal by process of elimination, thereby purifying the "True American" race. The only fundamental flaw that I foresee in the Atlanta Killers' idealism, is that a more infallible route of extermination would be for him/her to be relocated in his degenerate enemies origin, thereby being Africa, thereby perfecting his goal, along with the fantasies of so many other "True Americans," who merely dream of accomplishing this heroic feat, but are afraid to enforce it into the realm of reality.

It is easy to distinguish the ethnic background of each writer, and the carry over of racial beliefs from the street to the prison. The first two writers feel a continuing sense of frustration with the dual system of justice alleged to be operating in this country -- the black being short-changed when protection under the law is dispensed. One writer is convinced that the killer must be white -- no black could possibly murder a black child. The first two writers, undoubtedly influenced by their "Christian" upbringing, describe unique methods of dispatching justice -- one more harshly than the other -- for dealing with this less than "decent" criminal once he is caught. No "self-respecting" criminal would commit so despicable an act of violence. Their sense of justice dictates the offender must be punished for his antisocial behavior. The third writer, so overwhelmed by his racial fantasies, suggests banishment to the country of black origin where the killer can more properly and efficiently carry on his blood purification scheme. What is more, we detect a variation on the theme that all "true Americans" would really like to engage in criminal activity, but because they are conformists they can't bring themselves to participate. This lends credence to the theory that the habitual offender lives in a world apart from what we call accepted society. Most inmates are professional criminals. They have been socialized into lives of crime just as the rest of us have been socialized into lives of conformity. Aside from the views expressed by the inmate writers and speaking in strictly academic terms; it is quite obvious based on the style and content of these "literary masterpieces" and astute "social commentaries," that none of our "budding" authors will be settling down in small

town U.S.A. to write the great American novel.

One other incident may serve to give the reader an overview of the innate ability found in the typical prison schoolboy. A social studies teacher placed an unlabeled, blank map of central Europe on a bulletin board and asked students to please write on the map the location of their hometowns. A lively debate followed. Instead of a discussion regarding the true geographical identity of the region the students readily accepted the map as that of the State of Georgia. They argued about the proper location of the cities and towns that inmates had written on the map -- Atlanta should be more to the north, Macon should be more to the center of the state, who the hell ever heard of Willacooche, Georgia. Need we say more about the attainment levels and potential of our learners.

To complete our statistical abstract of the "average" youthful offender we must look at one of corrections most innovative diagnostic tools, the PSI (Post Sentence Investigation). This comprehensive battery of tests looks into the inner workings of the inmate mind and tells us if this individual can be controlled in a prison environment. The herculean feat of prognosticating future patterns of behavior is accomplished by subjecting the new inmate (usually at the Reception and Medical Center before he is routed into a specific institution) to the following evaluative exercises: a test which deals with the inmates ability to cope with frustration (obviously most prisoners cannot handle their frustrations -- that's what brought them into the system in the first place) a battery which is an indicator of general psychological adjustment, an examination which shows possible disposition towards acts of a violent nature; manual dexterity tests to indicate possible job skills and finally vocational testing to insure a worthwhile career can be found for the inmate. The PSI if valid, would seem to prove an invaluable aid to anyone working in close contact to inmates. However, when one examines the contents of the PSI it becomes evident that this entire test battery is norm referenced to a white inmate, approximately 30 years of age from an urban area. When prognostications from these tests are applied to an 18 year old black, from a small town, the findings must, at best, be looked at with a "jaundiced eye." Due to budgetary limitations this particular State, in it's infinite wisdom, has decided that it would be cost effective to buy it's diagnostic materials from an outside source. Employment of this procedure has undoubtedly saved some taxpayers a few hard earned dollars. Unfortunately, this savings has also invalidated

test scores for about 65% of this State's inmate population. It should also be noted that due to the large number of men currently entering the system, and the resulting overcrowding at the Reception and Medical Center, many inmates are not given a PSI. To the correctional staff this means that new inmates, upon entering an institution, are a totally unknown, and possibly volatile, quantity.

For many years our most venerated educational innovators have looked upon special education as a panacea to insure equal educational opportunities for all learners. Not wishing to be considered philistine our educational hierarchy has adopted some of these methods in an effort to better meet the "needs" of the inmates.

This era of the "me" generation has given rise to the popularity of individualized educational programs. These programs, which are supposedly geared to the learning deficiencies of one student are "guaranteed" to provide education in its most palatable, digestible form. Every inmate, under this system, learns only what he "needs" to know -- no more or no less. The teacher becomes what is fancifully known as a learning manager. In reality, learning manager is a synonym for a glorified clerk. The student in an individualized program becomes little more than a series of numbers on the top of an IBM self-scoring answer sheet; as one can easily tell this form of education is the antithesis of a well-rounded academic program. Inmates horizons are not broadened, they are not awakened to the challenge of some higher intellectual pursuit. They are simply provided with what can best be described as a mediocre sojourn through the world of "progressive" educational reality. A cold reality which can best be summarized by this statement concerning an inmate's own attitude towards his classroom performance: "You ain't gonna teach me nothin', man."

Into this vast wasteland of individualized education comes the knight on his charger -- the über Mensch of the mind -- the Title One Program. Title One says that individualized education can work only when combined with the co-requisites of one-on-one instruction as well as audiovisual aids. To this end our institution spends approximately \$122,000 federal tax dollars per fiscal year supporting a program which was essentially devised to correct learning deficiencies among students in the public school system. In essence the Title One Program exists in our facility exactly as it would in a free school. No effort has been made to adapt Title One to the specific needs and requirements of a typical inmate. On the street equipment

maintenance costs for a system of our size would be approximately \$500 per year. In our institution Title One costs, for repair of vandalized equipment, are five times that much. Believing in the doctrine of "deus ex machina" our Title One intelligentsia have failed to reckon with the inmates innate ability to adapt to any situation. The inmates have a perceived need for any type of electrical components. When given the opportunity to disassemble a complicated electrical device even the most educationally disadvantaged of inmates' behaves as though he has a degree in electronics from M.I.T. In order to justify its expenses (including the cost of destroyed equipment) a Title One Program must be able to document, for each student, one month's increase in grade level for each month spent in the program. Our Title One Program shows the minimum one for one improvement for only 17% of the inmates serviced (in fact 33% of the inmates in the program have a lower grade level at the end of a test period than they did at the beginning). As mentioned earlier, the percept of one-on-one instruction usually reduces a teacher to little more than a glorified bookkeeper. Besides having to deal with individualized instruction the Title One teacher must also contend with a veritable avalanche of paper work. This paper work (which takes the form of: weekly reports, monthly reports, prescriptions, progress reports, and attendance reports) makes it almost impossible for a teacher to carry on a meaningful dialog with his students. Due to the poor transition from street to institution the entire program has become diametrically opposed to the goals, and desired behaviors (of teachers and students) as outlined in the Title One directives.

Appearing as an adjunct to the individualized Title One Program; the American Correctional Association has echoed the cry for specialized forms of instruction. To a large degree the A.C.A. supports the basic structure and tenets of an individualized -- Title One -- type of program. A.C.A. Standard 4403 states: "The educational program allows for flexible scheduling that permits inmates to enter at any time and proceed at their own learning pace." In addition, Standard 4402 calls for: "An educational program that is supported by specialized equipment, including at a minimum classrooms, teaching carrels, audiovisual materials, and corresponding facilities." It appears obvious that the progressive trends that exist in today's educational dogma have led the A.C.A. down the garden path. When carried to its logical conclusion the taxpayers will have spent a great deal of money for: destroyed equipment, implementation of absurd, useless individualized instructional programs, salaries for teachers

who are, in fact, nothing more than paper-bound lackeys held captive in a well intentioned fantasy land controlled by the nattering nabobs of educational dogma.

In order to be able to quantify, and legitimize, a student's classroom performance our institution has adopted the T.A.B.E. system of educational measurement. This Test of Adult Basic Education, given on a quarterly basis, is considered to be a valid indicator of both grade level, and through the use of a M.A.L.D. sheet, a prognosticator of learning deficiencies. The instrument itself is comprised of three different levels of difficulty: the E, or easy level, the M - - medium, and the D - - difficult level. Each level is divided into two forms, A and B. It is conceivable that if a student were to spend two years in school - - remaining in the same level of difficulty - - he will have taken the same test four times. Since there are no records kept as to which student takes what form, by going outside the law of averages, it is remotely possible that one individual might take the same test eight times in two years. We are sure that even the developers of the T.A.B.E. system would tend to agree that such a repetition of tests would have an adverse effect upon the validity of the instrument.

Our school not only requires that students be subjected to ineffective teachers, unsound educational practices and a faulty method of evaluation, it also demands that students attend class on a mandatory basis. By edict of our administrators the education department must, on a daily basis, occupy the time of about 160 inmates. By removing an excess 160 bodies from the compound the understaffed custodial department can perform its job without endangering themselves or other staff members. As far as the "front office" is concerned as long as we can account for, and control, those inmates we can practically do anything we want with them (or to them as the case may be). This forced system of educational servitude creates a situation where teachers are faced with the additional task of dealing with inmates who do not want to be held captive. How do you tell a convicted murderer, with a natural life sentence, to be a good boy, behave himself, and do his classwork? (Very carefully). In the never ending quest for control of inmates the school has, in fact, become a thorn in the side of the custodial department. Frustrated teachers, and their supervisors, have only one viable method of controlling inmates - - the threat of impending disciplinary action. Is it better to use man hours in guarding inmates or processing reams of unnecessary paper work. The fate of the entire school could hinge

upon the outcome of that "momentous" decision.

As poor as the mandatory system of education is it is unlikely that a voluntary program would go a long way towards alleviating a majority of the problems which plague our school. In fact, a voluntary school could easily create a set of its own unique problems. Most inmates do not feel a compulsive need for education. In fact, as the inmates often point out, our curriculum is of little benefit on the streets. To these people courses delving in the finer points of B & E, pimping, pushing, and murder would be of immense value. Courses in reading, mathematics, and English are counter productive. Inmates would participate in voluntary school in hopes of positively influencing any staff member who had control over the amount of time this individual had to serve. If a parole officer is favorably impressed by a student's progress he might be willing to knock a few months off his sentence.

A desire for knowledge is supposedly inherent within every "normal" human organism. The role of the "ideal" teacher, through motivation and positive reinforcement, is to bring this latent desire to the surface. Unfortunately, at our institution almost all motivation is based upon fear, hate, and mutual mistrust. If a student refuses to work in class he is not positively motivated to change his errant behavior. Instead, the teacher takes the easy way out, writes a disciplinary report, and bides his time until the inmate goes before the disciplinary team and is pulled from school for a job reassignment. This insidious form of, almost immediate, teacher gratification does not go unnoticed by the students. The inmates are acutely aware that DRs and additional documents describing any type of institutional maladjustment, are placed in their file jackets in such a manner as to insure the parole man will see them. Also with this severe type of retribution it is not unusual to see certain individuals, who when threatened with possible corrective action, gladly "roll over" on their friends. An educational supervisor, or on rare occasions a teacher, will carefully cultivate his crop of "snitches" knowing full well that at some future date the information of an informer might save his job.

In order to help the inmate with problems he might be having, concerning his adjustment to school, the education department provides counseling. By doing this the department can attempt to cover up its own mistakes before they can become common knowledge on the compound. A disgruntled inmate is taken into the school office,

his problems are listened to, he is given advice as to a proper course of action and then, as soon as the inmate leaves the room, everything is forgotten (by all parties involved). 90% of the inmates who are counseled request (and we can't imagine why) to be removed from school. The stock answer to this request is an unequivocal NO! 5% of the inmates take their counseling time and use it as a "bitch" session to get back at the system. The remaining 5% of the inmates complain about such things as: not being able to go to the laundry on school time, being refused permission to go to the chapel, etc. In many cases the inmate who realizes that he is being "sold a dream" comes to counseling simply because it's one of the few ways he can get out of going to his assigned classes.

As a reward to those few inmates who complete the educational program (earn their GED), the institution spares no expense in providing a quality program of higher education. This program, conducted under the auspices of a local community college, provides trained college instructors who teach certain evening courses for college credit. For the past year only one intellectually over-the-hill instructor has deigned to bring freshman English to our anxious students. No other courses have been planned, or are desired by the educational supervisor.

Recently there has been a trend in forward looking correctional facilities to consider the inmate as a client rather than as a convict. By assuming this relationship the correctional staff changes from a group of disorganized workers into a group of highly skilled professionals. Teachers too, for many years, have been trying to establish themselves as "true" professionals. At our particular institution we can say, with confidence, that the cause of teacher professionalism has been set back about 25 years. It is apparent that teachers cannot consider an inmate as a client without the prerequisite of first considering him to be a student. Without some sort of change we will continue to have non-teachers and non-learners existing in an environment where the only truism can be summarized in one brief statement: what we have here is failure to communicate.

The process of converting this rather unique group of "students" -- veritable diamonds in the rough -- into thinking, rational and productive members of society would logically seem to necessitate the hiring of the most dedicated, intelligent, sincere and able of teachers. Please bear this in mind: the closest an administrator, in the Department of Corrections, comes to Aristotelian logic is

when he tries to find a 17 letter word for "order" in a crossword puzzle.

Naturally, the prospective teacher wants to know what his position entails. The administrator, on the other hand, wants to ascertain if the candidate is qualified for the post. The instrument most commonly used to determine both elements is the "job description." This document, best described as "verbal ambiguity," gives a general summary of the position, an outline of typical duties, and a statement of required training and qualifications. At our institution the printed job description is inaccurate and unnecessary because it is rarely in adherence with the actual work performed. It becomes invalid simply because it concludes by stating: "The employee will also perform all other duties assigned." A teacher may be conducting lessons in the classroom one day, digging a latrine the next day, or be assigned to "putzfrau" duties in the education office for a week. Even more ludicrous is the statement of "training and qualifications" which appears as part of all job descriptions. Again, rarely is this section adhered to in hiring, and certainly never in promotions. The violations of the training and qualifications statement are so crass as to border on downright fraud. Hiring proceeds on the "warm body theory" without regard for professional skill or training. A position may require a masters degree in counseling but a baccalaureate in geology will do splendidly. Or, we know you are the best qualified person for the job, but "affirmative action" changes the whole complexion in your case. Promotions are handled in much the same way, with the job-related qualification of being one of the "good old boys" added to the requirements. Example: Teacher A. Turkey comes to work every day and every afternoon his classes are treated to four hours of television soap operas. When queried by his supervisor about this unique teaching method, A. Turkey explains: "We are learning to add and subtract by recording the number of actors entering and departing the plot. Not only that, we are also learning to divide by figuring how often 45 year-old Dr. Lustful goes into 23 year-old Nurse Nice." Supervisor: "Very innovative A. Turkey, keep up the good work. As a reward I'm going to nominate you for 'teacher of the year' so that you can travel state-wide spewing forth about your close encounters with fraud. Meanwhile, I'm recommending you for a promotion to classroom teacher II." Teacher I. Bore-Ass also comes to work every day, less innovative than A. Turkey, he is intent upon doing what he was hired to do -- teach. He doesn't enjoy the afternoon "soaps," instead, I. Bore-Ass spends some

of his time trying to acquire better equipment and more enrichment material for his students. He places all the proper purchase orders with the educational supervisor and anticipates a lapse of about a month before the materials will begin to arrive. After waiting six weeks I. Bore-Ass starts to make weekly, then almost daily inquiries about the status of his orders. He begins to ask his supervisor such unforgivable questions as: "How do you expect me to do the job without the proper materials?" "Can't you speed the orders up a little?" "Why not call the main office and see if they have processed those orders?" One day, I. Bore-Ass tells the supervisor he has just received his masters degree and would like a promotion to classroom teacher II. In the same breath he inquires again about his purchase orders. I. Bore-Ass leaves the office and A. Turkey happens to walk in just moments later. The supervisor says to A. Turkey: "Can you imagine I. Bore-Ass asking for a promotion; all he ever does is bitch and complain about having no materials for his students. Promotion, be damned! We're going to get rid of that bastard if we have to drive him crazy. He makes my ass want a cracker." A. Turkey agrees -- "Yeah! The son-of-a-bitch doesn't do any work anyway." Teacher A. Turkey got his promotion -- a degree of "back-biting" does indeed help -- teacher I. Bore-Ass eventually left the institution.

