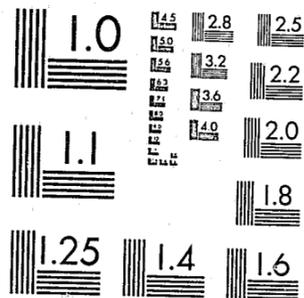


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JUVENILES IN AN ADULT WORLD:
PRISON INMATES UNDER THE AGE OF EIGHTEEN

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JUVENILES IN PRISON

I. INTRODUCTION

It is not so for the state-raised convict. As a boy in reform school, he is punished for being a little boy. In prison, he is punished for trying to be a man....He is treated as an adolescent in prison.

Can you imagine how I feel--to be treated as a little boy and not as a man? And when I was a little boy, I was treated as a man--and can you imagine what that does to a boy?

Jack Abbott, In The Belly of the Beast, pp. 12-13

In many of our states, it is not only possible, but actually occurs, that juveniles (youth under the age of 18) are committed to adult prisons. This occurs because of statutes and procedures (called "certification", "transfer", "waiver", etc.) that allow for juveniles to be tried in adult courts and thus sentenced to adult facilities.¹ There are generally two reasons for such a process--(1) either the act committed by the juvenile has been so heinous that it is felt this juvenile needs more time in confinement than is available in the juvenile system, or (2) the juvenile appears to no longer be amenable to the resources the juvenile justice system has at its disposal.

Very little has been done to ascertain what happens to those juveniles once they find their way into the adult system. This study was undertaken to more accurately explore how juveniles survive in adult prisons. Like many people, I had some suppositions about what happens to juveniles in prison. These included:

--Juveniles in prison would experience a great deal of sexual exploitation and intimidation, thus having to spend much of their time in the protective unit--for their own protection.

¹Some state statutes allow either adult or juvenile facilities to be used--depending on varying characteristics (maturity, age, offense, etc.) of the juvenile being sentenced.

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--Juveniles in prison would not be accepted by the guards or the older inmates because of their immaturity (horseplay, rowdiness, noise), and that they would be, for the most part, a disruptive element in the prison setting.

--Juveniles in prison would need someone to protect them (sponsor, etc.) in order for them to survive in the prison population.

--Juveniles in prison would be bitter towards the juvenile justice system, feeling if the juvenile system had been more effective, they would not be in the adult system now.

The research began by identifying, from prison records, all those who had entered the Utah State prison prior to their 18th birthday between the years 1959-1980 (the period for which records were accessible). There were 29 juveniles admitted during this period. The second section of this paper will deal with the demographics and other characteristics of those who were admitted as juveniles.

After each had been identified and his (all were males) record reviewed, it was established how many of these were still incarcerated. The third phase of the research was to interview each of those still in prison, using a format that would allow them to express themselves. Of the 12 still in prison, interviews were conducted with 10, the other two having been released before they could be interviewed. Section three of this paper deals with those interviews.

This paper will attempt to shed some light on the experience of juveniles in adult prisons. While the results described here are limited to the Utah State Prison, it is hoped that they will produce efforts to study other prisons and other experiences of juveniles in the adult system.

II. JUVENILES IN THE UTAH STATE PRISON

Using available records from the Utah State Prison from 1959 to 1980, the number of juveniles (those under the age of 18) admitted was tabulated:

15 year olds	4	14%
16 year olds	2	7%
17 year olds	<u>23</u>	79%
TOTAL	29	since 1959 (1959-1980)

The records of these 29 juvenile inmates were obtained and analyzed with regard to the following characteristics:

- Ethnicity
- Offense (and nature of crime)
 - companions
 - weapons involved
- Time Served
- Previous Juvenile Record
 - status at time of offense
 - state school
 - etc.
- Prison Experience
 - time in protection
 - vocational training
 - education
 - incidents

Subsequent Offenses After Release

Of the 29 juveniles admitted to the prison, complete records were available on 25, with partial information available on the others--therefore totals will not be 29 on all variables.

All 29 were males.

