THE THEATRE OF PRISON: POWER AND RESISTANCE, FAMILY AND THE PRODUCTION OF ILLEGALITY, STARRING THE CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

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ABSTRACT

The Western prison has proven a failure since its European birth two centuries ago. Imprisoning over two million and still executing its citizens, the United States has become the world's prison empire with California as the capitol. The media, politicians, the private sector, and a fearfully uninformed public have normalized the prison's punitive function deep into the American values and consciousness. Families, women, African-American communities, the impoverished, the drug addicted and mentally ill have been the most criminalized and victimized by the violence of this failed experiment. Movements of resistance and alternative visions continue to build, but remain marginalized due to the prison's foundation of power over communication and knowledge production.

This dissertation uses frameworks of feminist and emancipatory anthropology to examine individuals' experiences within the culture of prison. The experiences extend from the researcher's volunteer work with educational programs at California's San Quentin state prison, and through various prison theatre groups in England, Northern Ireland, Germany, and Italy. What is put forth is an analysis of how the prison systemically reproduces a self and social violence. However, despite the violence of prison, this research reveals the resiliency and capacity of the human spirit to resist and find liberation in the face of extreme alienation. Thus, this research attempts to take steps towards the possibility of an alternative way of being without prisons.

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Michael McCamish,
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The degree of civilization in a society can be judged by entering its prisons.
Fyodor Dostoyevsky (1821-1881)

There are over 9 million people held in penal institutions throughout the world. The United States now has the highest prison population rate with over 2.03 million incarcerated at 701 per 100,000. Over 95% will return to society and over 70% of those will return to prison; there are 6.8 million people incarcerated, on probation, or parole. California is the state with the largest prison population and incarceration rate in America, with 160,315 imprisoned at 467 per 100,000. Rehabilitation is no longer part of the California Department of Correction's Mission Statement. The California guards' union, the California Correction Peace Officer's Association (CCPOA), rose to become the most powerful political entity in the state during the same time in the 1980s and 1990s; during that time there were 21 new prisons built, and only one new university.

Throughout the country the difference between the rich and the poor continues to increase; African-Americans, with a 24.1% poverty rate, suffer the most. The U.S. imprisons more of their black male population than South Africa during apartheid. Women, the elderly, and drug offenders are among the fastest growing prison populations today. They are the working material for a booming industry that consumes $40 billion nationally and $5.237 billion in California. Corporations have become major benefactors to this "prison industrial complex" through labor, services, and industry. Politicians infuse fear into the public and the media paints clichés of prisoners, while the prison and its powerful guards' union control the information source. The end result is that prisons—and the violence associated with them—have become normalized in American social and cultural practices and consciousness.

The seed of this research project was given life largely because of this writer's struggle with and investigation into a self that is very much embedded in a violent culture that yields such a prison society. However, because I had a certain degree of social privilege that provided access to various modes of knowledge production, including secondary education and an exploration into the arts, I never served a prison sentence. However, I did become empathetic to the plight of the "criminal" in Western society. The intention in this research is to explore an alternative perspective of the Western prison system that challenges, destabilizes, and decenters dominant Western society's assumptions about crime, criminals, prisons, and the conventional methods utilized for punishment and rehabilitation. I decided to create and explore an alternative space that would give voice to members and concerned associates of the Western prison community that are often marginalized or silenced. My primary goal was to enter into dialogue with

the prisoners and ex-prisoners, and to include the voices of prison guards, teachers, staff, administrators, and volunteers.

Providing a space for these perspectives and experiences within the Western prison community positions this dissertation in the context of a larger dialogue with Michel Foucault's (1977, 1972) analysis of the birth and reproduction of the Western prison, relationships of power, and the production of knowledge. Foucault describes the effects of the relationships of power that are manifested through the operatives of the Western prison, which he calls the "carceral system," (1977, 276). This research will address four of the dynamics Foucault describes:

1) the failure of prisons and how this failure assists the larger society in maintaining the status quo by reproducing social inequalities;
2) the dehumaization and re-fabrication of the prisoner's identity through exposure to ultra-hierarchical relationships of power (this is further explored in the works of Erving Goffman [1961] and Donald Clemmer [1958]);
3) the ways prisoners find resistance against these conditions; and
4) how strategies that repress and silence resistance and alternative forms of knowledge production that counter the prison's "truth" function to legitimate poor treatment of criminals.