It is not difficult to see how competent motivated teachers are virtually driven from the Department of Corrections. Being aware of his job role the capable teacher naturally strives to expand his students', as well as his own, mind. In an institutional environment one quickly learns that if you want to accomplish anything you must have the tacit approval of your immediate supervisor. Most insecure supervisors when made aware of the fact that there is someone in their department who, because of their training, ability and dedication, could pose a possible threat to their own job security begin to notice a small stream of water running down the inside of their legs. Feeling this competent person breathing down his back the supervisor begins to look for ways in which he can discredit this individual. Being a master of subtlety and employing the delicacy of a streamroller, the frightened supervisor reaches into his bag of tricks and comes up with his salvation -- the incident report and the employee evaluation. These two documents which can be prepared entirely under the jurisdiction of the supervisor are a powerful deterrent to the errant behavior of any staff member. By using half truths, unfounded reports of snitches, innuendo and cunning the crafty supervisor can easily blow the teacher's ship out of the water before his own craft can be swamped. Working in this highly charged atmosphere is not the only problem the teacher has to face. It becomes demoralizing to see, on a day to

day basis, other instructors only going through the motions of being a teacher. The competent teacher might deservedly ask: "Why should I work when no one else in this place does?"

Another concern often expressed by the good teacher pertains to the disproportionate amount of time he spends on the job as a control officer rather than as an instructor. An inmate in class is considered to be the sole responsibility of the teacher. If an inmate should wander away and commit a felonious act the teacher would, to the extent of being held liable in a civil suit, be considered responsible for the incident. Every teacher is required to document the presence of any inmate in his classroom. In addition teachers must insure that no violence occurs in their classes. What is more, any instructor with close custody inmates must always maintain visual, or audible, contact with that individual. Concomitant with his classroom duties the teacher might at anytime be asked to: run the school office, cover a class he knows little about, cover a vocational class that he knows even less about, go to progress reports or sit as a member of a disciplinary team. Each of these assignments, to a dedicated teacher, is an anathema to his role as an instructor. Some competent instructors endure these hardships simply because they wish to complete a project they have in progress. Other disaffected teachers realize that "the system" is not going to change so why participate in a program which has no hope of survival. With the lure of more money, shorter hours, interested students, and a better working atmosphere, it is no surprise that the turn over rate in correctional education is rapidly approaching 50% a year.

Speaking realistically the vast majority of teachers who work at our institution do so simply because it's the only place they can find gainful employment. As a last resort the mediocre teacher comes to this place as a refuge from the outside educational world. Most average instructors seem to adjust well to institutional life. Since they, for the most part, are content to take the system as they find it they present little threat to anyone in a supervisory position. The fact is, as a teacher becomes more and more mediocre his chances of becoming superintendent get better and better. It's simply a matter of sticking your nose into the right place.

In the eyes of the "powers that be" a good teacher is an accountable teacher. An accountable instructor makes a good cor-

rectional officer but unfortunately, for the students, a poor teacher. Whenever accountability is given preference over innovation it seems to serve as an unjustifiable excuse for inability. This sham of an educational system with its resultant educational fraud does little but breed teacher incompetence and apathy. Teachers, as students do, learn by example whether it be good or bad. After sufficient exposure to our negative forms of education most teachers' behavior can be classified in four categories. First, we have the teacher who does nothing, realizes he is doing nothing, and is wise enough to keep his mouth closed. The second type of teacher does nothing, but sends up a smoke screen in an effort to convince others that he is a hard worker, and a good teacher. The third type teacher does nothing, but attempts to effect the status of a worker by writing as many disciplinary reports as he possibly can. The final type of teacher has adopted DR writing as a profession. If he becomes a DR ace (or ass depending upon your view point) he will, as mentioned earlier, be a viable candidate for teacher of the year. Like its compensations. The experienced teacher at our institution is a perfect foil for Shaw's comment concerning teachers. Those that can do; those that can't teach. And those that can't teach have found their niche in life at our facility.

It is entirely possible that at some future date the critics of "free" public education will set their sights upon the folly of the correctional educational system. Our hallowed halls of knowledge will undoubtedly provide virgin fields for their inquisitive probings. The unique problems these critics will uncover will, to say the least, be extremely hard to categorize. Since the usual philosophies of education do not, and cannot, apply to an institution of this type the critics will be groping in the dark for some sort of accepted parameters with which to evaluate our behavior. However, to varying degrees, all the inadequacies, and injustices, depicted here exist in most penal systems. Undoubtedly many critics could easily, based solely on our findings here, brand us as being Neolithic in our approach to the entire learning process. Unfortunately, the simple reality of the situation requires us to be Neolithic because we are trying to deal with a Neanderthal's mentality. The inmates, the teachers and their supervisors all exhibit forms of behavior which, in our enlightened times, can best be considered primitive.

Dealing with the basest of human emotions, fear, greed, deceit and domination it is impossible to remain totally detached from the adverse effects of these negative forms of behavior. By simple exposure we become more and more desensitized to the hostile environment which surrounds us. Perhaps in several years time we might come to look upon conditions at our institution as being "normal." Those of us who work in these most vile of conditions, in order to preserve some semblance of sanity, tend to rationalize, and compensate for, the conditions of our employment. By rationalizing are we in fact guilty of aiding and abetting a system which, because of its admittedly neolithic outlook, will some day help contribute to the disintegration and ultimate down fall of our present societal system. Or are we, by sounding the clarion call for reformation, trying to eradicate the misdeeds of the past by tempering them with the hopes of the future.

A teachers' job, in essence is to educate. In a "free" school environment the classroom teacher is expected to instill in his pupils the common values that are reflected in his community. As dictated by the local school board, the P.T.A. and individual parents the school must, through the doctrine of "loco parentis," treat each pupil as if he or she were a surrogate child. Working, and in some cases living, in a community provides the teacher with a set of directions which enable him to correctly inculcate desired values into the student. The instructor, in a prison setting does not have benefit of such obvious, and formalized, guidelines. Even good correctional teachers, who have experienced the true "calling" to become educators, soon come to realize that for a vast majority of their students there is little hope for any type of educational awakening. This disaffection, and desolation, results in many quality instructors prematurely abandoning their jobs in search of more verdant educational pastures. We are giving up on the incarcerated without even attempting to alleviate their most pressing problem -- a basic lack of accepted socialization.

Teaching is primarily a process involving the total giving of oneself through a determined effort to provide someone with the benefit of your knowledge or experience. The case for academic instruction in a correctional environment might be questionable but what about educating inmates for social adjustment? If the

public schools can reflect the positive values of society why can't the prison. In the final analysis is it more important to teach a convict how to conjugate a verb or how to keep from killing someone. The best teachers have "copped out" by saying that inmates cannot be taught to learn. They must be taught to learn. When we look at our "report card" we see that only 20% of the inmates currently behind bars will never re-enter the penal system. The teacher, as a taxpayer forced to support these societal misfits, should realize that he is not doing the job for which he was hired. Teaching encompasses much more than simply being an animated textbook. It requires a total dedication, despite adversities (institutional or otherwise) to the cause of holistic education. Perhaps the forward looking correctional system of the future will become cognizant of the fact that the only sure way to habilitate is to educate. On the other hand the cry of the correctional educator might go unheeded, as it has for the past 100 years, until it is too late.

Chapter 4

GOD IS LOVE, ESPECIALLY IF YOU ARE LOCKED UP

As recent as two decades ago excessive religiosity was seen as symptomatic of mental illness, especially if the zealot was hallucinatory. On a certification of insanity by two physicians a person could be involuntarily confined in a mental institution if his overt passion for the Lord included seeing and hearing the Almighty. This practice is no longer in vogue because most psychiatrists follow the recent guidelines set forth in the DSM-III (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual, 1980) when excessive religiosity needs to be determined. The DSM-III states that . . . "individuals who are members of religious or other subcultural groups may have beliefs or experiences that are difficult to distinguish from pathological delusions or hallucinations. When such experiences are explainable by identification with such subcultural groups or values, they should not be considered evidence of pathology. Useful clues that such experiences should not be considered pathological include the occurrence of the experiences during religious ceremonies or in other religious contexts, and the acceptance by the subgroups and the individual himself of the behavior as normal or desirable.

Using the DSM-III statement as a guide let us examine an incident in the life of a famous person who was hallucinatory and try to interpret the psychiatric significance. First, as it applies to our heroine, and secondly to convicted felons. Joan of Arc, French saint and symbol of French patriotism, was able to date quite precisely when it was that she first heard God's voice. According to her own statement, given in her trial, she first heard a supernatural voice when she was 13 years old. It was midday, in the summertime, in her father's garden. The voice, accompanied by a bright light (she seldom heard a voice without seeing a light), appeared to come from near the church. It was revealed to her in the vision, again from her own recollections, that she was to rescue France. Since Joan's hallucinations of sight and sound took place "near a church" we are compelled to conclude, using the DSM-III statement as a guide, that her hallucinatory experience was not pathological. (For those readers who wonder if Joan's hallucinations met the acceptance of significant subgroups in her culture it should be noted that there was a widespread prophecy at the time that France, after being laid desolate by a woman, would be restored by a virgin. This prophecy was actually quoted by Joan of Arc herself, when she was trying to persuade Robert of Baudricourt to send her to the Dauphin).

Throughout the history of mankind there have been countless recorded conversations with, and sightings of, God. Joan of Arc did not have a monopoly on maintaining a direct line of communication with Providence, even Woodrow Wilson and Adolf Hitler were privy to divine counseling. Convicts are certainly not exempt; prison and church literature are emersed with revelations of the most Holy: "Jesus came into my life in that little cell one day while I was praying. And I'll tell you another thing; God spoke to me in my prison cell." He said, "Harry, I love you . . . I have waited a long time for you . . . If you will give me your life I'll give you my life." "When I got up off my knees I felt warm and clean and alive. I had peace, joy and love that passes all understanding."

Was this inmate experiencing auditory hallucinations? Not if the DSM-III guidelines are applied. He was praying and that in itself constitutes a religious ceremony. Had he really heard God speaking to him? We believe not. What we do believe is that this particular inmate, and thousands more like him, was engaged in a form of "gamesmanship" with contrived religious fervor being a substantial part of the ploy. Therefore, meeting the DSM-III criterion of acceptance by certain subcultures. The average inmate has about as much sincere religious conviction as he does in learning to be a jet pilot. NONE! Before this discussion continues further let us beg our "Christian" readers to tolerate the observations that follow - - for is it not true that one of the virtues of Christianity is to tolerate someone else's ideas.

All inmates become readily aware that during their period of incarceration - - their state of remission, if you will - - they will be expected to participate in acts of atonement. No matter how abhorrent these so called "character-building" activities may appear to the inmate he will, nevertheless, become involved because it may lead to a shorter period of confinement. The initial visit to the classification officer pretty well sets the stage for the inmate's "rehabilitation" program. If he used drugs on the street then he should most definitely join drug group counseling. If he was inebriated during the commission of a crime then he could certainly benefit from attending the weekly AA sessions. The inmate is antisocial by his very nature, therefore he needs to become involved in life skills and human relations. He did not complete secondary school and it is suggested that obtaining his GED would be a worthwhile goal. The inmate attended Sunday school and church on a regular basis before getting into trouble; it would be wise to again become affiliated by attending chapel and Bible study group. If he is devoid of the "spirit" then he had better

find Jesus as fast as humanly possible and begin believing in God the Father Almighty.

Even though he is unrepentant, unregenerate and a hypocrite the inmate agrees that he will faithfully get involved in all the programs his classification officer recommends. The inmate knows that participation in prison programs will impress correctional officials and enhance his chances of resuming his criminal profession at an earlier date. He is now ready to play the "game," and having an excessive supply of religion certainly won't be a disability. Time was when a religious zealot found himself accompanied to the front gates of the "funny farm;" today, in prisons, the same "character" might find himself at the parole officers door.

Many newly confined inmates, especially whites in predominately black facilities, seek the holy sanctuary in advance of their initial meeting with the classification officer. The chapel provides "new cocks," not with a means of communicating with God, but rather a place to protect their highly volatile virginity. This form of "dick dodging" is usually successful while the inmate is physically inside the chapel. As one inmate, known for his sexual prowess, put it: "I would never think of fucking a guy in church" - - probably the most moral statement he ever uttered. There have been cases, however, of "daddies" beating on their "boys" as they were returning home from their Bible study group, as well as, potential "boys" being sexually assaulted on their way home from church by other worshipers. The only salvation for the "new cock," once he leaves the safety of the chapel, is to display an overabundance of the "spirit" to the point of being viewed as mentally deranged. In some cases excessive religiosity has served as a deterrent to sexual molestation.

Another benefit derived from inmate involvement in religious activities is the opportunity for "Christian" fellowship - - the chance to be exposed once again to "free" people. Bands of roving evangelists, a composite of "born-again" irregulars, ex-convicts and former addicts, descend on the prison to save souls. These revivals, exercises in instant salvation, can best be described as shouting matches in which the two groups of participants "amen" each other hoarse. Even before the last soul stands up for Jesus the "cons" are at work doing "their thing." Being permitted to fraternize for any period of time enables the inmate to prey on the sympathies of their visiting "brothers and sisters." Deceived by the apparent "sincerity" of the inmates, some guests may acquiesce to requests for assistance; such seemingly benign

aid as posting a letter outside the prison under the guise of legal mail. The visitor, however, is unaware that legal mail can be sealed and posted from the prison post office without official scrutiny by simply labeling the envelope as containing legal materials. There must be a more personal reason why the inmate does not want this particular letter intercepted by prison postal officials. Inmates have been known to smuggle large sums of cash out of the institution in this manner, money acquired through loan-sharking, illicit drug trafficking and other questionable activities. Allowed to have only \$25.00 in cash on his person at any time an inmate would risk the mails rather than confiscation of the overage. Once safely delivered to the "outside" the recipient banks the "loot" for the sender or disburses, over a period of time, by return mail, money orders in the amount of \$25.00 creditable to the inmate's account. What appeared to be a perfectly harmless request actually involved the unsuspecting visitor in a felony act, and enabled the inmate to circumvent prison regulations. All inmates will try to "bend" the rules even if it means involving God in their "seedy" schemes.

Aside from those prisoners which profess agnosticism or atheism (rare instances indeed), convicted felons fall generally into two "spiritual" categories - - those that commit acts of violence at God's insistence, and others who believe in some form of organized religion but, nevertheless, engage in criminal activities. The first group, extremely small in number, attain a disproportionate notoriety because of the bizarre circumstances that surround their crimes. Members of this group, that immediately come to mind, are such characters as Thomas (Boston) Corbett, Herbert William Mullin, and John Linley Frazier. Directed by God to shoot John Wilkes Booth, the problematic Sergeant Boston Corbett's role in the affair remains somewhat cloudy. Booth was already dead and the sun high in the sky before it occurred to Corbett to announce that he'd done the shooting, adding, "Providence ordered me." In 1887 God spoke again, and while the Kansas Legislature was in session, Corbett strode into the room, drew a revolver, and opened fierce but ineffective fire on the terrified legislators. While there have been a number of mass murderers in recent criminal history the cases of Herbert Mullin and John Frazier are classic examples of God inspired criminal acts. Between October 1971 and February 1973, Herbert Mullin, of Santa Cruz, California, killed thirteen people. He murdered, almost indiscriminately, to ward off earthquakes and therefore save thousands of lives. In Mullin's mind, the connection was simple. Herb recounted during his trial that anyone who studied the Bible, as he did in school, could under-

stand it: "You read in the Bible, about Jonah . . . Jonah stood up and said . . . If somebody doesn't die, you know, all 13 of us are going to die. And he jumped overboard . . . and he was drowned . . . And the sea . . . in about a half hour or so it calmed down . . . And so they get to town and they go to a bar and they tell the people at the bar about Jonah, and they say, we think Jonah saved our life by committing suicide, and the people at the bar say, well maybe that will help us, so they go out and kill somebody. So the story goes." Mullin believed that he spared thousands of lives with his deeds - - for there were no major earthquakes in California in 1973. John Linley Frazier devoted himself to the implementation of God's special mission for him - - to save the world from the "materialism" that was polluting the planet Earth. He incorporated elements of astrology, numerology, occult philosophy, and phrenology into a confusing delusional system that was reinforced by direct messages he received from God. He began to speak of an impending revolution that was coming "on the 12th hour of the 12th day of the 12th year of the 12th century". On October 19, 1970 John Frazier carried out his "divine mission"; killing a prominent eye surgeon, his wife, their two sons, and the doctor's secretary.