<u>Ethnicity:</u>	Caucasian	18	62%
	Black	0	
	Sp/Am	<u>11</u>	38%
		29	

<u>Offenses:</u>	Homicide	4
	Theft	1
	Secondary Degree Burglary	8
	Rape	3

Voluntary Manslaughter	1
Assault w/Dead. Weapon	3
Robbery	2
Second Degree Robbery	1
Agg. Assault	1
Agg. Robbery	<u>2</u>
	26 (information missing on 3 juveniles)

Average Time Served: (only for those who have been released)
 26,562 days total (divided by 17 who have been released) =
 1562.47 average days or
 4.28 years
 range 486--3365 days

Of these 29 offenders, 15 used weapons while committing the offense.

These weapons included:

Gun	9
Knife	5
Others	1
No Weapons	8
No Information	6

Number Who Committed Offenses Alone vs. With Companions:

Alone	10	40%
Companions	15	60%
Missing Information	<u>4</u>	
	29	

Status With Juvenile Court at Time of Offense:

On escape from detention	2
On escape from State School	6
In the community	4
Recently released from State School	1
On Parole from State School	3
On Parole from out-of-state Reform School	2
On home visit from State School	1
Under custody of State School	1
On escape from State Hospital	<u>1</u>
	21
Information Missing	8

Time Spent in Protection:

Yes	8
No	9
Unknown	12

Prison write-ups for juveniles in prison were varied and of no particular consequence. There were several reports because of too much noise, being out of bounds and playing stereos and television too loudly.

A profile of the juvenile sentenced to the Utah State Prison during this period of time would be:

White, male, approximately 16.7 years of age. Convicted for a crime against persons (homicide, Rape, etc.), using a weapon (most likely a gun) and committed while an escapee or on parole from the State Reform School, who can expect to spend approximately 3.2 years (excluding those committed for homicides) in

prison and has about a 50-50 chance of returning to prison.

(Nine of the 17 released to date-1980-have not returned to prison. Of the eight who did return, they served an average of 2.68 years.

III. INTERVIEWS WITH JUVENILES IN PRISON

Interviews with incarcerated juveniles were held within the confines of the prison itself. Some were conducted in the cells, others in the protection unit, maximum security or sometimes in a borrowed office. In each instance the inmate was told about the research and given the opportunity to participate or not. In every instance there was a willingness to participate and the interview proceeded.

There were six major areas covered in the interview:

- Attitude toward juvenile system
- First day impressions and experience in prison
- Sexual intimidation and/or exploitation of the juvenile
 - (Attitudes of other inmates towards the juvenile
 - (Attitudes of guards and prison staff towards the juvenile
- Pros and cons of prison experience
- Survival techniques and advice to incoming juveniles

Each of these will be dealt with separately in this section.

A. Attitudes Toward the Juvenile System and Certification

Since these juveniles, for the most part, had extensive experience in the juvenile system, I wanted to probe their feelings. Some of their responses were about the juvenile court, others about certification, and some about the state reform school. First, their feelings about the juvenile system in general:

...in here, in the state of Utah, they ain't got nothing for no juvenile, man, because by the time I was on probation on juvenile I went through 20 probation officers. I got used to one and then next week I would have another one. I got kind of fed up with it, man.

I think there's a lot they can do in the juvenile system with kids but, ah, I think that the kids they haven't had in the juvenile system before and they haven't ran them through everything they can do with them, you know, and they're taking some of these...and certifying them. Most of them are serious crimes like this, but they can do things with these kids, they don't have to just send them--you know, they're not---this doesn't help anybody here....If the adults feel that the juveniles don't think they mean business, why don't they show them they mean business. Not by sending them here but by doing something with the juvenile system.

I think, like at the YDC, they just change from the ways how they do it. Out there you know I was out there for three years. It seemed like a game out there you know. You go run and you get five weeks, and this--it wasn't nothing. They just got to, out there on the juveniles, they got to crack down a little bit so that juveniles don't start coming up here.

I did a year and a half there (YDC) the first time without escaping or nothing, you know, and I was doing real good there, then they started messing with my head and they wouldn't let me go home and everything and they brought us all kinds of stuff. I just said forget it. I just ran... The first time, they let the juvenile go (in the juvenile system). They get out the next day the law comes and gets them, right there when they catch him they should do something to them...Give them something to think about. And they don't do that. And that's what they should do.