Given these practical and theoretical interests, I discovered that I could enter the prison system through an "alternative" form of knowledge production that had already inserted itself within certain prisons—the Alternative to Violence Project (AVP). In California's San Quentin State Prison, prisoners themselves and individuals outside the prison system facilitate AVP workshops. AVP and a forming network of theater projects inside prisons in England, Northern Ireland, Italy, and Germany (together comprising the European Prison Theatre Travel Diary), became the vehicles for this research project.

The methodology is guided by principles of participatory action research. In this context, that meant that I would encourage prisoners to be actively involved with the research and would facilitate a space in which to identify their interests and needs within the parameters discussed above. I offered myself as a volunteer participant-observer, immersed myself in their culture, writing descriptively and self-reflectively about the culture of prison: routines, relationships, violence, and resistances. I wrote about their lives before, during, and after prison: my goal was to relay their stories using their words. With a focus on San Quentin and the California Department of Corrections, I wanted to co-produce knowledge that would be relevant to both local and global prison communities involved through an engagement of this research community's differences and commonalities. I decided to employ a feedback loop to the community so that prisoners and others in the prison community could collaborate on the actual writing and representation of their lives. Thus, I intended to participate in a construction of a knowledge within the context of an feminist and emancipatory framework; this would allow a history of struggles and resistances to produce a critique of the inequities of social relations and to contribute to freeing the "power of truth from the forms of hegemony, social, economic, and cultural, within which the intellectual operates at the present time" (Foucault 1972, 81-84).

1.2. Chapter Overview

In Chapter 2, I begin by addressing the discipline of anthropology by first giving it definition and history through its relationships with self, society, tools, and methods of knowledge production. I situate my research theoretically through an analysis of feminism and emancipatory anthropology.

In Chapter 3, I introduce my theoretical orientation in regards to power and prisons. I begin by outlining George Lakoff's (1996) traditional binary oppositional theory in which he describes the two conceptual value systems that historically have driven punishment practices in Western society: the "nurturing parent model" (NPM) and the "strict father model" (SFM). I then position my research in relationship to Michel Foucault's (1977, 1972) analysis of power and knowledge in Western prisons. His analysis reveals the strategies of power and the quintessential importance of knowledge.

A genealogy attempts to record "a historical knowledge of struggles" that "allows us to make use of this knowledge tactically today." (Foucault 1972, 82) A genealogy reveals the forms of power and knowledge that have emerged as dominant social institutions and those that have been marginalized. In Chapter 4, I build a genealogy paralleling Foucault's analysis of the Western prison by drawing upon three primary sources: *The Oxford History of the Prison* (1994), Kenneth Lamott's *Chronicles of San Quentin,* (1961) and Eric Cummins' *Rise and Fall of California's Radical Prison Movement* (1994). Through these works I demonstrate the cyclical action of Foucault's theoretical analysis of power/knowledge and the prison. Two major power eruptions are highlighted: first, the revolts by the working class in early eighteenth century Europe that sent punishment from the public spectacle to secrecy, issuing in the rise of Jeremy Bentham's panopticon; second, at the height of the rehabilitation era—as prisoners became empowered with knowledge and unity and joined forces with the civil rights movement—the eruption of the prisoner's rights movement. The movement gained some human and civil rights for prisoners, but subsequently there was an even deeper return to prison's brutal punishment that is taking place in the prison industrial complex today.