The crimes of men like Mullin and Frazier are frequently, and much too casually, dismissed as products of "sick" minds - - deranged paranoid schizophrenics. But, in reality, are their deviant acts any different from those of inmates, who at the prison reception center; tell the interviewing chaplain that they, one and all, believe in the Father, Son and Holy Ghost? Is Herb Mullin's crime any more heinous than that of the convicted felon who murdered a young man, in a motel room, during the commission of a homosexual act? The inmate's file folder, immediately following his written profession of faith, gives all the dreadful details of the case as do the bound volumes of the law Reporters: "The body was found in a motel bed, mangled by fifteen superficial nicks and twenty-five deeper stab wounds penetrating heart, liver, and lungs. The only article of clothing was a scarf tied around the neck. Ropes draped about the four corners of the bed appeared to be a restraining device which would have tightened the more the victim struggled. There were rope burns on the wrists and ankles. Medical examination disclosed an unusually dilated anus and semen in the rectal cavity and mouth." A young mother, the victim of another professed religious zealot, was employed delivering newspapers on an early morning route. "Deliveries were made from her automobile. At about 4:45 a.m. she stopped to open a vending machine; as she reached the machine

she found she had the wrong key. She returned to her car as the defendant stopped his automobile diagonally in front of her car. He threatened her, forced her into the car with him and drove off in spite of her protests that her baby was in the car with the door open and the engine running. While driving to a more isolated spot the defendant required the victim to remove her clothes and to perform oral sex. After reaching his destination, he then raped her." Another of the inmate "devotee's intent upon the sexual gratification committed battery upon a female with a "chair leg and billy club," rather than his penis, resulting in "perforation of the victim's uterus and rupture of the small intestine." We could continue to cite case after case, but neither time nor space would permit a complete scenario of the thousands of crimes committed yearly against society by "the faithful." The point we wish to make here, is this -- for every crime prosecuted, and defendant convicted, there is a corresponding incarcerated Christian responsible for its perpetration. How do these people reconcile their criminal activities with their religious beliefs?

When a "new cock" inmate first sets foot upon the compound, and the spirit of God begins stirring within his soul, he knows not what subtle ramifications his new found religiosity will bring to bear upon his period of confinement. The only "given," in a case of feigned Christianity, is found in the inmate's belief that somewhere down the line, a parole man, school supervisor, classification officer or judge will note the inmate's conversion to the ways of the Lord and be moved to recommend a shorter period of incarceration. Beyond that initial belief an inmate's knowledge of religion in prison can, for the most part, be attributed to second hand information garnered from other, equally uninformed, convicts.

Throughout the history of Christianity people have suffered countless torments in an effort to prove the depth of their sincerity, and allegiance, to the teachings of their savior Jesus Christ. Crucifixion, torture, banishment, isolation, self-flagellation, and hair shirts all went a long way towards illustrating the point that religion was serious (the disposition of your most important possession, your soul, hung in the balance) business. Multitudes of men, women, and children chose to die rather than deny the faith which would, as the Holy Scriptures had promised, grant them everlasting peace in paradise.

Fortunately, since martyrdom is not one of the chic trends of the 80's, the modern inmate-Christian is not required to surrender

his life for the glorification of God. In fact today's disciple of the Lord is provided with positive inducements to insure that he will remain as one of the sheaves in the flock of Jehovah. Besides the possibility of a shortened sentence an inmate is induced, by a multifaceted assault appealing to a better life style, to continue in his deviant ways. A religious inmate can, if he chooses, derive "fulfillment" by enjoying some of the best fringe benefits the compound has to offer.

The chapel at our institution has all the accouterments necessary to make it, without exception, the most luxurious, and comfortable, building on the compound. The floors are covered in the finest pure wool broadlooms. The draperies have been handmade from the best quality silks. In order to prevent the inmates delicate knees (most inmates spend 25% of their waking hours, down on all fours, shooting craps) from blistering during their long prayerful meditations (a.k.a. sleeping) four-inch thick cushions have been thoughtfully provided. In order to keep the most fervent Christian cool the chapel has its own private climate control system. (Perhaps if the chapel was connected to the institution's large central system, which is usually not operative, the inmates might get a true insight into religion via discovering, for themselves, just how hot the fires of perdition can actually become). The finest of cut flowers abound in the chapel. The inmates are encouraged to cultivate their own flowers and plants as a sign of devotion to the "one" who makes all things grow. To this end a devout convict grew, in the shape of a cross, a small row of privet hedge. This green symbol of the crucifixion was growing not five feet from the main entrance to the chapel. When the hedge had attained the proper height our enterprising "Jesus Boy" carefully planted seedling marijuana plants between the bushes. Before his arboreal stash was discovered the inmate in question, probably owing to his devotion to Christ, was observed to have undergone a miraculous change in personality. He no longer emoted hostility; he was calm and happy (at least until his garden for God was discovered to be a drug store). To help the inmates raise their voices and make a joyful noise unto the Lord an expensive baby grand piano has been provided. And for the truly devout inmate the chapel contains a portable fiber glass tub suitable for use in total immersion baptisms. If it is true the water used in a baptism can actually wash away the sins of the convert we can only hope that great care is exercised in disposing of, what has to be, the most vile of all effluents. Inmates in the chapel are also allowed exclusive use of cassette recorders, video tape cartridges, movie projectors, and television monitors. It is hoped these audiovisual aids will help to disseminate

the word of God to all interested inmates (in much the same manner as Joseph Goebbels spread the word of Adolf Hitler to the German populace).

The chapel also offers the inmates a break in the monotony of their daily routines. In the hope of scaring up new converts inmates are sent on special visits to other correctional institutions. These trips, often three days in duration, afford the convict a chance to stamp out sin and corruption by serving as disciples of Christ. It also gives the inmates an opportunity, through the sale of their surplus marijuana, narcotics, and other contraband items, to get a working knowledge of the free enterprise system. Often, during a working day, inmates are called from their job assignments to participate in Bible study classes, prayer meetings, and psalm singing. This diversion from a hard days work is often enough to convince even the most hardened skeptic that he has heard the clarion call and is now ready to accept the Lord as his savior. The most obvious benefit of being a Christian concerns that certain day of the week upon which every God fearing person must labor exclusively in the service of his Lord - - Sunday. Inmates assigned to work the kitchen, library, ground squads, and dormitories are allowed, in order to preserve their right to freedom of religion, Sunday and other religious holidays off. Being a Christian allows a prisoner to, in effect, work the same Monday to Friday forty-hour schedule that the staff enjoys. When you consider all the special privileges and blessings that are bestowed upon these "bible thumpers" they, in reality, are justified when they run all over the compound, frothing at the mouth, screaming praise the Lord, Jesus loves me. However, none of the convicts are knowledgeable enough to realize that what they should be shouting is: praise the Constitution, amen for the Bill of Rights.

At our institution it is a simple matter for an inmate to dedicate his life to Christ. In fact once a convict declares that he wants to be reborn in the Lord he finds the gates of heaven, and the door to our sumptuous chapel, automatically opened. The unrepentant criminal (comprising 85% of the compound), who converts to Christianity in an effort to beat the system, finds he has made the most expedient decision of his lifetime. Not only has he found a way to a shortened sentence, while being able to partake of all the creature comforts prison life can afford, he has found a way to participate in a game where he can be the only victor. In the eyes of the hard core criminal he is living a lie (his profession of Christianity) in order to be able to live the life of Riley. It is truly amazing to see the sacrifices the devout prisoner is willing to make in showing his dedication to God.

Obviously one would hope that before a convict could be accepted as a true "convert" he would be forced to pass a rigorous series of examinations (similar in scope and depth to the Spanish Inquisition) to ascertain the sincerity of his belief in Christ. Unfortunately, in an inmates PSI (Post Sentence Investigation) there is only a single sheet of paper, containing four major questions, that is used to determine a prisoners candidacy for participation in religious programs. The first question asks: are you a Christian, and if so to what denomination do you belong? The second asks: are your parents Christians? The third: do you believe in the Trinity? The final question is: do you believe that Christ is the Son of God and that he was sent to Earth to absolve you of your sins? If a "new cock" inmate answers yes to all of the above questions his name is referred to the chaplain of the institution he is bound for. It is the responsibility of the prison chaplain to determine if true religious fervor is present in the inmate.

The inmate wishing to participate in religious activity is requested to present himself, for an in-depth interview at the chaplain's office. Before he enters that hallowed room our potential "Jesus freak" must pass through the chapel. What he sees in that building goes a long way to convince him that all blessings do, in fact, flow from the bounty of the Lord. Once he enters the chaplain's rectory, the inmate is quite sure that he has found heaven on Earth.

When you consider that most religions (especially those found in the deep south) place little value in the trappings of earthly vanities and materialism it is surprising to note that our chaplain has an office which rivals, for pure luxury and comfort, the superintendent's suite. Top quality incidental furniture, a solid mahogany desk, plush chairs, and a fine Persian Rug all adorn the chaplain's office. All fabrics and carpetings are colored in shades of red (it is said that religion provides food for the soul - - that must be why our reverend's office looks like the interior of a fine Chicago Steakhouse). As one looks around the room the absence of religious articles (e.g., pictures of Christ, a painting of the last Supper, crucifixes, etc.) is keenly noted. It could be that our chaplain is afraid at offending the three Jews and twenty Muslims that we presently have on the compound. Or perhaps he in some way feels guilty about his participation in one of the biggest religious hoaxes since the Great Schism of 1378-1417.

Upon meeting the inmate for the first time the chaplain sets about to tackle the difficult problem at hand. He must determine, by acting as a human polygraph (lie detector), if an inmate can be

brought closer to rehabilitation through the teachings of his Lord -- Jesus Christ. In reality the chaplain's own professed belief in Christianity, and its' ideas relating to the basic good found in all men, should automatically exclude him from passing judgement on an inmates religiosity. The prisoner to be quizzed knows exactly how to play into the hands of his audience. He first tells the chaplain that he has made a mistake. ("Whosoever committeth sin transgresseth also the law: for sin is the transgression of the law." 1 John 3:4). Then he says that he is truly sorry. ("Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins." "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." Acts 2:38; 16:31). And to conclude his Oscar winning performance the convict states that from now on he will trust in the Lord to keep him on the path of righteousness. ("For thou, Lord, art good, and ready to forgive; and plenteous in mercy unto all them that call upon thee." Psalm 86:5). Upon hearing, and believing (after all who would lie to a chaplain in the house of God) this oral vomitus our reverend marks another notch, signifying one more soul saved from Satan, in his crucifix. If our chaplain had been one of the original twelve disciples he could have, single-handedly, brought Christianity to the heathens of the world in one months time. As Perry Mason has never lost a case our chaplain has never failed, in his own estimation, to save a soul from damnation.

At the conclusion of the interview the reverend consoles the now distraught inmate by telling him his choice to follow Christ will be the wisest decision of his entire life. As the uplifted inmate helps himself to the free coffee and doughnuts, which are always available in the chapel, he "KNOWS" that he has made the right decision. The chaplain then records his findings, on paper, and attaches them to the inmates institutional jacket. It is ironic to note that the religious questionnaire is fastened directly above an inmates "rap sheet". By reading both pages it is truly amazing to see the dichotomy of behaviors that the human organism is capable of manifesting. On one sheet you are presented with a picture of Charles Manson and on the next sheet you'd swear you could see the visage of Saint Peter. Truly miraculous.

It is a simple duty for our minister to forgive the heinous actions of individuals who are totally removed from his own personal life. But what of the families of the victims. Can they, as good Christians, see it in their hearts to forgive a man who: abducted, raped, sodomized, tortured, and fatally stabbed their nine-year-old daughter.

Would these people be willing, or able, to abide by this statement: "vengeance is mine, sayest the Lord." And, if they were made aware of it do you think they would permit their daughters, supposedly penitent, killer to benefit from one of the best life styles on the prison compound. We think if such a tolerant family could be found they should be canonized and publicly proclaimed saints.

As often happens in most attempts at brainwashing there are unforeseen consequences which, almost always, serve to alter an individuals thought process. After prolonged exposure to the teachings of Christianity some inmates, who had previously feigned religiosity, find that the ways of the Lord can be utilized as a crutch to help rationalize away their prior criminal activities. The Bible teaches that all men are weak and subject to certain temptations of the flesh. This statement further serves to enforce an inmates belief that the only thing that separates him from a "free man" is the fact that the free man has not, as yet, been caught. Found in the Bible is the belief that when you sin, and freely confess your crime to Almighty God, you will be forgiven. To the misdirected inmate this means that if you have bludgeoned to death three children, seen the error of your ways and confessed to God it will be as though no crime against humanity had ever been committed. Finally, the Bible states that if you have been absolved of your sins there is nothing to stop you from going out, committing another sin and being granted another absolution. This cyclical pattern of sin and forgiveness allows an inmate to continue his deviant behavior secure in the knowledge that no matter how foul his crime the Lord will find it in his heart to forgive. The prisoner, using his own convoluted thinking, has found a way to subvert religion into one of his most valuable assets - an additional excuse to justify his anti-social behavior.

In much the same fashion as the ancient Greeks described the pitfalls of hubris (excessive pride) the "saved" convict begins to take on airs of moral superiority in his relationships with his peer group. Those who have not found the Lord are considered to be the property of Satan. It is interesting to overhear a child molester say that a petty burglar, who is not of a religious persuasion, is nothing but a filthy sleaze bag (talk about the kettle calling the teapot black.) Also difficult to comprehend is a neer-do-well pseudo-Christian (and known practicing homosexual) with an IQ of 70 telling a well-educated enlightened staff member (a person with an earned doctorate and twenty-five years experience) that since he does not acknowledge a belief in Christ his total life work amounts to nothing (this coming from a twenty-two year old idiot who has never had a productive day

in his entire life).

Joan of Arc, if you will recall from the beginning of this chapter, saw a light and then was privy to hearing the voice of God. The typical inmate undergoes a similar revelation upon seeing, for the first time, the iron bars located at the entrance to most correctional institutions. If you can accept this premise it would only seem logical to conclude that when a convict leaves his prison environment, and the sight of those iron bars, he will no longer be able to hear the voice of God. By the time many of our former "jesus boys" have driven ten miles from the institution they have broken five of the ten Commandments and committed innumerable violations of civil law. One "rehabilitated" Christian convict who had violated the conditions of his parole, and was returned to the same prison he was previously incarcerated in, told the story of his first hour as a free man. He said: "I got into my brother's car, fucked and sucked my brother's wife, smoked a little dope, drank some whiskey, took my .357 magnum from the glove box and began to plot my revenge against the snitching pussy ass motherfucker who sent me to the joint." (This inmate must have, carelessly, neglected to pack his Bible when he left prison. Too bad; he probably could have used it to make a deep impression in the head of his next intended victim.)

According to the state department of corrections every department on the compound must, in order to justify their own existence, be able to quantitatively prove that they are making some progress towards rehabilitating inmates. The educational/vocational departments administer intelligence and skill examinations. The classification/social services sections test to determine the level of personality adjustment an inmate has undergone. The hospital keeps detailed records dealing with an inmate's mental problems and the methods employed to alleviate them. However, as the belief in Christ is based, in large measure, upon blind faith so too is the determination of an inmate's acceptance of religion. If the outward signs (attendance at Bible School and Sunday services, psalm singing and a somewhat pious attitude) indicate an inmate has found the Lord his discovery will go unquestioned. Here in the heart of the (hallelujah, praise the Lord, amen) Bible Belt converting a convict for Christ is considered to be a sure way to inhibit his further participation in criminal activity. This acceptance of belief, based solely upon faith, leaves two major problems unresolved. First, can anyone rely on the word of someone who has dedicated his entire life to proving that he is totally untrustworthy? Second, can belief in Christianity (in whose name countless numbers of people have been exiled, tortured and slain) really be expected to serve as a deterrent

to criminal activity. Any intelligent individual with the slightest semblance of history will be forced to conclude: the only thing wrong with Christianity is found in the fact that nobody practices it.

Chapter 5

PITCHING AND CATCHING

Unlike the contrived religiosity of inmates "pitching and catching" is a stark reality for many male residents of penal institutions. We are not referring here to the athletic event which takes place on sand-lot and major league baseball playing fields, but rather the widespread homosexual activities practiced in all male correctional facilities. The sex roles are easily discernible: the "pitcher" is the partner who inserts his erect penis into the rectum of the other participant, the "catcher." Rarely are the roles of the players reversed -- the "pitcher" almost always retains his dominance in future sexual relationships, especially if that relationship is an extended one with the same partner.