In general, they expressed disappointment with the juvenile system. It had not been strict enough, too much changing of probation officers, and, not using enough alternatives prior to giving up and certifying as an adult. With specific regard to certification, they responded as follows:

I don't feel it's right. I feel the juvenile system's shirking their responsibilities because that's what they're getting paid for.

Why should they? If they can do a man's crime, they can do a man's time, but I don't think they should send him out here. Send him to a boy's prison or something. But not out here, man. Because I don't like it out here.

I was at the YDC in Ogden and they brought me to court and certified me. I was doin' real good out there. That place was helping me. All the staff was for me and I had no disciplinary out there or anything, but all the staff out there was for me and everything and they still certified me.

Well in my case when I left the juvenile system, they had--I had been transferred from here to California--done time down there and brought back, and they told me there's nothing else we can do with you, okay, ah--first of all, I think my certification wasn't--it wasn't the fact that there wasn't nothing they can do with me it was the fact that the cops were upset behind my crime.

I don't think you should be certified when you're still in the juvenile system. But in my particular case, I've been through state school and all the juvenile things. And, ah, that wasn't helping me at all and I knew that I was coming to prison, that I was going sooner or later so I'm glad I got it over with when I did.

I don't think I should have [been certified]. Because I figure--because they had some programs that I tried to get into that could have helped me. I think they should use it if it's a real violent crime like murder, yeh. But for burglary and robbery, and that, no man. There's got to be a better place to put a young guy instead of prison, man. There's got to be.

No [I shouldn't have been certified]. Cause I guess I was scared, you know, when they said they were going to certify me and then my caseworker said they were going to certify me cause if I was convicted of murder charges that ah they wouldn't be able to house me in a juvenile facility. They wouldn't be able to house me securely and so she said we're gonna--we don't want you running around. And I shouldn't be here. I'm not a mean person. I'm not a criminal. I just--got caught up in a mistake, all right?

They shouldn't--certify anybody man because all they're going to do when they send them up here is make 'em grow up too quick... That's what they did with me. I came here when I was 15, and they made me grow up way too quick, man.

B. First Day Impressions and Experience in Prison

"I went to my bunk that first night, my ears still ringing, crawled between the rough sheets, covered my head, and there in the darkness began to cry. This was my one safe place. Here, until I slept, I could be without fear."

Malcolm Braly, False Starts,
p. 50

Malcolm Braly has given us the above description of his first night in a juvenile reform school. What is it like to enter an adult prison for the first time as a juvenile? I asked, "Do you remember your first day in prison, and what was it like?"

I was scared. I came in--and I heard those gates close behind me, and I had to stop--this is it--I started--I thought what is going to happen to me because I heard a lot of stories, and I guess well a lot of them were true.

I had butterflies. Kind of scared. But I knew I had a lot of partners here.

Confusing. Mostly just--I just couldn't really believe I was here. But that was like for the first week. I was just in a daze. Well you see I came down on a 90-day evaluation first. The deal was my lawyer told me to cop out, you know, plead guilty to the crime and they'll give you 90-day evaluation in the prison and probation. Naturally I jumped at that--I thought sure. So I got 90 days--90 days here--and they committed me--just kind of forgot about giving me probation.

Oh, you know, I was kind of looking forward to it. I wanted to be treated as an adult. Have a name for myself. When I first came in here, you know, I was feeling pretty bad, coming through the gates, the noise and stuff. It was scaring the shit out of me but.....

Ya, I remember it real well, you know. It's well anytime you're put in a new situation and a new institution, okay, there's a certain amount of fear involved, okay? Then, okay, you have to take your own time or at your own pace and kind of check the institution out and see what it's made of and see--you have to learn how to deal with the staff in your own way and then at the same time you have to learn how to deal with the inmates, you know. And the one big disadvantage that the juvenile, real young, 17, 16, like this, has coming in prison is people have--even, you know the convicts, especially and the cops and things like this, they have a natural assumption that because someone's young it makes them stupid. See?

Yes, I can remember. I drove up you know, it was pretty scary. I heard all these rumors, I didn't know what was happening. I got over here and I knew quite a few people here so I felt all right after a while.