Within this genealogy, I situate San Quentin and the California Department of Corrections as my targeted field of research, within the larger history of the Western prison as the center for a prison empire. In the second half of Chapter 4, I give a description of the current state of prisons in our society today and the rise of the prison industrial complex.

In the Methodology Section, Chapter 5, I situate my research within Angela Davis's call for a "continuum of alternatives" by providing a platform for the "alternative" voices of the imprisoned to be heard against the backdrop of the powerful prison regime. I aim to do so by crushing stereotypes and building a foundation of multiplicity through the differences and similarities of an international community. To accomplish this I intended to draw upon the methods of participant-observation and participatory action research. In all, I interviewed ten ex-prisoners/parolees and nine imprisoned men inside of prisons through my involvement in both San Quentin and Europe. I interacted with well over one-hundred prisoners in San Quentin, but I wrote of my interactions with some forty-five. I used pseudonyms to protect the participants identities.

In the final section of methodology, I bring the reader into the community and history of the Alternative to Violence Project (AVP), which allowed a doorway into my initial field site of San Quentin. With the influences of the Quakers, AVP has been doing conflict resolution work inside of prisons since 1973 at Green Haven Prison, Connecticut. Their series of three 3-day workshops has spread to 42 states and 12 countries, including a chapter at San Quentin that began in 1990. I participated in my first AVP workshop inside San Quentin in October 1999 and would eventually participate in a total of four. I began to build my research upon my experiences inside San Quentin as a volunteer with AVP and as a tutor for one semester with the state's only on site college prison program.

I next briefly introduce the reader to the histories and practices of the prison theatre groups who have been co-researchers with me in this project: European Prison Theatre Diary: The Escape Artists of Cambridge, England; the Prison Arts Foundation of Maghaberry prison in Belfast, Northern Ireland; AufBruch of Tegel prison in Berlin, Germany; and Ticvin of San Vitorre prison in Milan, Italy. In writing of their work, I begin in San Quentin, 1958, with Rick Clutchey and the San Quentin Drama Workshop. His inspiration upon the imaginations of imprisoned bodies in Europe demonstrates the capabilities of art and theatre as a medium for change.

In Chapters 6, 7, and 8 the reader is taken on a tour of San Quentin through my experiences with the prisoners there and with Lieutenants Critendon and Neinhuis; I also incorporate the voices of European prisoners as well as background research. In Chapter 9, I take the reader into the theatre as I explore stories and performances in the European prison theatre community.

This community, because of their different practices, offers an alternative model that has the subversive potential to change the dominant regime of prison culture. In Chapter 9, I conclude with a brief summary of my practice and findings and make suggestions for future research and activism.

When I first began this research, AVP had a vibrant growing community in the confines of San Quentin; it has since been terminated. The prison's theatre project, which I had hoped would be a part of this research, was also terminated. Likewise, the theatre companies in Europe have all experienced cancellations and budget cuts, despite their proven benefits for the prisoners. It is my intention that this research may become useful to these sorts of groups in their work in nonviolence, education, and the arts in all penal regimes. I also hope to contribute to the de-colonization of the field of anthropology by demonstrating a methodology that works toward equality in research relationships. In this methodology, power and the self are constantly brought into question, and knowledge construction is a collaboration toward emancipatory social change for justice. To the field of theatre and the arts, I hope to offer a demonstration of how theatre can become a tool of resistance and social change. For myself, I have found through this project a deeper understanding of my own depths of "criminality," and as I have stepped into those depths, I found a deeper belief in myself as an artist and contributor toward change for social justice.

CHAPTER 2

THE DISCIPLINE OF ANTHROPOLOGY

> *We are all creatures of our own social and cultural pasts. However, in order to be meaningful to others, the uniqueness of our own research experience gains significance when it is related to the theories of our predecessors and the research of our contemporaries. Social and cultural understanding can be found by ethnographers only if they are aware of the sources of the ideas before them and are willing to confront them—with all that such confrontation entails.*
>
> (Vidich and Lyman 2000, 43)

I am fortunate to have stepped into the discipline of anthropology at this time and place. Because of the prior theoretical models in the evolution of anthropology, including those which were in complicity with a history of Western colonialism and imperialism, we are able today to engage in an anthropology that judges itself not on an impossible "objectivity", but rather on our capacity to practice a self-reflective research that moves towards the emancipation of humanity from violence and injustice.