At this point it may be important for the authors to state that they do not propose to become engaged in a controversy over the moral, legal, social or mental aspects of homosexuality. Debates involving these issues have been unending, have resolved little, and certainly have not changed the opinions of the opposing experts, especially in those areas where expertise has not been established. The American Psychiatric Association, after its 1973 convention, dropped homosexuality from its DSM-II (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual) official disease classification. A homosexual who has a conflict (disturbance) is ill; without the conflict, he is not. Thus the subject's evaluation of his own condition has become the criterion for his mental health. If one agrees with the premise, as set forth by the A.P.A., it will invariably lead to the erroneous conclusion that those who are happily gratifying their sexual impulses are normal, while those who are being subjected to alien sexual advances are in conflict -- hence ill. Yet, 69% of the membership of the American Medical Association still consider homosexuality to be a pathological adaptation. Our purpose is to refrain from such debates and merely describe the organization and practice of homosexuality in correctional facilities.

Repeatedly we will be describing homosexual relationships consisting of a black participant (almost always in the masculine role) and a white participant (performing the passive role). In most institutions certain preconditions, that foster this type of racial mix exist. For the most part the black inmate is: streetwise, experienced

(because of prior convictions) in institutional survival, incarcerated for a violent crime, a product of a "broken home" and a member of a low socio-economic class. In opposition to this, most white inmates are: unfamiliar with life "on the streets," naive to the subtleties of institutionalization, serving time for a nonviolent (usually drug related) offense, and apprehensive and fearful about dealing with an unknown quantity -- the black man. In the prison subculture the average white is left "off balance" while he tries to adapt to his new environment. The black, however, is acutely aware of this disability and, wasting no time capitalizing on the whites' disorientation, moves in for the "kill" before his "quarry" can regain its' full faculties. Reducing everything to its lowest common denominator we are left with the inescapable conclusion that Darwin's theory regarding the "survival of the fittest" not only applies to natural selection but also to successful adaptation to life in a penal institution.

The initial phase of most homosexual relationships begin, as a courtship ritual, every time a contingent of new inmates cross the threshold to our institution. "New cocks," as they are affectionately called, may enter our compound as often as twice a week. Interested inmates already in residence, or in some cases trusted representatives, sent by influential convicts who wish to preserve their anonymity, scrutinize their new counterparts much like judges arbitrating a beauty contest -- those less discriminate may view it more like "rams" contemplating a pasture dotted with fresh "ewes."

After the preliminary inspection of the new inmates is completed a "grace period" of 16 days (the length of time a new inmate spends in general isolation while he is in orientation) allows the potential "daddy" sufficient time to plan his strategy concerning what approach he will use to convert the "new cock" into a new "son." Some of the less influential daddies, those lacking in finesse, will use the direct approach. The daddy will walk up to his "heart's desire" and say, "if you expect to get out of here alive you had better bend over and keep your mouth shut." This method is extremely crude but very effective. The more powerful inmate will often employ a "go-between" to approach the new arrival. This is done to protect the super-con from an unknown, and possibly unstable, inmate who might have no inhibitions about "snitching out" someone who was attempting to usurp his manhood. This modified version of the "John Alden Gambit"

virtually insures that when our "Captain John Smith" finally meets his "Priscilla" he will be in full control of the situation and will encounter little resistance in having his desires satisfied. The last, and most ingenious approach, is utilized only by the most astute and intelligent of inmates. The inmate with the "knowledge" unleashes a psychological attack upon his intended victim. Using subtle methods of brainwashing, behavior modification, and aversion therapy our intellectual inmate systematically sets about to destroy the "new cock's" already weakened self image. When the "head games" are finished our "psyched-out" inmate is completely alienated from both himself and his surroundings. At this time our amateur psychiatrist rushes in with an understanding attitude and a very ulterior motive. Soon the "new cock" is sure that he has found a "true" friend - - a friend he would be willing to do "anything" for. At this point in time our daddy knows that the courtship ritual is finally at an end.

Many social scientists have, in recent times, come to look upon the disintegration of the institution of marriage as a barometer pointing towards the eventual collapse of our present societal system. These scientists might find solace in the knowledge that the institution of marriage (in slightly modified form) is flourishing behind the walls of our facility. After courting has been completed our "daddy" settles back to enjoy the fruits of his labor - - his new "boy." With a fierce animalistic ardor our suitor "takes the bloom off the rose" and consummates, while also sanctifying, his relationship. Having "carnal knowledge" of his boy the daddy has forever inserted his indelible brand upon the posterior of his son. Much as slaves in this country were considered as being "chattel" the boy is now looked upon as a prized possession of his "protector." The adage concerning honor among thieves obviously extends to the relationship between daddy and son. Once claim has been laid to a boy no one on the compound will try to muscle in on the daddy's action. The only exception to this "gentleman's agreement" occurs when a daddy, for one reason or another, is removed from circulation. When this happens other daddies descend upon the "fuck boy" as vultures descend on a carcass. As many mammals do our happy couple usually remains united, as "husband and wife," for the duration of their sentences. There are no divorces sought simply because the available supply of raw material is extremely limited. In every sense the sanctity of marriage is better preserved by the prison subculture than it is by "free" society.

After a carefully nurtured homosexual relationship begins to flourish the bonds of protection and "unrequited" love often grow particularly intense. The participants become inseparable, they constantly seek each other out - - leave their work assignments without permission, to meet clandestinely, engage in the same leisure activities, stroll together (hand-in-hand) on the compound and playfully "pick and touch" much in the manner of lower primates. Often the loving couple will openly participate in a form of sexual foreplay. This game consists of the daddy rubbing his penis to the point of ejaculation, removing that particular hand from his groin, and placing it upon the arm of his boy. The loyalty of these "chain gang" partners becomes so strong that they will not allow anything, including disciplinary confinement, to interrupt the sanctity of their relationship. If daddy is placed in "lock up," or sent to work on a motivation squad, for an infraction of institutional regulations, he knows the estrangement from his son will not be a lengthy one. Dad's well trained, and conditioned boy, within hours, will contrive to have himself removed from the general prison population. He will commit a blatant act of defiance, in the presence of a security officer, serious enough to guarantee a swift reunion. In most cases boys realize that protection is vital and that it is imperative to remove themselves from the compound "forthwith and posthaste." As mentioned earlier, without daddy's watchful protection, a boy could become the target of other possibly more influential, lustful pimp-oriented daddies.

In some instances the boy actually comes to look upon the daddy as fulfilling the role of a true father figure. Much as some hostages look upon their captors as being justified in their actions, these particular boys believe their father has done no wrong. In many cases these pseudo-father figures provide more discipline, guidance, material goods, protection and even love (as manifested in a sense of belonging) than their real fathers did. The loyalty, no matter how misplaced, opens up new horizons for the enterprising daddy. If a daddy is fortunate enough to have a boy who is undyingly loyal he can use him to continue his illicit activities even while he might be "incommunicado." In one case a daddy, based upon the allegations of a "new cock" inmate, was locked up pending the investigation of a rape charge. Daddy's "bottom" man, when made aware of the situation, approached his partner's accuser and warned him: "if any harm comes to my 'road dog' your life won't be worth living." The boy's braggadocio

worked, and the charges were quickly dropped.

Needless to say, not every inmate on the compound goes through this formalized ceremony. There are many choices, and other lifestyles, to suit the particular needs of the individual. One alternative, for those inmates physically unable to engage in combat, is to seek some sort of protection. Prisons are notorious for their share of "good samaritans" -- have you ever met an inmate professing belief in the Trinity who would not provide safe conduct to their persecuted fellows? Now the timid inmate, engaged in this more formalized type of business arrangement, need only to submit to the sexual or financial appetites of his "protector" and he will be assured of receiving succor. Feigning mental derangement, or gross neurotic behavior (which in some cases needs little encouragement) is another device which keeps potential suitors at a safe distance. Inmates exhibiting aberrant tendencies would, as mentioned earlier, be untrustworthy in a situation where they might be questioned by authorities concerning the commission of homosexual acts; they might just "flap-off" without regard for consequences to themselves or to the daddy. Consequences which, in some states, can be as severe as an additional fifteen year sentence if a daddy were to be found guilty of rape in outside court.

Not all inmates are coerced into homosexual relationships. Some fight rather than submit, others are never approached because of physique, personal hygiene, past criminal records, and education. Still others are already of that "particular" sexual persuasion before entering the penal system. A member of the latter group, this "stranger in paradise," loses precious little time in announcing "his/her" arrival. A male dog's drive to procreate is so strong that he can smell a bitch in heat anywhere within a one mile radius. It seems as though the average inmate, on the make, can smell a prison-bound bitch ten miles down the highway. The newly arrived felon, like a liberated closet queen, appears on the compound in full regalia. The attire is one befitting the "oldest profession" -- the shirt tied in a knot slightly above the waist, exposing the midriff, knee socks with shower slides, trousers rolled up to the knees, bandana around the neck, and a white handkerchief floating gracefully from a belt holder. As befitting the "fair" sex it is not uncommon to see these persons with plucked eyebrows and liberal applications of rouge, nail polish and perfume. The entire routine, including the swishing gait is reminiscent of a "gas lighting" prostitute -- with the added innovation of mobility.

The labors of our male courtesans do not go without financial recompense. For approximately \$2.00 any budding compound Lothario can find the "girl" of his dreams. As the Protestant Work Ethic states: those who work hard will be successful. Such is the case with many of our more enterprising homosexuals. Determined inmates who are "hot-to-trot" willingly line up as if they were waiting for a train, pay a \$2.00 admission fee, step inside a shower stall and relieve the tensions of prison life by "skeeting" into the anus of a compliant, and often eager, homosexual. With an almost limitless demand upon his services a "fag" can easily amass a large sum of money in a relatively short span of time. A problem usually arises when our "nouveau riche" queen decides that he wants to become more discriminating, and restrict his relationships to a higher class of clientele. In the case of a white homosexual he might decide that he no longer wishes to service blacks. The usual result of this arbitrary attitude is an unscheduled visit to the infirmary. In many cases, after enough coercion has been employed, our recalcitrant homosexual usually decides to return to doing business as usual. However, in some cases this type of individual will try to find someone who could, for a fee, supply him with much needed protection.

Only the most influential of convicts, "super-cons," are able to prosper as compound pimps. These talented men perform a delicate balancing act which consists of managing a "harem" of several boys, each one a potential informant, while trying to avoid detection by curious staff members. These "players," to a large degree, retain their anonymity by being an excellent judge of character. Every pimp knows that if he is "fronting" for four boys he is faced with four distinct personality types -- each having its own idiosyncrasies. The pimp must provide what at least appears to be a valuable service to his "men" otherwise they might seek protection elsewhere, or turn snitch. The pimp is such a good salesman he can easily convince a boy his protection is so valuable it's almost priceless. As a result many boys exchange all their illicit earnings for the promise of protection, and a few small cosmetic items. Employing a combination of learned skills: being an accurate judge of character, having the ability to remain anonymous and being an expert extortionist the pimp can truly be looked upon as the compound "man for all seasons."

As discussed earlier most of the pitching, as well as most of the pimping on the compound, is practiced by black inmates. These blacks

harbor a number of unique ideas concerning: their own role in a homosexual relationship, the concept of manhood, their own self image. When inmates are questioned about their overt homosexual acts, either informally or formally, in a disciplinary hearing they react by characterizing a heterosexual affair. Invariably the inmate who was inserting his erect penis into his "partner's" rectum will vehemently deny that he is a homosexual - - one who desires sexual activity with another of the same sex. The standard reply is that he is the man, and the person catching his phallus is the woman. The question: Are you a homosexual? may be asked repeatedly, but the "pitcher" will never deviate to the point of denying his "manhood." The "catcher" when asked about his homosexuality, will assume a role of total passivity and usually no response is evoked until some very sensitive correctional officer poses the enlightened question: Does your momma know you're a fairy?

The misconception that the "pitcher" has about his own homosexuality, his buggery, may be caused, to some extent, by the "macho" role image he has developed within himself. The incarcerated black male projects his exaggerated sense of masculinity toward other inmates in much the same way that he would in a disco, on a Saturday night, chasing after some woman (or for that matter another man). The "macho" role is much easier to effect on the compound than it is on the street. A free "macho-man," in search of a score, must: dress a certain way, drive a certain type of car, frequent particular types of entertainment facilities and, in general, create his projected image with a great deal of money. On the compound "macho" is nothing more than equal proportions of being able to "run your mouth" combined with the ability to defend yourself (or as the inmates say, have "heart"). Once an inmate receives peer group recognition, as in fact being worthy of the title of macho, he ascends to the position of being a lower echelon daddy.

In many cases a daddy, or player, transfers part of his value system, regarding male/female relationships, from free society to the atmosphere of the institution. A majority of the blacks at our institution come from low socio-economic backgrounds. In many cases their fathers abandoned their parental responsibilities during the child's formative years. This abandonment resulted in the child being forced to grow up in a matriarchal family unit. As a result of this many blacks are often willing to be dominated by those individuals who project a

strong female image (mother). On the compound this desire for control, or domination, can be manifested through the daddy's abuse of his "bitch." Since the nature of the white catcher is to be totally diminutive the black's need to be controlled is not fulfilled. As a result he will often try to injure his "weak" partner in much the same manner his father abused his mother. In many cases the black inmate would like to abandon his partner. However, "partners" in an institution are rather difficult to come by hence it's easier to alleviate ones frustrations by "punching out" rather than by walking out. At any given time 50% of the "known" homosexuals on the compound can be seen sporting some sort of scar or bruise on their body.

Not to be overlooked, especially in institutions where the black population exceeds the white, is the projection of racial conflict from the street to the prison compound. Procurement of white inmates by blacks is often viewed by non-consenting whites as a form of black intimidation. Accustomed to a society that has historically relegated blacks to the status of second class citizens, the role is now reversed, and the white "fuck-boy" must assume the societal position previously held by the black. In graphic terms it simply translates as: "You whites have been fucking us for years, now it's our turn." The slogan among a few courageous white inmates is "fuck or fight," and not infrequently a white inmate finds himself in "jail" just hours after his isolated period of institutional orientation is completed and he is released onto the compound.

Many of the events previously described in this chapter were allowed to transpire simply because the attitude of the compound, staff members included, towards homosexual activity can best be described as indifferent. The matter-of-fact treatment of this unique behavior has resulted in numerous situations, which if they were not so tragic, might be considered as comic. Picture, if you will, a new employee who has only been on the job for six days. This, individual, having a profound need to "relieve" himself goes to use the nearest restroom. He, in haste, swings open the lavatory door and sees two inmates in a crouched position--pants down around their knees. Upon closer inspection he realizes that one inmate is holding on to the sink while the second inmate is firmly implanting his penis into the catcher's anus. The chagrined staff member shouted: "Just what do you think you're doing?" "Why I'm washing my hands," replied the inmate next to the sink. "Yeah, and I'm helping him." stated his partner. In another instance a white inmate who had been previously catching

from a black, received a \$2,300 check from the Social Security Administration. Within two days the white boy and his former daddy were brought before the disciplinary team for a violation of institutional rules and regulations - performing sex acts. Usually, a violation concerning sex acts is not "advertised" by the parties involved. In this case, however, the white inmate, who could be seen strutting around the compound like a rooster just out of the hen house, would tell anyone who would listen that he was the pitcher, and his former daddy was the catcher. Who ever said money can't buy happiness? Just prior to the Christmas holidays many inmates, who have close ties in the free world, receive large Christmas packages. These packages contain items that the inmates are usually deprived of during the rest of the year. So great is the inmates hunger for some of these delicacies that they would do anything to obtain them. One inmate gleefully exchanged a piece of his ass for a slice of his favorite fruitcake. It seems only natural, at this festive time of year, for two kindred spirits to unite in a sincere expression of "brotherly love." A few years ago, on the 4th of July, several of our more flamboyant queens decided they would celebrate the holiday by dressing up as women. Several of the officers got wind of this scheme and thought it might be a "kick" . . . to help these ladies in distress. On the morning of July 4th staff members presented these "sweet things" with some of their wives more alluring undergarments. Minutes later the entire population resounded with gales of laughter, as these "women" paraded up and down the compound attired in "packed" bras, panties, stockings, high heels and wigs. Later that evening, according to some officers, fireworks exploded in every shower cube on the compound.

Many officers, without regard for possible ramifications, often play games with homosexuals. Reuniting known faggots in confinement or on disciplinary squads appears to be the rule rather than the exception. Is it done because potential violence over the control of boys is to be avoided at any cost? Perhaps homosexuality, like trafficking in drugs, is tolerated just enough to keep the prisoners tranquil. Is it a display of prison officialdoms mentality, or lack of mentality? When security officers, purely for their own entertainment, lock two "Partners" in solitary confinement to see how they "get on" you can be assured that those officers are not proponents of the enlightened approach to corrections. Or perhaps the influence of the daddy is so complete that it extends into the ranks of the correctional staff. With the staff being outnumbered four to one the inmates could easily run

the compound. When questioned about inmate control of the compound the average prisoner will tell you "sure, we could easily run the place but we don't want it."