I was scared. I had a brother here in high school. I heard all this stuff about it, you know, but I was really scared.

C. Sexual Intimidation and/or Exploitation

...the reality of much prison sex is terror. This is especially true where young boys are involved. "They'll be lined up waiting for you boy. You'll be gang raped like a girl. The old cons like 'em young like you."

An old, bearded convict, snickering through a toothless grin, was taunting a young prisoner spending his first night in jail. For his part, the teenager was stunned. His mouth hung open. His bravado failed him and he did not know how to keep up a "tough" front. In the free world, out on the street, with his gang, he could bluff his way through anything, almost. Here he was alone, outnumbered, defenseless against the older, more experienced and assaultive convicts with whom he would be living and sleeping from now on. He would be treated like a girl because he was young and soft. He would have to submit. This young rebel was beginning to have serious doubts about his choice for a life of crime but it was too late: the circle of convicts was narrowing, moving in for another gang rape.

Lou Torok, Straight Talk From Prison, p. 41

The question of sexual exploitation and/or intimidation was difficult to obtain answers to. In reviewing the files of these juveniles there was seldom any reference to anything of a sexual nature. Interviews with the juveniles involved were just as scant. They denied, for the most part, any personal problems or encounters, yet each was able to identify someone else who had difficulties. Their responses to the interview question, however, imply the reality--as they perceive it--of sexual intimidation.

In each interview I asked the question:

"We are led to believe that there is a great amount of sexual abuse for young kids when they first come to prison. Is that true in your experience?"

This question was followed-up at a later point with questions as to whether they were hassled (physically or sexually) during their first few days in prison. Some of the responses are as follows:

Yeah, I got in a few fights over it but that's as far as it went....I've saw a lot of young kids come here that people turn them into punks and shit.

[They don't bother me]...because I got cousins, I got a sister, I got a brother-in-law [all in here]. 'Cept when I first came in I didn't really know nobody, and I got in a fight with this guy. And he kept bothering me and bothering me--he liked me I guess. When I first came in I was scared and they knew it. The second day here they kept trying to tell me to do something you know, and I told him no. So we got in a fight and then after that he kept bothering me and bothering me. Then we go in about three fights finally. Then finally I put a stop to it. I talked to some people then it stopped. There's a lot of bad things I've learned from here. I seen a guy get raped. It's so sick, man, you know. They mostly get all the younger guys...white mostly. They're just regular guys, you know. They can be sitting on the bed smoking their dope and saying let's f___ him up--let's f___ him up or something, you know. They're on him, you know, for nothing. He's just sitting there minding his own business. That's--I don't like that, man, you know. If I see it, if I catch him alone, man, that's cold, you know.

It hasn't happened to me but I have seen it happen to some younger ones. I ain't seen that much stuff but hell, from what I heard lately and, ya know, people I've talked to and stuff there's a lot of it going on now. Some people yell and whistle at a few dudes coming into the chow hall and stuff but that's about it. That's about all that ever happened to me.

I told them I was 16 and they started whispering among themselves and stuff, and I was saying, "Oh, what'd I get myself into?" I said, oh man, but oh after, after I'd been here I finally got myself into a couple of switches with some of the older inmates, some of the people who had been here a long time, and I had to go, and well, I had to go and get something to, well they was going to come after me, ya know, and I had to go get myself something to where I had to stand up so I could do my time easier and in the future for when I first came in, see, when I first came I had to get me a blade and keep it with me so some of these older, what you call "older faggots" wouldn't think, wouldn't think nothin'. So once I stood up to this one guy and they more or less all left me alone, but oh, a lot of juveniles, they go to the prison system and come out here and oh, they don't, I don't know what it is, they just I guess they don't stand up for themselves....But I seen a lot of other people after they come in, they're not 16, but 17, 18, 19, it happens to them.

[When juveniles come in]...they go find themselves a big, tough daddy and let that guy fight their battles. There's very few, very few of them youngsters come in here now days and fight. They come in and they either give it up or they come to protection....Most of them don't say anything, ya know. They just sit out there and take it. It seems like they don't care. As a matter of fact they learn to enjoy it...It's a lot different years ago than it is now. They're afraid now. It seems like they're not men, you know...Seems like now they're just cowards. I don't know.

They just--they don't do it. They'd rather--I think our society's turning homosexual, I don't know.

I just--I figured that they would back me up if anything ever happened. But I figured if I'm going to do--see when I came in this prison, man, when I first came in, I came as I--they called it as a chicken more like. I came here to do my time. I don't want you to mess with me or nothing, man. But it didn't work. I guess I was too young. These men took advantage of me--started calling me 17-year-old punk and you ain't nothing. I told them well as long as I know what I can do I don't have to prove it to you. But it ended up I had to prove it.

If I would have went into main population I probably would have been on protection because there's--you know, there's just some crazy people out there and they'll do anything you know like you get up there you could be killed. You could get raped. You could, I mean there's anything can happen to you while you're up there. And a kid who's just came off, you know he's not even--most kids like a lot of kids think they're ready, you know, to move out and everything. Some of them are but most of them aren't. Then you send them to prison. It makes them mean. And you stick somebody in a mean environment and they're going to be mean.

Some claimed not to have had any sexual problems or rapes, others indicated they had seen it done to others. In most instances and as a general rule, the whites had seen it and expressed fear of it happening, while the Spanish/Americans were not concerned and even denied that it was a reality. When it did occur, it most often involved the young white juvenile who was new to institutional life and had no connections within the prison.

D. Attitudes of Others Towards Juveniles--Inmates, Guards, and Prison Staff

The prison system has traditionally been a world of adults; a place where older offenders (particularly professional criminals) create their own world with their own code of behavior. In recent years, the prison world has changed. John Irwin, a sociologist and former inmate describes this change as a result of younger offenders (lowriders) entering the prisons:

[Things] changed in the late 1960's and lowriders were carried to the forefront by the tide of racial hostility.

The term lowrider, borrowed from the outside and originally applied to young hoods who rode around in their cars, slouched down in their seats, is a derogatory label pinned on young hoodlums, many of them state-raised, who formed cliques, hung around the prison yard, and "talked shit," or bragged about their exploits and capabilities. Presenting themselves as tough, they were more violent than the average prisoner. They also stole from other prisoners and were involved in wheeling and dealing to the degree that they could penetrate these enterprises, which tended to be controlled by older prisoners. Other prisoners generally disliked and did not respect them, but feared them somewhat because of their occasional violence.

John Irwin, Prisons in Turmoil, p. 75

In order to ascertain the situation of and attitudes towards juveniles and younger inmates at the Utah State Prison, three groups were interviewed--the younger inmates, older inmates, and the staff (guards, caseworkers, etc.). The question was asked, "Are juveniles perceived as a disruptive influence by the older inmates?"

Responses of the young inmates:

Uh--some kids screw around and, yes people do get upset over it."

Yes--because of the guys that are a lot older, they're men.

It's like some of the older people who have been here for 10 or 15 years, they just want to keep back in their cell, do their own little thing. They don't like some little kid's stereo down the hall playing real loud or some T. V. turned up real loud....Or running around and stuff, and that happens and it all depends on who's down the hall that turns their stereo too loud. They'll come down and throw it in your face or something...other than that...you just got to learn to live with it, I guess, because you're going to be here so you just got to learn to live, to try to get along with everybody as well as you can, I guess.

Well, I'd say when I first came in here I used to horseplay a lot, then I stopped, ya know. I realized a lot of dudes wasn't likin' it....There's only a few dudes who don't like, ya know, young kids coming in. A lot of other dudes can't understand it, ya know, if they had a chance they'd get back out to stay out, ya know. There's a lot of dudes in here who understand, and if you can find them in here then you've got it made.

The attitude of other inmates was summarized by one of the older residents at the Utah State Prison:

....I think that society turns a 15, 16 or 17 year old kid loose in the prison systems and they make a criminal out of him because teenagers are more impressionable than older people. I think that the judges and juries sending kids to prison under 25 ought to be sent to prison themselves.

Overall, the attitude of other inmates toward the juveniles was that the system had failed them and they shouldn't have been sent to prison. There was a certain amount of empathy for their situation since many of the older inmates had also entered prison as juveniles:

You know, I get pissed off when I see younger people in the prison setting, and I really shouldn't because I was 16 years old, you know.