Shattered psychics are not the only bi-products of homosexual relationships. Cases in which physical injury results from the act of buggery are rare. But it has been known to happen, occasionally with fatal results. A noteworthy example was Oscar Wilde's French friend Marcel Schwob, who, died from the effects of a syphilitic tumor in the rectum. Rectal gonorrhea or gonococcal proctitis occurs almost exclusively in "catchers." Similarly male homosexuals may develop primary syphilitic lesions around the anus or actually inside the wall of the rectum, although primary sores may also occur on the lips or inside the mouth through kissing an infected partner. Today, male homosexuals with rectal infections are effectively treated with penicillin, however, sometimes they prove difficult to cure and require repeated treatment. One all male institution we are familiar with diagnosed three cases of gonorrhea in March, 1982, and by October, 1982, sixty-three inmates were confined and being treated for the disease; approximately 8% of the inmate population being infected. So, there are difficulties in treating venereal disease in prisons where homosexuality is practiced on a daily basis.

At his trial for homosexual offenses in 1895, Oscar Wilde was asked in cross-examination about "the love that dare not speak its name." The phrase appeared in the poem "Two Loves" written by his friend Lord Alfred Douglas, and prosecuting counsel put it to Wilde that the reference was to "unnatural love" as distinct from "natural" or heterosexual love. "The love that dare not speak its name," Wilde replied, ". . . is in this century misunderstood . . . and on account of it I am placed where I am now. It is beautiful, it is fine, it is the noblest form of affection. There is nothing unnatural about it. . . That it should be so, the world does not understand."

The striking changes, since the Wilde trial, in the moral standards judging sexual behavior are largely responsible for the public's having become more familiar with and accepting the views that individuals advance about their sexual preferences. While it is not our purpose to examine here all the factors involved in this transformation of standards, the one which is probably the most important, and which appears to have effected all others, is the modification of the humanist ideology, which fundamentally opposes any infringement on individual dignity. And there are those who take this to extreme in

advocating (not merely stating) that love between children and parents, between spouses and their close friends and between persons of the same sex, legitimately involves sexual behavior which, it is claimed, is the completion of the expression of their love for each other.

Oscar Wilde, in 1895, received a sentence of two years' imprisonment at hard labor for his "extensive corruption of the most hideous kind among young men." He probably would have loved "doing time," had he been able to choose his own partners, in our present penal system where the humanist ideology, by all appearances, is thriving -- where homosexual behavior is as proper, acceptable, normal and natural as heterosexuality.

Chapter 6

BOSSMAN, I KNOWS MY RIGHTS

Prisoners' rights include, but are not necessarily limited to, nutritious and well-balanced diets in adequate quantities, prompt and complete medical and dental care, provisions for an acceptable level of sanitation (proper bedding and clothing and laundry service), personal hygiene (toilet articles and an opportunity to bathe frequently), proper ventilation and fresh air, adequate heating in winter months, adequate light, and a generally healthful environment, proper housing (not less than sixty square feet of floor space to any confined sleeping area is a nationally accepted standard), reasonable opportunities for physical exercise and recreational activities and protection against any physical abuse or unnecessary indignity.

Any time an inmate seriously violates prison "rules and regulations" he can expect to have his rights (privileges) greatly curtailed. Disciplinary confinement, for instance, would constitute a more restrictive environment with substantial loss of "privileges." Typically, when segregated from the general prison population, the inmate is placed in a cell equipped with a bed and bedding, a toilet and a wash-basin with hot and cold running water, both of which are controlled by the inmate. Lighting is provided by a single bulb which is controlled by the correctional officers. In disciplinary segregation the inmate is provided with overalls and shower slides (shoes) as his clothing. These are changed twice a week. Inmates in disciplinary confinement are not usually restricted with regard to diet and receive the same rations as those in the general population, however, each and every meal is served and consumed in the cell. A member of the medical department may see the inmates confined in disciplinary segregation as frequently as every forty-eight hours. While in the cell the inmate may be permitted to converse with those others close to him.

While confined in disciplinary segregation, the inmate never gets out of the cell for exercise; he never gets out of the cell for sunshine; he never gets out of the cell to go to work; he never gets out of the cell to go to church; he never gets out of the cell to go to school; he never gets out of the cell to go to the television room; and he never gets out of his cell to go to the prison law library. Each week an inmate confined in disciplinary segregation is removed from his cell three times to take a shower. The time interval allowed is between three and ten minutes, and during this period the inmate is expected to go to the shower room,

take a shower and return. And, while in disciplinary confinement, an inmate is not permitted to see the other inmates on the wing.

When a person is committed by a court of competent jurisdiction to the appropriate custodial authority, he suffers some losses of rights and privileges. For example, he is not entitled to the right of liberty. Further, if he cannot adhere to prison rules and regulations he is apt to lose even more of those precious few "rights" which he does retain, especially if he is segregated from the other inmates for disciplinary reasons.

The prison world, a closed society unto itself, is a highly structured place where, in order to promote discipline and compel structure, the prison authority utilizes both the "carrot and the stick" (rewards and punishments). Thus, in order to encourage behavior considered desirable, the prison authority can utilize untold numbers of rewards and privileges for desirable conduct. What the common free man may take wholly for granted can quite obviously become a coveted privilege within the context of the prison society. On the other hand, the authority can associate undesirable conditions with nonconforming behavior.

This is, of course, not merely historically evident but understandable. Those persons convicted of crime have a fortiori, been unable to conform to societal norms written into law by the society from whence they come; in short, they could not meet the minimal requirements of the free world. Consequently, a more highly structured society may be one which more conveniently accommodates the promotion of socialized behavior. Secondly, the prison administration, although superior in its authority and possessed of the initiative, has only limited resources at its disposal. Only a few must control the very many. Therefore, simply in order to maintain control of the prison society generally and of its individual constituents on a daily basis, it becomes necessary for those entrusted by the state with the custodial function to use a system of rewards and punishments.

These methods of maintaining control have been, perhaps unwittingly, further necessitated by the supporting society. This society, as it speaks through its legislative bodies, often seems only interested in forgetting about its prisoner problem. This does not appear to be the fault of the prison authority which, year after year, continues to knock unsuccessfully at the appropriative door.

Additionally, the courts have played a role, for they have tra-

ditionally accepted a non-interference policy which has been characteristically of the very broadest scope. Subsequent to the commitment of a person to the appropriate custodial authority, the courts have historically and simply refused to consider most of the conditions of incarceration. Indeed, it is surprising that the courts have so delineated their authority within the spectrum of what we refer to as the criminal justice system. It would rather seem that the courts should consider themselves to have some basic type of continuing responsibility. The idea seems to have developed that, although justice vigilantly protects the accused through the process of conviction, it subsequently becomes truly blind to all but the most outrageous conditions of confinement. Consequently, the prison authority, left without significant monetary resources is asked to "hold the line," and has had few, if any, alternatives to its social structure.

Because of the prison structure, inmates have generally been thought to be without a portfolio of rights. Most benefits and advantages have been considered to be matters of privilege, not right, which the prison authority may in its broad discretion distribute to deserving inmates. The courts have had no quarrel with the prison's authority's right to grant, as matters within its discretion, whatever privileges it deems appropriate to those within its custody. However, once a privilege is granted, it becomes, to some extent at least, vested. Once the privilege is granted, the inmate is entitled to it. Thus, in terms of constitutionally permissible distinctions, there is no distinction between "rights" and "privileges." This doctrine is applicable within the prison context and is one application of the general proposition that relevant constitutional restraints limit state power to terminate an entitlement whether the entitlement is designated a "right" or a "privilege." Thus, the relevant constitutional restraint, procedural due process, comes into play when the entitlement, a privilege previously granted to the inmate is to be taken away. The proposition of "due process" is the basis for most prisoner rights complaints. For example, once an inmate is assigned the privilege of living in the general population with all of its concomitant benefits he is entitled as a matter of right to procedural due process before he is placed in the restrictive atmosphere of disciplinary confinement.

Disciplinary actions are usually initiated upon a complaint of a custodial officer or other prison official that an inmate has violated a prison rule or regulation. The matter is then referred to the prison disciplinary committee for hearing and disposition. The committee is

composed of senior prison officials such as the superintendent, assistant superintendent, classification officers, education supervisors, and other designated officials.

From here, the procedural methods for conducting a disciplinary hearing vary from state to state and institution to institution. In some proceedings, the committee will reach a decision solely based on the complaint and summarily order punishment. The decision is made on the basis of the complaint and any other information that the committee may have concerning the incident (investigative report) and the inmate's background. The most common procedure, however, is to conduct a hearing at which the disciplinary committee meets with the inmate, notifies him of the charges, and allows him an opportunity to respond. Until recent court intervention, an inmate charged with an offense often had no right to present evidence, call witnesses in his behalf, confront his accuser, confront his accuser's witnesses, cross-examine adverse witnesses, or invoke a privilege against self-incrimination. Moreover, the inmate was not represented by counsel or a counsel substitute and no record of the proceeding was made. An inmate charged with an offense before a disciplinary committee had no meaningful protective devices available to him that would have insured: a fair hearing at a meaningful time and in a meaningful manner, being heard by an impartial fact finder and decision maker, receiving a decision based on the evidence, a record sufficient to justify the disciplinary committee's action. Only in isolated cases did prison officials grant prisoners who were charged with disciplinary infractions more procedural protections, such as the right to call witnesses, to cross-examine, and to be represented by counsel or counsel substitute.

The first case in which the Supreme Court of the United States addressed the issue of due process rights that prisoners are entitled to at disciplinary hearings was Wolff v. McDonnell (418 U. S. 539 (1974)). The Court said that although a prisoner's rights are diminished by virtue of incarceration, "there is no iron curtain drawn between the Constitution and the prisons of this country." The Court ruled that before a prisoner could be seriously penalized for a disciplinary violation the state must provide certain minimum procedures. "A prisoner is entitled to at least 24-hour written notice of the charges against him, the right to call witnesses and present documentary evidence in his defense when doing so would not be unduly hazardous to institutional safety or correctional goals, the right to an impartial hearing body to hear the proceeding, and the right to a

written statement by the hearing body as to the evidence it relied on and the reasons for whatever disciplinary action it takes." The Court also said in Wolff that "although it was not required it would be useful for prison officials to state their reasons for refusing to call a witness and that the prisoner had no right to cross-examine witnesses at a disciplinary hearing, although prison officials could at their discretion permit this." Finally, the Court said that there was "no right to counsel in a disciplinary hearing."

A number of lower state and federal courts in their decisions and settlement agreements, regarding due process for prisoners, have basically followed the guidelines set forth in Wolff v. McDonnell, and state correctional departments have incorporated due process safeguards for prisoners into their operating rules and regulations. For example, typical due process procedures for placing an inmate in disciplinary confinement usually include written directives regarding: disciplinary violations and team makeup, reporting disciplinary infractions, preparation of disciplinary reports and disposition of charges, frequency of team meetings, conduct of hearing, review provisions, disciplinary alternatives, disciplinary actions, confinement facilities and conditions, rules of prohibited conduct and penalties for infractions. We should examine these above subsections in detail to determine whether they provide adequate due process procedures, or constitute a vehicle for continuing "cruel and unusual punishment" as so many inmates charge. The following corresponding subsections have been extracted from the "rules and regulations" of a state department of corrections that supervises a major prison population:

Disciplinary violations and team makeup: Minor rule violations may be heard by the hearing officer who is appointed in writing by the superintendent and approved by the regional director. Such an individual should be selected based upon his knowledge of the department's operation, understanding of human behavior, concern for individuals, noted for reasonableness and sound judgement, and ability to relate to both staff and inmates. Such hearing officer shall be delegated the responsibility to review disciplinary reports and dispose of all reports where he can administer reasonable corrective action short of disciplinary confinement or loss of gain time and, thus, preclude the necessity of a disciplinary hearing. However, the inmate will have the option of having the case heard by the hearing officer or requesting that it be referred to the full disciplinary team. This decision on the

part of the inmate will be made before the punishment is imposed. Major rule violations will be heard only by the disciplinary team designated in writing by the superintendent. Suggested membership of the team is as follows: classification specialist or supervisor, correctional officer, work supervisor or education staff member. However, any member of the disciplinary team will be disqualified as a team member in a specific case when: he is a witness or initiates the charge, he is the investigating officer, or he is a person charged with a subsequent review of the decision.

Reporting disciplinary infractions: When an employee witnesses or has reason to believe that an act was committed by an inmate which is a violation of the rules and regulations, and if the employee determines that the infraction can be properly disposed of without a formal disciplinary report, the employee may reprimand the inmate verbally or in writing. If a corrective consultation is issued, the inmate must be given a copy within twenty-four hours, and one copy will be placed in the inmate's record jacket. If the employee cannot resolve the matter, the supervising officer on duty will review the circumstances with the employee and/or inmate involved. The supervising officer may complete a corrective consultation form, if appropriate. The supervising officer may advise the employee to follow through with writing a formal disciplinary report.

Preparation of disciplinary reports and disposition of charges: Only one offense shall be included in each disciplinary report. If necessary, separate disciplinary reports shall be used for multiple offenses. The charge shall specifically cite by name and number the offense as listed in the "Rules of Prohibited Conduct and Penalties for Infraction." The statement of facts shall contain a description of the specific act or acts the inmate is alleged to have committed, including date, time and place, and any other specific facts necessary for an understanding of the charge. Prior to the delivery of charge, the date the disciplinary hearing will begin shall be entered. The beginning time for the disciplinary hearing on that date shall also be indicated. The inmate must be given at least twenty-four (24) hours from the time the charge is delivered to prepare for the disciplinary hearing. The inmate may waive the twenty-four hour waiting period. In such cases, a waiver should be signed by the inmate, witnessed by an employee, and copies attached to each copy of the disciplinary report. The officer delivering the copy will ascertain that the inmate understands the charge. If the inmate cannot read, the officer will read the charge to

him. The officer will record the date and time the charge was delivered. The inmate may waive his right to be present at his hearing. In such cases, a waiver should be signed by the inmate; witnessed by an employee; reviewed by the superintendent, officer in charge, or designee; and copies attached to each copy of the disciplinary report. Upon receipt of the disciplinary report the supervising officer will review the report and, when the facts suggest that the alleged violation is significant, he will cause the report to be forwarded to the correctional officer chief. Upon approval of the correctional officer chief, an impartial investigation of the charge against the inmate will be conducted. This investigation should normally begin within twenty-four (24) hours of the report's being written. The investigating officer is responsible for obtaining the inmate's version of the offense as well as contacting the charging officer and any other staff members or inmates who have information pertaining to the allegation and the charge. The inmate charged will be asked if he has any material witnesses to offer in his behalf. If the inmate has no witnesses, it must be noted in the report. If names of witnesses are given, the investigating officer will then interview both inmate and staff witnesses. If inmate witnesses or staff witnesses are not contacted, a statement as to why they were not contacted must be included. Opinions as to innocence or guilt will not be made by the investigating officer.

Frequency of team meetings: The disciplinary team will meet as often as required to ensure rule violations are disposed of in a timely fashion, normally not to exceed seven (7) work days (excluding weekends and holidays) from the date of the alleged violation. If a hearing cannot be held within seven work days, a written statement must be made as to why the hearing was delayed. The reasons must be substantial. Once a disciplinary hearing has been held, the disciplinary report should be completed and approved by the superintendent within one work week and forwarded to the central office where a final decision is required within one work week.