The prison staff did not see the juvenile as a particularly disruptive element. On the contrary, they emphasized the point that the prison population was getting younger and younger, thus when a juvenile entered the system he was met by his peer group from the streets and from the state reform school.

When a juvenile comes to prison he has his gang waiting for him--the gang that he got to know when he was in the state school. There is little need for him to go to protection or worry at all because his friends are already here--and the same reputation he had at state school comes with him here.

The change in prison population from older to younger has apparently made the sentencing of juveniles to prison less of a problem for the inmate population. Whereas earlier there were strict codes of behavior as well as an inmate status hierarchy, much of this has changed. The old ways are fading away and being replaced with new, less formal norms.

E. Pros and Cons of Prison Experience for Juveniles

I was interested in whether or not the juveniles in prison were able to perceive any positive aspects of their prison experience. I asked them for both their positive and negative experiences.

"What have you learned in prison--both positive and negative?"

Positive

finished high school diploma
auto mechanic diploma

I really can't say I pick up positive things while I'm in here. It's kind of hard to pick up positive.

I've learned a lot. I've talked to a lot of the guys who have been here a long time, and they tell me, man, you ought to get out. This ain't no place for you. And I tell them I know it so--I'm doing good considering myself.

It's just a change. They locked the door so fast and so quick, ya know, ya just gotta grow up, you know, ya just gotta grow up and get out.

When I get out if I plan on doing anything, I'll stop to think about it the next time. Before, ya know I would never do that--group pressure and stuff, ya know.

Well, there's one positive thing. There's no more little roads to go down, ya know, like foster homes.. it's either prison or society now. When I get out I got to make my choice if I want to stay in prison with all these stupid hoods. It's just that easy, but, ah, I found out it just ain't worth it.

I've learned not to just jump at something like before when I wouldn't think about something when I'd do it. Now I think about it, and it helps man. Before I came here I didn't really think about myself. I was just there. Then I started thinking about me, and I started thinking about the things I can do to help other people and be a good person, you know. Not because it looks good; because it feels good.

Negative

A lot of negative things I picked up since I've been in here is my bad attitude toward people and that's what got me worried. When I first came in I was picking up things I didn't, you know, I picked up a lot of things that people had talked about--shanking people and bringing some dope in, you know.

....just a lot of hard times, you know, get down--depressed--things like that. It's easy to do.

There's a lot of bad things I've learned from here. Like I seen a guy get raped. It's so sick, man, you know. I seen a guy get hit with a pipe in the head and everything, you know. It's not--this ain't where I want to be, you know. I tell myself that.

....the time is bad. The waiting, trying to get out.

When I first came in here I didn't really care that much about people's color, but now my views changed. If another neo-Nazi group ever popped up and shit, ya know, I'd probably hop right on in with 'em. I just hate 'em.

Well, I'll tell you, it's a hell of an experience for a kid to come in here. If they had of released me--they had of given me probation like they said after 90 days, I seriously don't think I ever would have come here after because I was scared but, ah, you know, I've been here for 6½ years and, ah, it doesn't have anything to scare me anymore.

....everyday you get more hatred in you. Everyday you get more into yourself. I mean you can't open up like you can in other situations.

Negative

Well, you miss a lot of things. I've learned to hate. I've learned just what a lot of people are like.

How to hate. That's the only thing they teach you in here.

It can be argued that, in spite of the predominantly negative aspects of prison life, juveniles in prison acquire some things they might otherwise not have acquired. Among these are the opportunities to finish their high school education, learning a specific trade and some maturity concerning their personal lives and how to plan for their future.

F. Survival as a Youth in Prison

This is the way it is done. If you are a man, you must either kill or turn the tables on anyone who propositions you with threats of force. It is the custom among young prisoners. In so doing, it becomes known to all that you are a man, regardless of your youth.

I have been trained from a youth spent in gladiator school for this. It was inevitable then that a youth in an adult penitentiary at some point will have to attack and kill, or else he most certainly will become a punk--even though it may not be well known he is a punk. If he cannot protect himself, someone else will.

Jack Abbot, In The Belly of the Beast. p. 79

Among those I interviewed, were many who had been following a recent homicide committed by a 15 year old youth. They anticipated that this young boy would be found guilty and eventually sentenced to prison. I asked them, based on their prison experience, "What advice would you give a 15 year old boy who was about to enter prison?" Their responses were interesting because of the picture they present about surviving in prison as a youth.

I'd tell him you know just--when you go in there you're going to be scared man, just do your own time and try to stay by yourself, man, cause if, you know, if you're that way, you ain't got no reason nobody's got no reason to talk to you...you just you like you can go

in your cell, man, you can read or have the people send you in a T. V. and you get to stay in your house and watch T. V., man, or get a job.

To survive,.....I'd tell him you've got to be mean. If anybody screws you over, you've got to screw them over. And don't get caught up in any switches--don't get in debt. That's one thing you don't do. You don't get in debt that you can't pay....You're going to need some partners. That's people that are going to back you up. I mean back you up. Like if you have to--you're forced or if somebody's trying to kill you. They're going to take care of him....That has to be done, otherwise, you know, you're dead. I'd tell him if absolute--if somebody was trying to kill him, and he couldn't do nothing about it, go to protection. But if somebody takes your commissary, just get back at him. Cause then they'll leave you alone. See in this prison if they think you'll stand up for yourself, they'll pretty much leave you alone--unless they've got any outstanding reasons.

Be tough to begin with. If you come in here and someone goes to slap you and you don't try to slap him back, it's going to go through the prison....then everybody's gonna know that you're not gonna stick up for yourself and they'll come and take your T. V., they'll come take your radio, and they'll come take you.

It's important that he stand up for himself....if somebody propositions him, he can tell him, ya know, "I don't handle that or I don't play that." Then if they insist or if they persist, then, ah, I would suggest that he go get a knife and stick it in him....He has to establish himself right off. Anytime there's any kind of a problem where he needs to fight then he has to establish himself or he's going to do hard time. He's going to do, ah, he's going to be kicked around and used.

Mind your own business and be cool. Go straight to protection.

If he's a weak guy he might as well just go to protection. You know--or find someone who is going to take care of him. He should get a shank. See if you prove yourself then everyone don't mess with you no more. Even if it means killin' a guy you know.

IV. CONCLUSION

Prison life is becoming more and more an experience for younger inmates. In 1972, at the Utah State Prison, the mode category reflecting the ages of most inmates was 25-29 years. In 1982, this mode category had changed and most inmates were in the 20-24 year old group.

With this younger population come increasing problems of supervision and control. The old norms are gone, gangs are operating and power belongs to whoever can take it.

It is this world to which the youngster under 18 is introduced. Some, as a result of their state school experience, are prepared for it and have their reputations already established. Others come into it with little understanding or preparations.

The realities of prison life are based on one's ability to stand up for one's self, to manipulate the system and to conform to the inmate world. As evidenced by the comments of those juvenile inmates interviewed in this study, it is particularly difficult for a juvenile — and the experience leaves a mark not easily erased.

The professional literature has not addressed the problem of juvenile inmates in adult prisons. There is, however, a great deal of concern about juveniles being incarcerated with adults in jail facilities. The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, Sec. 223(a) (13) states ". . . that juveniles alleged to be or found to be delinquent and youths within the preview of paragraph (12) shall not be detained or confined in any institution in which they have regular contact with adult persons incarcerated because they have been convicted of a crime or are awaiting trial on criminal charges." The phrase "no regular contact" has been interpreted to mean sight and sound separation. This act, interestingly enough, does not apply to juveniles who have been certified or who are awaiting prosecution as adults. It is as though certified juveniles, by some waive of the judicial wand, are not only considered as adults under the law, but have in fact become adults—emotionally, physically and in all other ways.

It has been the intent of this paper to foster a new sensitivity for the situation of those juveniles certified as adults. This is not

a misty-eyed, bleeding-heart appeal; but rather one to suggest serious and habitual juvenile offenders deserve to be accountable for their offenses—yet they also deserve to be separated from adult offenders who may, given the structure of our present prison system, prey upon them and make them victims of a system which claims to be working in their best interest and the interest of society.

END