Conduct of hearing: In any case where the inmate requests assistance in presentation of the inmate's version of the alleged violation, such assistance will be provided from a list of approved staff members designated by the superintendent. Determination of whether the inmate desires staff assistance would normally be made before the disciplinary team. Such staff assistance is not to take the form of an all-out advocate or defense attorney. Rather, the staff member is to make sure the inmate fully understands the nature of the charge

against him and to aid the inmate in presenting his side of the alleged incident to the disciplinary team. No attorneys or other inmates are allowed to represent inmates at disciplinary hearings. When all people designated to appear at the hearing have assembled, the chairperson will call the hearing to order. Witnesses will not be present in the hearing room except to give testimony. The chairperson will record the date and time of the hearing. The inmate will be called before the disciplinary team. The procedure that will be followed will be explained to the inmate. The charge will be read to the inmate as documented on the disciplinary report. The inmate will be questioned to determine if he understands the charge. The inmate will be asked whether he pleads guilty or not guilty. If the inmate pleads guilty no further evidence need be heard. The inmate may offer any statement concerning misconduct for consideration by the team. If the inmate pleads not guilty evidence is heard, to include appropriate inmate and staff witnesses. The inmate may make any closing statement concerning misconduct for consideration by the team. In the event the inmate refuses to enter a plea, it should be treated as a "not guilty" plea as far as hearing procedures are concerned. A "no contest" plea should be handled as a guilty plea. During team deliberations, everyone except new employees being trained and the team shall be required to vacate the hearing room. The team shall discuss the case, deciding upon the findings of fact that are supported by the evidence and upon the recommendations to be made. When a decision has been reached and is ready to be rendered, the inmate charged will then be called into the hearing room for an explanation of the decision. In stating its findings and making its recommendations, the team must make specific reference to the evidence relied upon. Upon conclusion of the hearing, the disciplinary team will immediately prepare a statement as to the evidence relied upon in arriving at the decision and the reasons for that decision as well as the disciplinary action recommended. The inmate will be provided a copy of the written basis for the decision and the specific evidence relied upon. Findings shall be immediately recorded and a copy be given to the inmate. Each charge will be responded to individually and shall include the penalty assessed, which shall not exceed the current maximums provided in the "Rules of Prohibited Conduct and Penalties for Infractions." The names of all members of the disciplinary team shall be typed on the disciplinary report with their signatures appearing immediately above. Upon conclusion of the disciplinary action, the inmate shall be informed that he may appeal the decision of the disciplinary

team utilizing the inmate grievance procedure. The following general provisions will be adhered to in conducting a disciplinary hearing: The disciplinary team may use available resource personnel such as medical staff, work supervisors, psychologists, or other personnel in a consultative capacity. The disciplinary team can request that the chairperson arrange for additional investigation or evidence, or for the appearance of witnesses, or for the statements of unavailable witnesses. The chairperson may determine that the source of certain information should not be revealed to the inmate; for example, when the disclosure may endanger the safety or well-being of another person. In such cases, the report of the disciplinary team should summarize the circumstances and the reasons for this determination. Otherwise, all evidence heard or seen by the disciplinary team in arriving at a decision must be brought out in the hearing and made known to the inmate. The inmate or the disciplinary team may request material witnesses. The chairperson will call those witnesses (staff or inmates) who are available and who are determined to be necessary for a proper evaluation of the circumstances. Repetitive witnesses will not be called. Unavailable witnesses may submit written statements. Witnesses will not be called if doing so would create a risk or reprisal or would undermine authority. The inmate witnesses must be willing to testify. An inmate witness may elect to offer an oral or written statement to the investigating officer in lieu of a personal appearance before the disciplinary team. The chairperson will note in the report the reasons for declining to call requested witnesses. The chairperson of the disciplinary team or a majority of the members of the disciplinary team have the authority to initiate the following actions: To request other supporting documents. To request that the employee filing the charge personally appear before the disciplinary team at the time of the hearing. To request that the investigating officer personally appear before the disciplinary team at the time of the hearing. To request that any employee witnesses personally appear before the disciplinary team at the time of the hearing. To offer a staff member to assist the inmate during the hearing. Such assistance will be offered when the inmate is illiterate or when the complexity of the issues makes it unlikely that the inmate will be able to properly represent himself. To restrict questions and answers to relevant matters, to preserve decorum and to limit repetition. To postpone the hearing for good and valid reasons. (In such cases, the hearing should be held at the earliest practical opportunity). To remove the inmate from the hearing room if he or she

becomes too disruptive and continue the hearing. Such action shall be documented in the team action. Once a disciplinary report has been written and the hearing convened, the original charge may not be reduced by the disciplinary team to what might be termed a "lesser included offense." If the hearing has not gone to the point of a decision, the hearing may be recessed and the entire disciplinary report returned for further review and investigation. If that further review suggests a different charge should have been indicated, the report is to be rewritten and handled in the same manner as an entirely new disciplinary report. If the hearing has gone to the point of a decision, the disciplinary team must either find the inmate guilty or not guilty. No change to the charge may be made at this point in the hearing.

Review provisions: The superintendent acts as the reviewing and approving authority and may approve, modify downward, or disapprove the recommended disciplinary action or may return the report to the team for additional information or reconsideration of the recommended action. Review of each disciplinary report is the responsibility of the superintendent and may not be delegated to other staff members. The superintendent will ensure: That the disciplinary report will not be returned to the disciplinary team for reconsideration for increasing the previously recommended discipline. That care has been exercised to ensure the completeness of the report and the fact that it conforms with this rule; that each report contains only one charge and a full explanation of supporting facts; the disciplinary action is appropriate to the charge; and that when two or more inmates are charged with the same offense and significant disparity in punishment imposed is explained. That a specific number of days recommended for forfeiture is indicated. Whenever loss of gain time is recommended, a determination should be made that indeed the inmate has accrued sufficient gain time in order for the forfeiture to be processed. Disciplinary reports involving loss of gain time, disciplinary confinement, or restitution will be forwarded to the central office for final review. Decisions will normally be made within seven (7) work days of the disciplinary report's being received by the central office. Should a disciplinary report be disapproved in the central office, the institution will be notified of the reasons for disapproval or need for additional information. Otherwise, it will be forwarded to the records section for processing.

Disciplinary alternatives: Dismiss the charge or find the inmate

not guilty. This would be due to a technicality (excessive time between the delivery of the charge and hearing without justification) or insufficient facts to determine that the inmate committed the offense charged. If an inmate is found not guilty or if the case is dismissed, the disciplinary report will be so noted and placed in the inmate's record. This shall not be used against the inmate in any future action. Reprimand the inmate or place the inmate on probation for a specific term, or suspend action for a specific time. Withdraw routine mailing or visiting privileges for a period commensurate with the violation, not to exceed sixty (60) days, as approved by the superintendent. This alternative is selected when the violation involves these privileges. Withdraw any other privileges as determined justifiable, or make extra duty assignments during leisure hours. Assign the inmate to disciplinary squads. Accept donations from inmates participating in community work release only and not to exceed \$50.00. The donations will be deposited in the inmate welfare fund and a receipt will be given to the inmate. Assign the case to the classification team for individual review and counseling. Confiscate contraband items, including excessive monies or canteen coupons. Assign the inmate to disciplinary confinement on a part-time basis with continued participation in assigned responsibilities. Such part-time confinement is not to exceed the maximum permitted under the rules. A part of a day of confinement will be equal to one whole day in computing maximum confinement. Place the inmate in disciplinary confinement for a definite or indefinite period of time, not to exceed the maximum for the offense as shown in the "Rules of Prohibited Conduct and Penalties for Infractions." Disciplinary confinement will be utilized only as a last resort. Inmates should not be kept in disciplinary confinement on any one occasion beyond thirty (30) days without further evaluation and personal approval of the superintendent. Additionally, inmates assigned to disciplinary confinement for a period of time greater than thirty days are to be given a psychological assessment at the thirty-day point by the professional staff to determine whether the individual should be continued on such confinement. Such an assessment will include a personal interview. The results of the assessment must be forwarded to the superintendent for a final decision regarding continuation of an inmate in confinement. If the decision is made to continue in confinement and that confinement extends beyond ninety days, a new psychological assessment will be accomplished each ninety-day period. Recommended loss of gain time the team may feel is justified in each case up to the maximum penalty as set forth in the "Rules of

Prohibited Conduct and Penalties for Infractions." A specific number of days recommended for forfeiture shall be indicated. Whenever loss of gain time is recommended, a determination must be made that indeed the inmate has accrued sufficient gain time in order for the forfeiture to be processed. Forfeiture of all gain time is discouraged except under unusual circumstances. Forfeiture of unearned gain time will be considered only when there has been an incident of serious assault or general riot.

Confinement facilities and conditions: Cells. Inmates placed in disciplinary confinement should normally be placed in single cells. The confinement cells should be approximately the same square footage as utilized for general population inmates. Inmates will not be housed in disciplinary confinement cells in greater number than there are bunks in the cell. The only exception to this policy would be during an emergency situation. However, if this exception exists in excess of twenty-four (24) hours, then the superintendent must get specific authorization from the regional director to continue to house inmates in this manner. All disciplinary confinement cells will normally be equipped with appropriate toilet facilities and running water for drinking and other sanitary purposes. The master control for the running water may be placed outside the cell in the event it becomes necessary to cut off running water in a cell due to misbehavior. In such event, the inmate occupant will be furnished an adequate supply of drinking water by other means. Each confinement cell should provide for a minimum of twenty foot-candles of light, including natural lighting, unless the behavior of the occupant is such that removal of such light is necessary to control behavior. Clothing and bedding. Inmates in disciplinary confinement shall be provided the same clothing exchange as the general inmate population unless there are clear facts to suggest that on an individual basis exceptions should be made for the welfare of the inmate or the security of the institution. Bedding for those in disciplinary confinement should be issued and exchanged the same as is provided to the general inmate population. Again, any exceptions should be based on potential harm to individuals or a clear threat to the security of the institution. Comfort items. Inmates in confinement will be afforded the following items as a minimum - - toothbrush, toothpaste, bar of soap, towel (or paper towels), sanitary napkins for women, and toilet tissue. Showers, shaves, hair care. Each inmate in confinement shall be required to shower a minimum of three times per week. Male inmates shall be required to shave at least three times per week. Hair

care shall be the same as that provided and required of the general population inmates. Literature. Inmates in disciplinary confinement will, as a minimum, be allowed a copy of a testament or Bible and religious tracts. Access to legal material shall also be allowed when it is being used to appeal the inmate's case or contest his placement in disciplinary confinement status. Correspondence. Inmates in confinement shall be allowed routine correspondence privileges unless restricted as specified in disciplinary alternatives. Telephone. Inmates in disciplinary confinement are not normally allowed telephone privileges except in cases of emergency or when necessary to insure the inmate's access to attorneys or the courts and only when alternative means of access are not feasible. Calls to courts or attorneys shall not be monitored. Personal property. Inmates are allowed to retain eyeglasses, hearing aids, personal watches, and rings in confinement unless their actions require removal of such. Exercise. Those inmates confined on a twenty-four hour basis (excluding showers and clinic trips) may exercise in their cells. However, if confinement extends beyond a thirty day period an exercise schedule should be implemented to ensure a minimum of two hours per week of exercise outside of the cell.

Rules of prohibited conduct and penalties for infractions: Most codes of prohibited conduct include offenses in such common categories as assaults; riots, strikes, mutinous acts and disturbances; contraband; presence in an unauthorized area; count procedure violations; disobeying orders; destruction, misuse, or waste of property; hygiene; miscellaneous infractions. Penalties for infractions usually provide for a period of confinement and loss of some gain time. For example, assaults are considered a serious violation of the rules of prohibited conduct and violators may be penalized according to the type of assault; armed assaults or attempted armed assaults - - 90 days disciplinary confinement plus the loss of all gain time; unarmed assaults or attempts - - 60 days disciplinary confinement plus the loss of 180 days gain time; verbal assaults or verbal threats - - 30 days disciplinary confinement plus the loss of 90 days gain time; assaults to commit sex acts - - 90 days disciplinary confinement plus the loss of all gain time.

Like the "Miranda warnings" (the right to remain silent, right against self-incrimination, right to the presence of an attorney prior to any questioning, right to an attorney if the accused cannot afford counsel and the right to remain silent prior to psychiatric testing if the test results are used after conviction to help choose between life and death) due process procedures and all other forms of prisoners rights

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such as: freedom from cruel and unusual punishment, free communication and access to courts, religious and political rights, right to privacy and rights to medical care, rehabilitation and physical security must be in written form, posted, and otherwise be made known and available to inmates.

Every serious confrontation with an inmate over the interpretation of the prison rules and regulations, especially if he rejects your view, will invariably conclude with the inmate exclaiming: "I know my rights man, and I'm filing a grievance against you!" Never will he concede that anyone else - - prison employee or member of the general public - - has any rights. This is natural behavior for most criminals; the absence of any conscience or guilt feelings. The inmate has not incorporated into his life the morals and values of our society. This lack of conscience makes it unlikely that he will be concerned for his victim as a human being. In an effort to capture, convict and rehabilitate offenders, the rights of victims have been lost.

During the preparation of this chapter I spoke with a fairly large number of inmates regarding the rights of victims, and ask them to consider the following proposition. Suppose it were necessary for a robber to warn his intended victim that he had twenty-four hours in which to prepare himself against the offense. The robber would be required to inform the potential victim that he had twenty-four hours in which to arm himself or notify the proper law enforcement agency of the impending crime. If, however, in spite of the prior warning, the criminal succeeded in perpetrating the offense, and if the victim is taken hostage during the commission of the crime he would have the following rights read to him by his captor: You will be placed in a room approximately sixty square feet with toilet facilities and running water; you will have a change of bedding and clothing three times a week; comfort items will include - - toothbrush, toothpaste, bar of soap, towel and toilet tissue; you will have the right to a Bible; the right to normal correspondence; the right to use the telephone to effect an escape; the right to retain personal property - - eyeglasses, hearing aids, watch, rings and money; the right to exercise and receive medical treatment. You also have the right to remain silent regarding questions pertaining to family, place of domicile and assets unless represented by counsel.

Inmates queried about this proposition all responded that the proposal "would never work." When asked why it "would never work," the reply was invariably: "There wouldn't be any crime!"

An answer totally in character for the typical career criminal, whose only mission in life is his own selfish striving for physical pleasure; and his total disregard for the rights of others while he bemoans the prison authority's lack of attention to prisoner (his) rights. The almost absolute disregard for victim rights compared to the messianic approach to protecting the rights of criminals is beautifully stated in the following quotation taken from a California newspaper: "Today a rapist is going free because the law allows a three-year statute of limitations on rape. Too bad there's no statute of limitations on the victim's horror." This same view is the central theme of Willard Gaylin's book The Killing of Bonnie Garland: A Question of Justice: "... the tradition of modern thinking about criminality is to romanticize the criminal, trivialize the crime, and ignore the victim." During most felony court hearings, it is not unfair to say, compassion due the victim is granted instead to the criminal.

Chapter 7

YOU AIN'T EVER GOING TO CHANGE ME MAN

The idea of prisons started innocuously enough 190 years ago as an alternative to having your tongue cut out or your hand severed at the wrist. Creators of the system, Quaker innovators, considered incarceration more enlightened, humane, and sane than "criminal" treatment of criminals. The first inmate was confined in Philadelphia's Walnut Street jail almost two centuries ago in an experiment designed to reform the offender. Even from its inception the concept of rehabilitation has never been very successful; and today, the very institution established to change criminal behavior is instead providing an environment conducive to more crime and worse criminals. The failure of prison rehabilitative programs is most graphically illustrated by citing of the statistics in barbarity: 2,000 sexual assaults in Philadelphia jails in a 26-month period, with approximately 1,500 victims and 3,500 individual aggressors; nearly 100 inmates and guards killed in California prisons since 1979; 30 inmates killed in Walpole Prison, Massachusetts, in the same time period; 75 inmates and guards killed in separate prison riots in New Mexico during the past ten years. One witness, Judge Richard Kelly, testifying before the U. S. House of Representatives' Select Committee on Crime said, "one of the most astounding facts about prisons is that they are probably the lawless place in our society . . . this is a dominating factor every place, that they are lawless."

If the prevailing conditions in American prisons really served to deter crime, or if they were successful in changing the offender's criminal behavior, there might be something positive to be said for the role of correctional institutions in our society. Presently, however, prisons neither discourage crime nor rehabilitate the criminal - - facts elaborated upon by L. A. Nikloric, a corporate lawyer who spent 22 months in federal prison. Writing in Freedom, Nikloric observed: "The single most striking impression the system has given me is the depth of vindictive bitterness it creates in the inmates. There are 30,000 federal prisoners, and there is considerable turnover. Depending on how you calculate, we spend about \$15,000 a year to keep a person locked up. But we do not turn out better citizens; we develop worse ones, vengeful ex-offenders with little respect for either the establishment of or for law and order.

The current prison recidivism rate of 80%, is indication enough to suspect that rehabilitative programs are an ineffective means of convert-

ing inmates from criminals to more socially acceptable individuals. Over-expectation and failure of therapeutic programs are the reasons most frequently cited for the system's inability to successfully reform inmates. Prompted by good intentions, but more often by meddling legislators, state prison officials commit institutions to "paper" programs that seldom generate any positive results. Correctional and professional staffs with minimal skills, education, expertise, and even less desire, are expected to initiate rehabilitative programs which the majority of the inmate population detest. Did it ever occur to anyone working in corrections that maybe the criminal doesn't want to be reformed, and that this single fact might be the reason why today's rehabilitative programs won't reach him.

Most criminals are viewed as poor unfortunates who fell upon "hard times" and, therefore, had no recourse but to embark upon a life of crime. Society tends to place all these victims of "undeserved ill fortune" into a single criminal category, whether murderers, rapists, or robbers - - except perhaps the distinction between so-called "white collar" criminals and tough street hoodlums. A more relevant differentiation, and one that criminals themselves acknowledge, is that crime is a "way of life" for some, personal pathology for others. Most inmates if queried relentlessly about their past illicit activities, in relation to conformist societal expectations, will become so frustrated as to exclaim: "You and me, we live in two different worlds!" There is an admission here, on the part of the prisoner, that he does indeed live in an "underworld" and is a member of that subculture out of choice and not circumstances. This very disclosure explains why the vast majority of convicted felons revert to lives of crime as soon as they are returned to the streets. Perhaps it is time criminologists recognized that there may be validity in the claim by law enforcement officials - - policemen and district attorneys - - that a large percentage of repeat offenders are criminals out of preference and not out of necessity or an unhappy environment.

It is true that some men who enter the prisons do so with the idea in mind that they will have finished that chapter of their life when they have completed their sentence. For most, however, nothing could be farther from the truth. The career criminal does not necessarily find prison an unpleasant experience (unless he is confined with young "jitterbugs"). He may consider a periodic incarceration as a kind of "extended holiday," providing him with an opportunity to renew past friendships and promote new criminal associations. Each time the habit-

Chapter 7

YOU AIN'T EVER GOING TO CHANGE ME MAN

The idea of prisons started innocuously enough 190 years ago as an alternative to having your tongue cut out or your hand severed at the wrist. Creators of the system, Quaker innovators, considered incarceration more enlightened, humane, and sane than "criminal" treatment of criminals. The first inmate was confined in Philadelphia's Walnut Street jail almost two centuries ago in an experiment designed to reform the offender. Even from its inception the concept of rehabilitation has never been very successful; and today, the very institution established to change criminal behavior is instead providing an environment conducive to more crime and worse criminals. The failure of prison rehabilitative programs is most graphically illustrated by citing of the statistics in barbarity: 2,000 sexual assaults in Philadelphia jails in a 26-month period, with approximately 1,500 victims and 3,500 individual aggressors; nearly 100 inmates and guards killed in California prisons since 1979; 30 inmates killed in Walpole Prison, Massachusetts, in the same time period; 75 inmates and guards killed in separate prison riots in New Mexico during the past ten years. One witness, Judge Richard Kelly, testifying before the U. S. House of Representatives' Select Committee on Crime said, "one of the most astounding facts about prisons is that they are probably the lawless place in our society . . . this is a dominating factor every place, that they are lawless."

If the prevailing conditions in American prisons really served to deter crime, or if they were successful in changing the offender's criminal behavior, there might be something positive to be said for the role of correctional institutions in our society. Presently, however, prisons neither discourage crime nor rehabilitate the criminal - - facts elaborated upon by L. A. Nikloric, a corporate lawyer who spent 22 months in federal prison. Writing in Freedom, Nikloric observed: "The single most striking impression the system has given me is the depth of vindictive bitterness it creates in the inmates. There are 30,000 federal prisoners, and there is considerable turnover. Depending on how you calculate, we spend about \$15,000 a year to keep a person locked up. But we do not turn out better citizens; we develop worse ones, vengeful ex-offenders with little respect for either the establishment of or for law and order."

The current prison recidivism rate of 80%, is indication enough to suspect that rehabilitative programs are an ineffective means of convert-

ing inmates from criminals to more socially acceptable individuals. Over-expectation and failure of therapeutic programs are the reasons most frequently cited for the system's inability to successfully reform inmates. Prompted by good intentions, but more often by meddling legislators, state prison officials commit institutions to "paper" programs that seldom generate any positive results. Correctional and professional staffs with minimal skills, education, expertise, and even less desire, are expected to initiate rehabilitative programs which the majority of the inmate population detest. Did it ever occur to anyone working in corrections that maybe the criminal doesn't want to be reformed, and that this single fact might be the reason why today's rehabilitative programs won't reach him.

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ual criminal enters prison he hopes to absorb a certain amount of fresh knowledge which will enable him to make crime more profitable and avoid future prosecution. Benefiting, if you will, from a post-graduate course designed to incorporate the mistakes of his imprisoned colleagues.

Aside from the quick financial remuneration a life of crime provides, the inmate knows that his odds of not being caught, during the commission of his next felony, are stacked in his favor. Based on independent victimization surveys and FBI statistics, estimates are that only one person out of every 100 people who commit serious crimes receives a prison sentence. By serious crimes we mean those classified by the FBI as Part One offenses: "murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny-theft and motor vehicle theft." The chances of being imprisoned for minor offenses, even for habitual criminals, is approximately one in 300. Furthermore, plea bargaining - - pleading guilty to a lesser charge - - results in reduced sentences in about 80% of both state and federal criminal cases. Knowing these odds, from his own involvement in the criminal justice system, the habitual offender makes a pretense at rehabilitation through mutual participation programs (educational, vocational, job placement, pre-parole work release, restitution, special counseling and other therapeutic devices) in order to enhance his prospects of an early return to the streets as a "job-holding" criminal. All too frequently we hear and read about the ex-convict who learned a valid and profitable trade in prison, did his work well, had a good nature, got along with everyone and was considered dependable, responsible and reliable by fellow workers and supervisors. "Just the man for society," the parole board said, "fully rehabilitated." Six months after his release this former inmate was killed attempting to holdup a liquor store.

That criminality is a "lifestyle" is easily discerned from the attitudes displayed by first, and career, offenders who are sentenced to probation or short-term confinement to institutions less restrictive than prisons. It must be obvious, even to the untrained observer, that prison horror stories filter down to even this class of perpetrator; people who have obviously been given a "break" by the court. The stories of sexual assault, robbery, battery and general intimidation, prevalent in today's penal system, should be enough to "scare straight" any first or second time offender who has not yet earned his time in a state prison. Realizing that probation, or a 60 day confinement in a state training school, constitutes a relatively light sentence; the occasional

offender - - who is by nature pro-establishment anyway - - might abruptly terminate his criminal career. Too many others, however, assume that probation is the severest penalty they will ever have to face and they revert, upon release, to the same activities that originally caused their difficulties with the law. Apparently for this latter group - - the career criminals - - even the prospect of becoming a prison "gang-bang" is not sufficient deterrent to future criminal activity. There are thousands of cases on record that document the careers of habitual offenders - - those that have chosen crime as a way of life - - which reveal, as well, the failures of the prison system to reform these individuals even after extended participation in habilitative programs. The following two youthful offender profiles are offered here as typical examples.

The subject, in the first case, has a five year history of prior arrests and convictions, most of which pertain to a long line of assault charges on his wife. He was placed on probation three times, ordered twice by the court to seek psychiatric help, and on three occasions remanded to the county jail for periods of from 30 to 45 days. These assaults upon his spouse finally culminated in her demise. The subject was sentenced to life imprisonment for the premeditated murder of his wife. That the victim died as a result of especially heinous, atrocious and cruel acts is reflected in the testimony of the medical examiner: "At least one hundred bruises upon her head, both eyes, nose, abdomen, arms, both breasts, chest, back, thighs and legs. Large patches of healthy hair pulled from her head as a result of her hair being grabbed, leaving bald spots. Abrasions, bruises and contusions to the head as a result of her hair being grabbed and her head pushed against the wall or floor. Massive hemorrhages of the scalp, small hemorrhages under the covering of the brain, and contusions of the nose. Massive hemorrhage of the pubic area, including the inner surfaces of the thigh and the labia of the vulva. Bruised and swollen external genitalia. Hemorrhage in and around the right adrenal gland and right kidney. A large laceration on the perineum extending from the posterior part of the vagina toward the anus. Large tears inside the vagina from the outside entrance all the way to the back as far as it could go, caused by a broom stick, bat or bottle. A large laceration or tear of the entire right side of the liver. The peritoneal cavity or bone located in the pubic area in the lower part of the body, was broken up into small pieces by blunt injury such as being stomped on." The subject has been incarcerated just over four years and during this time he has either completed or participated in the following self-help programs: drug group counseling, guides to

better living, academic school, two vocational schools and Bible study group. The record also shows, in addition to the above rehabilitative programs, seven disciplinary reports to which the subject entered a guilty plea: two for disobeying a verbal order, one for assault while armed, two for unarmed assault, one for assault to commit sex acts, one for possession of unauthorized beverages.

The second profile pertains to a twenty-four year old black inmate who has spent the greater portion of his adult life in prison institutions. He is presently serving a fifteen year sentence for the crime of breaking and entering with intent to commit a felony. Previously, he was incarcerated for the crimes of armed robbery and attempt to escape. When he first entered prison the subject was seventeen years of age. Before his first prison sentence the inmate had spent some time in male teen-age institutional homes. As a result of fighting and aggressive behavior at one of these facilities, he ultimately had to be transferred to an adult correctional institution. Within several months of entering prison, the subject was involved in the first of many incidents which resulted in disciplinary action. The prison file documents at least eleven incidents which resulted in some type of formal disciplinary action. The documented incidents are: (1) Attempting to steal sugar from the mess-hall; (2) Fighting - - involved four other inmates and was accomplished with the use of iron bars and clubs; (3) Talking and laughing in the dining room; (4) Disobedience of rules and regulations - - talking in a "loud and boisterous" manner enroute to the dining room after having been warned not to do so; (5) Disobeying a direct order - - talking and laughing in a very loud tone of voice with another inmate while in disciplinary confinement; (6) Participation in a disturbance - - this incident resulted in subject's escape attempt during which three prison officials were taken hostage; (7) Attempted assault of an inmate and disrespect towards an officer; (8) Disobeying orders and creating disturbance in disciplinary confinement - - throwing water out of cup toward another inmate and his cell; (9) Fighting with another inmate - - stated other inmate was "playing" with him and would not let him watch television; (10) Withholding a razor blade; (11) Assault on other inmates and creating a racial disturbance - - involved in an assault on several white inmates in the school area; resulting in five white inmates being hospitalized. The record shows that the above offenses took place during a six year period, and like our first subject, this second inmate also completed or participated in a number of rehabilitative programs. This inmate's file

folder documents his participation in the following self-improvement activities: three different assignments to academic school, two to vocational school; drug group counseling, life skills, Alcoholics Anonymous, "Growth Experience Lab" - - designed to get people in "touch" with themselves and their feelings and improve upon weak behavioral attitudes.

These two documented case histories provide evidence supporting the contention that rehabilitative programs have little effect upon past or prevailing criminal behavior. Observe that both subjects had long prior records of assault before conviction and that both individuals have continued to practice that form of deviance, in prison, upon other inmates. Despite their participation in "life skill" programs - - supervised therapeutic activities designed to alter this very type of aggressive anti-social behavior - - it appears that neither inmate has learned to keep his hands off of other people. It can be argued that rehabilitative failure cannot be determined by merely citing two case histories, but we defy the reader to sit down and examine the file folders of 100 inmates (rehabilitative activities and processed disciplinary reports) and not find that at least 80 of these inmates are engaged in exactly the same types of crimes they perpetrated on the streets. How much chance do you think there is of changing or rehabilitating a person who continues to keep up years of constant warfare with society even while incarcerated?

The attitudes and beliefs of habitual criminals, reinforced by prison society, accounts in large part for the dismal failure of most rehabilitation programs. The illegitimate world of the criminal creates a time frame for its members which can best be described as the "here and now and not-very-distant-future;" long-range goals and objectives are seldom given much consideration. This stunted time frame helps interpret criminal behavior and the criminals' perception of society. All human action is significant only in relation to the ultimate outcome. For example, a college education is meaningful to the person who plans a career as a teacher, accountant, or computer scientist. But because the criminal world, temporal by nature, does not relate to future goals; the significance of actions depends on immediate self-gratification. If the criminal wants a new stereo system, television, or car, he will not save or borrow the money necessary to fulfill his desires, he steals it. How does the criminal justify his feelings of immediate self-gratification?

The individual that society classifies as a criminal is not necessarily judged that way by other members of the criminal world. The habitual offender experiences little, if any, guilt because criminal subcultures provide him with "rationalizations" for his behavior. This form of "defense mechanism" helps justify behavior by imputing logical and admirable or at least acceptable motivation to it. By rationalizing, we can usually justify about everything we have done, are doing, or propose to do, and hence can alleviate the devaluating effects of failure, guilt, and irrational behavior.

Career offenders rationalize reality in a manner that sanctions criminal enterprise and provides information essential for understanding individual motivation. A thief may try to justify stealing by pointing out that others steal, that there is no virtue in being a sucker, and that in real life society doesn't ask too many questions as long as you are successful. "Stealing cars, robbing a store, burglary of a house, how can that hurt anybody. Now days everybody's got insurance, and besides they won't miss it anyway. People have too much today and should be willing to share." A convicted drug dealer rationalized his "trafficking" as almost messianic: "My role is to turn people on the truth. That's why the big boys in Washington are afraid of drugs . . . because they're afraid the people will learn the truth." He was convinced that if enough voters learned the "truth" the government would be disposed and replaced by an enlightened leadership more responsive to societal needs. Belief in his "divine" mission and in the important role drugs would play in its accomplishment was strongly supported by his criminal colleagues, both in prison and on the streets. Some criminals perceive themselves as "revolutionaries" waging a war against an unjust and insensitive society. They rationalize that most people who are victimized by crime deserve what they get, since they are the oppressors of the masses and supporters of a system that imprisons the poor and discriminates against minorities. These criminals view robbery, theft and other assorted felonies, even violent crimes, merely as guerrilla tactics necessary to topple the existing power structure.

Therapeutic programs that require the inmate to initiate long-range goals -- education, vocational, job placement -- are generally unrealistic and fail because the attitudes, the beliefs, and the career criminal's view of time are not considered. Yet, a good many responsible, qualified observers tell us we must accept the reality that to confine offenders behind walls without trying to change them is an expen-

sive folly with short-term benefits -- we cannot yet be certain that there may be a large number of incorrigible human beings who cannot be changed. What new style proposals will accomplish the remarkable feat of rehabilitation?

A recent issue (March, 1981) of the American Bar Association Journal outlined several rehabilitative measures for consideration by the courts and correctional officials: 1) Provide for generous use of probation for first nonviolent offenders, with intensive supervision and counseling and swift revocation if probation terms are violated; 2) A broad-scale physical rehabilitation of the penal institutions to provide a decent setting for expanded educational and vocational training; 3) Make all vocational and educational programs mandatory with credit against the sentence for educational progress -- literally a program to "learn the way out of prison," so that no prisoner leaves without at least being able to read, write, do basic arithmetic, and have a marketable skill; 4) Generous family visitation in decent surroundings to maintain family ties, with rigid security to exclude drugs or weapons; 5) Counseling services after release; 6) Encourage religious groups to give counsel on ethical behavior and occupational adjustment during and after confinement. All this should be aimed at developing the prisoner's respect for self, respect for others; accountability for conduct, and appreciation of the value of work, of thrift and of family.

To date the one proposal that has received the most attention is the mandatory education concept. Should you examine the records you will find that the 390,000 persons now confined in penal institutions are heavily weighted with offenders under age 30. A majority of them cannot meet minimum standards of reading, writing and arithmetic. Chief Justice Warren Burger has recently endorsed the proposition of mandatory education (a hauntingly familiar theme) as one of the best rehabilitative tools of the future. Speaking at commencement exercises at the George Washington University School of Law in Washington, D.C., May 24, 1981, Mr. Burger said: "Even as recently as 20 or 25 years ago, I shared the hopes . . . that enlightened correctional programs would change and rehabilitate prisoners. With many others, I have had to recognize -- to my sorrow -- that, broadly speaking, prospects for rehabilitating convicted persons in a great deal less promising than the presumed experts had thought . . . Two steps could reasonably be taken within the range of affordable expenditures . . . They are closely related, both bearing on training and education -- training of the inmates and training of the keepers." As for inmates, the Chief

Justice suggested a program "to make certain that every inmate who cannot read, write, spell and do simple arithmetic would be given that training - - not as an optional matter but as a mandatory requirement." A second phase of such a program for the longer term prisoner "would require a large expansion of vocational training in the skilled and semi-skilled crafts . . . Inmates who cooperate would have their sentences reduced." (Chapter 3, this volume, will give the reader some insight regarding the rehabilitative panacea - - education).

Frank Schmalleger, associate professor of criminal justice and chairman of the department of sociology at Pembroke State University in North Carolina, writing in Human Nature (March, 1979), suggests a more innovative form of rehabilitation (conversion therapy) and one that appears to have more prospects of success than those types outlined earlier in this chapter. Professor Schmalleger observes that individual behavior resulting from adaptation to criminal reality cannot be changed by therapies that challenge only selected aspects of criminal thought. The career criminal must simultaneously be made to abandon criminal reality and to construct a new reality that is consistent with conformist (establishment, societal) principles. In short, he must be "converted."

Conversion is most likely to occur when certain basic conditions are met. "First, the offender must be made consciously aware of the shortcomings of his former world view. These shortcomings may be demonstrated by pointing out internal inconsistencies or, when the person's identity is firmly anchored in criminal reality, by stimulating self-doubt. The goal of conversion therapy is to create a period of questioning and inner reflection. If therapeutic efforts at this stage are successful, the criminal will be set adrift between conflicting realities. He will be living in a limbo of doubt. Sometimes relentless questioning is necessary. An interview using conversion therapy would go like this:

Therapist: You're not a bad person? I mean you're not evil or anything like that?

Client: No.

Therapist: You know, your mother tells her friends that she's sorry you were born. She says you'd be better off dead.

Client: Yeah.

Therapist: Your wife left you.

Client: (Shrugs)

Therapist: Your children hope you never get out of prison. They say that if you do they never want to see you. They say all you've done is cause them misery.

Client: I know.

Therapist: And you still say there's nothing wrong with you?

Client: You just don't understand."

"If this approach works the client will eventually realize that he doesn't understand why he behaves as he does. If he did, he could communicate it to the therapist. Conversion therapy brings the inmate's entire way of being under attack and, if successful, engenders a crisis of identity."

"Next, conformist reality is presented to the client in such a way that doubt is resolved in conformist terms. Since people tend to maintain a consistent world view, the adoption of even a few conformist premises can lead to an increasing acceptance of conformist thought. Each time a crisis is answered in conformist terms, a new world view takes shape."

"Finally, the client should be made to identify with conformist reality. In one of the most successful programs I have observed, inmates work with delinquent children. They often come to realize their own unhappiness and try desperately to save the children from a similar fate. The program may in fact do more good for the inmates than the children."

Professor Schmalleger concludes his paper (World of the Career Criminal) with a statement strongly supporting "conversion therapy" as a rehabilitative tool: "Recognizing the existence of a special criminal reality provides a basis not only for treating individual criminals but also for understanding why career criminals behave as they do. With this understanding, we can begin to develop effective social programs designed to modify the causes of that behavior. The way to reduce crime, I believe, is to reduce the number of these professionals, and that can be accomplished only when we decide to confront the habitual offender on his own mental turf."

The use of medical procedures in rehabilitation have also been proposed as a means of changing criminal behavior, which, if not suspensions of natural law, are at least possible future courses. Jessica Mitford experienced success with her book The American Way of Death an "expose" of the funeral home business. Her book on prisons, Kind and Usual Punishment was also successful by detailing the use of drug therapy for prison inmates. Drugs, brainwashing, aversion therapy, behavior modification, etc., Mitford advances as rehabilitative solutions:

"Sensory Deprivation: Confinement (often for months or years) in the Adjustment Center, a prison-within-prison.

Stress Assessment: The prisoner lives in an open dormitory where it is expected he will suffer maximum irritation from the lack of privacy. He is assigned to the worst and most menial jobs. In compulsory group therapy sessions staff members deliberately bait the men and try to provoke conflicts among them. The idea is to see how much of this a person can stand without losing his temper.

Chemotherapy: The use of drugs (some still in the experimental stage) as 'behavior modifiers,' including antitestosterone hormones, which have the effect of chemically castrating the subject, and Prolixin, a form of tranquilizer with extremely unpleasant and often dangerous side effects.

Aversion Therapy: The use of medical procedures that cause pain and fear to bring about the desired 'behavior modification.'

Neurosurgery: Cutting or burning out those portions of the brain believed to cause aggressive behavior."

The "behavior modification" programs are for the most part carried out in secret; they are not part of the guided tour for journalists and visitors, nor are outside physicians permitted to witness them. Occasionally word of these procedures leaks out, as in the autumn of 1970 when Medical World News ran an article titled "Scaring the Devil Out" about the use of the drug Anectine as "aversion therapy" in the California prisons. "Anectine, a derivative of the South American arrow-tip poison curare, is used medically in small doses as a muscle relaxant, but behavioral researchers discovered that when administered to unruly prisoners in massive amounts -- from 20 to 40 milligrams -- it causes them to lose all control of voluntary muscles, including those used for breathing . . . The subject experiences feelings of deep horror and terror, as though he were on the brink of death. While he is in this condition a therapist scolds him for his misdeeds and tells him to shape up or expect more of the same."

Mitford's prison thesis might be rightfully headed towards more scientifically based (since the effects are known) means of coping with inmate behavior. Perhaps, one day, there will be specific chemical compounds to deal with prisoners. Neuroleptics just may be the answer. Maybe by the year 2000, with genetic engineering, advances in neurobiology, laser technology, and much else, maybe then prisoners will be more tractable. Meanwhile, correctional officials look with optimism to increased alternatives to incarceration with emphasis upon

diversionary rehabilitative programs like restitution centers and specialized programs such as prison industries.

Contemporary efforts at rehabilitation have fallen well below their mark. No conclusive evidence has been presented in support of the commonly held belief that a rehabilitative institutional program of academic or vocational training is effective in reducing the rate of recidivism among offenders. The great expectations of a moral and behavioral, turnaround, the magic moment of rehabilitation, have remained unfulfilled. Is there a remedy for the nonapplications and misapplications of rehabilitation? Some members of the criminal justice community seem to think so and are calling for the abandonment of statutory indeterminacy in the sentencing of the criminal offender. When our nation began, all sentencing was fixed and determinate. One did his time. Period. Probation, gain time, parole, pretrial intervention, indeterminacy and the rest are largely products of the 20th century.

Beginning in the early 1960s people began to question the flexible, curative approach to sentencing. The current prevailing attitude regarding determinate sentencing as an alternative to rehabilitation is best expressed by Professor Francis Allen of the University of Michigan Law School: "For the larger part of the present century the attitudes of most professionals in the fields of theoretical and applied criminology were dominated by . . . the rehabilitative ideal. The concept of deserved punishment was rejected as unscientific and inhumane. The possibilities of deterring dangerous behavior were greeted with profound scepticism and denied serious consideration. The sanctions of the criminal law were seen as providing opportunities for modifying human behavior of offenders in the interests of both social defense and the happiness, health and satisfactions of the individual offender. Most of the characteristic movements of reform in the present century were expressions of the rehabilitative ideal: systems of parole and probation, the juvenile court, psychiatric counseling, and much more . . . The case against the rehabilitative ideal has achieved spectacular success . . . Today the talk is of deterrence and incapacitation. The law's promise to inflict punishment on those who violate it must be kept. Sentences should be fixed and not subject to the discretion of parole boards. In many cases minimum sentences of imprisonment are to be mandatory. Persons who demonstrate dangerous propensities to violence should be subjected to long terms of incarceration. The concept of deserved punishment is to be refurbished and pressed into service."

Those who support determinate sentencing realistically recognize that criminal behavior is "a way of life," and that prospects of rehabilitating the habitual offender are remote. This view is even expressed by the incarcerated themselves, and maybe they can help us free people determine whether prisons should attempt to alter criminal behavior or simply punish offenders. As one inmate wrote: "What you say about the depravity of most criminals is true. And I do support the death penalty. You see, I live with the criminals of the worst sort in a maximum security prison. The convicts here are bad people. They are 99% aggressive people. They take advantage of people in the most crude ways imaginable. Throwing human waste at officers and gang sodomies of youngsters. They beat what they want out of the weaker ones. They act like beasts and prison doesn't change them it only makes them worse."

The only truism that can be stated about rehabilitation is that it is expressed in widely divergent terms with little consensus on what does work, under what conditions it is likely to work, and with what degree of reliability it can be expected to affect in a positive manner the behavior of the involuntarily confined. It may well be time to believe an inmate when he tells you: "You ain't ever going to change me man!" If that is the case, then let the criminal justice system proceed accordingly, based on that premise, and insist on deterrence and incapacitation of career criminals.

AFTERWORD

The late actor Peter Finch, in the movie Network, admonished the viewers of his evening newscast to get off their posteriors, go to the nearest window, fling it open and shout, for all the world to hear: "I'm mad as hell, and I'm not going to take it anymore!" It was a profound need for a similar catharsis which initially prompted the authors to commit themselves to the writing of this book.

It is a profound indictment of our society to note, with sorrow, that the vast majority of the populace, whose tax revenues serve to support our correctional facilities, shows so little concern for what actually transpires behind those brick walls and barbed wire fences. In talking to co-workers about prisons we never once heard mention of a single citizen who exercised his right of inspection; presented himself at an institutions front gate and demanded to be shown how his tax dollars are aiding in the rehabilitation of felons. The general public is content to sit in its collective easy chair and blindly accept, through media sources (television, radio, newspapers, etc.), the word of a few individuals who profess to know the "inside" story of corrections.

In reality who in this country attempts to speak for our penal system: 1) The judges. Men like Warren Burger who claim that the "only" way to "true" rehabilitation can come through the sophisticated training of correctional personnel in combination with a comprehensive educational program. Apparently, Mr. Burger fails to realize that for an average yearly salary of \$9,500 you cannot expect to attract potential workers whose I.Q.'s are going to be found in the upper quartile of the intelligence scale. The best training in the world if it cannot be comprehended will serve only to be an additional waste of tax dollars. In so far as inmate education goes even a wet-behind-the-ears, novice teacher can tell you that you simply can't teach someone who is not receptive to learning. The only benefactors from Mr. Burger's educational panacea will be that 20% of the inmate population, who regardless of their opportunities inside prison, will never again enter the system. Because of an inability to change behavior the other 80% of prisoners will, no matter what profound ministrations are made on their behalf, invariably return again and again to the commission of the same antisocial activities. Perhaps if Mr. Burger would spend one year working with correctional officers who barely graduated high school or inmates who possess an average I.Q. of 78 he might modify

his ideas on the future of corrections. 2) The lawyers. When an attorney visits a client in prison most often their meeting is conducted in a comfortable quiet, air conditioned conference room. Very few lawyers have taken valuable time from their busy schedules to adequately explore those places which on occasion might become the surrogate home to one of their more unfortunate customers (perhaps not fully being aware of prison conditions helps them to sleep better). However, how many times have you heard of the defense attorney who pleaded for the mercy of the court by saying: "you can't give this seventeen year old boy a jail sentence. By subjecting this child to the brutal, inhuman conditions of prison life; you, the jury, will be committing a crime against society." For all those attorneys knew about actual prison conditions they might have been doing their clients a disservice by not allowing them the benefit of a short paid vacation in the Holiday Inn with the fence around it. 3) Investigating bodies. All prisons in this country are supposedly monitored by regulatory agencies which for the protection of the inmates insure that certain minimum conditions and standards are being met. Every time these investigators are about to appear on the scene the prison superintendents, by invoking that particular mysterious power that they all seem to possess, become aware of the impending audit. Consequently, like the Red Cross advisory personnel who inspected the Nazi P.O.W. camps for infractions of the Geneva Convention, most prison inspectors see only what the superintendent wants them to see. The only tangible by-product of an official visit is a 500 page hardback formal report which is quickly relegated to a shelf in a remote storage closet where it will mildew until, with the issuance of a new report, it is thrown out. 4) Sociologists and psychologists. These pseudoscientists strive to justify their own existence by informing the masses of the imminent collapse of society as we know it. These two groups continually pontificate about methods that must be employed if we are to avoid the fate they have so grimly predicted for us. These people are so concerned with the future that they have completely lost touch with past history and present reality. By not being able to learn from the mistakes of the past the sociologists and psychologists have trapped themselves into a decidedly tunnel visioned view of corrections. The treatises on corrections generated by these forward looking social "scientists" may draw important implications for future generations, however, they have constantly (for over eighty years) failed to provide workable solutions to the problems of TODAY.

The people who should speak for corrections, those men and women who are on the job year in and year out, are usually unable to present their ideas to the public at large. Because of severe time limitations, fear of possible criminal liability, inability to write or speak well or general lack of motivation, the populace is never privy to the "real" world of corrections.

Often, after a relative or friend has blundered into the criminal justice system it is too late to express concern over conditions that exist therein. Our only hope for the rehabilitation that is so sorely needed in penology is in the spirit of those individuals who after reading this book (or similar honestly written material) are willing to open their eyes and minds, acknowledge the existence of psychological torment, physical abuse, and inhumane conditions in our departments of correction and say: "we're mad as hell and we're not going to take it anymore!" Until that happens the quotation taken from 500 Criminal Careers, 1930, which is reprinted at the beginning of this book, may remain apropos in describing penology well into the twenty-first century.

GLOSSARY

- bible thumper -- one who gains satisfaction through inflicting fundamentalist religiosity upon innocent bystanders. Most often, due to the prevailing intellectual climate (or lack of same), his natural habitat will be in the rural southern United States.
- bitch -- "daddy" sometimes refers to his "boy" with this term of endearment.
- bottom man -- heir apparent to the organization when "daddy" is incommunicado.
- boy -- someone considered to be less than a man; a person who will not stand up for his rights; a person paying money for protection. Also refers to a passive homosexual.
- buck -- prison "moonshine" aged in plastic casks for a period of three to five days. The name is derived from the cost of a quart of the finished product, one dollar (a buck).
- catcher -- homosexual who plays a passive role by "catching," with his rectum, another homosexuals penis (meat).
- chain gang partner -- used to denote friendships, also it is sometimes used to describe an inmate who is paying for protection.
- daddy -- protective, aggressive homosexual "pitcher" who usually has one or two "boys." Almost always a "daddy" is a black inmate with white "boys." In Freudian terms an overly affectionate father figure.
- dick dodging -- activities designed to avoid the aggressive homosexual; example, lots of time spent in church in an attempt to hide from the fornicating fervor of their fellow inmates.
- dudes -- usually white inmate "cons" that think they know all the prison games.
- duds -- typical black inmate who knows very little about life either inside or outside of prison due to a limited mental capacity and arrested social development.
- fronting -- one inmate doing another's bidding.

- fuck boy -- another term for the homosexual "catcher," usually a white inmate with a black "daddy."
- fuck or fight -- either submit willingly to a homosexual relationship or fight to maintain your virginity.
- heart -- an inmate is said to have "heart" when he will stand up for his rights even to the point of fisticuffs.
- home boy -- prisoners refer to each other as "home boys" if they live in the same city, town, village, etc.
- jail -- disciplinary confinement; the real "iron bar" prison within the prison.
- jesus boy -- a prison christian who, in an attempt to make his stay on the compound more enjoyable, finds religion as soon as he sees the iron bars.
- jitterbugs -- juvenile inmates who are constantly engaged in horseplay.
- lockup -- any type of confinement.
- muscle fag -- body building magazines, the pictures of which are of particular interest to fantasizing homosexuals who like to engage in various forms of self-manipulation.
- new cocks -- newly committed prisoners or newly appointed male staff. Since the prisoners are not aware of the E.R.A. there presently is no term (with the possible exception of bitch) for new female staff members.
- partner -- I'm innocent, my "partner" committed the crime! I was in the wrong place at the right time! I'm a victim of circumstance!
- pitcher -- homosexual who plays the role of the man by "throwing" his penis into the "catchers" rectum.
- porch monkeys -- a herd of black inmates.
- pumping up a guard's nuts -- taunting and challenging security officers.
- pussy book -- girlie magazine, also referred to as "suck" or "fuck" books.
- pussy city -- administrative protective custody; the connotation being that women turn themselves in for protection, men stay on the compound and fight their tormentors.

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road dog -- very close inmate friend.

roll over -- to "roll over" on someone is to snitch on that person.

rug head -- popular term for a black inmate.

skeeting -- ejaculation of semen in orgasm.

sissy -- homosexual "catcher" or very passive inmate.

snitch -- a known informer.

son -- "daddy's" boy.

sweet thing -- "daddy" referring to his "boy," or staff member referring to a suspected homosexual.

yard ape -- term for a black inmate.

END