The primary task of anthropologists has been the study of different human beings and their ways of being in the world. Because of this engagement with difference anthropology has been given a constant mirror and confrontation with the self, producing "moments of dissatisfaction with the state of a discipline's practice" (Marcus and Fisher, 1986, 8—10). We have managed to not remain in irrational circles but to spiral forward into rebirth. To remain in a mode of forward travel and self-confrontation, in this section I explore some of the prior theoretical models of anthropology that have informed my research today.

I believe that eight out of every ten people who ask me "What do you do?"—to which respond "anthropology,"—immediately associate this to the digging up of bones and exploring "primitive" civilizations, mostly in Africa or some far away land. The fact that there is a majority of lay people who do not know what defines anthropology is not hard to believe, given that over the last two centuries those practicing anthropology have been divided upon what actually constitutes our discipline's knowledge and practice.

The definition of anthropology can be generally stated as the study of what it means to be human. The field is divided into four categories of study: physical anthropology, social and cultural anthropology, archaeology, and linguistics. The primary tool of social and cultural anthropology has been that of ethnography, defined as "a social scientific description of a people and the cultural basis of their peoplehood" Vidich and Lyman, 2000, 25). The word "culture" has been used to mean "material production of a society" or "systems of signification and the production of meaning." The line between these two uses has become blurred with the infusion of literary, cultural, ethnic, history, and anthropology studies constructing an inter-disciplinarian study of culture (Columbia Dictionary of Modern Literary and Cultural Criticism, s.v. "culture.").

Since the very emergence of the discipline, anthropologists have been conflicted about how to best understand the values of other cultures, that is, what values should guide the observation of the researcher? Anthropologists have taken two primary routes: that of the universal values of the observer or the "etic" perspective where culture is evaluated from its relationship and adaptation to the external factors of the environment or economics. While observation has also been guided by the values relative to the observed, an "emic" or insider's perspective is attempted; from this perspective, social change is associated with the evolution of ideas and it is the role of the anthropologist to get inside of these ideas (Vidich and Lyman, 1994, 24).

While the emic and etic perspectives represent a historical divergence within anthropology, the "objectivity" of a researcher provided a point of convergence. Emerging from the Enlightenment, anthropology gained legitimacy from the authority of science by attempting to produce research that is defined by a position of objectivity and free of "bias." But as Vidich and Lyman point out:

> The observations of an ethnographer are always guided by world images that determine which data are salient and which are not: An act of attention to one rather than another object reveals one dimension of the observer's value commitment, as well as his or her value laden interests.(1994, 24-5)

The values that defined early anthropology emerged from a lineage that began in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries after the world explorations of Columbus and others to the Western hemisphere. The newly "discovered" native threw a wrench into Western Christian creation mythology: The goal of early ethnography was to explain the "origins, histories, and development of a multiplicity of races cultures, and civilizations" in a way that demonstrated the European, in contrast to "primitive" life forms, was the pinnacle of human development. The argument was put forth by Bartolome Las Casas that their newly discovered neighbors were equal, fully rightful members of humanity, whose differences were valid and dignified. But the debate was dominated by "Aristotle's doctrine of natural slavery" which gave legitimacy to the labor division imposed by the Spanish onto the natives of the Americas. And while there were always a number of ethnographers who were in favor of "ethnocultural revolution and anti-colonial revolt," throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries missionaries, explorers, and colonial administrators wrote descriptions of unknown cultures that were legitimated by their adherence to a colonial pluralistic Christian perspective (Vidich and Lyman 1994, 24 7).

In the first half of the twentieth century, anthropologists such as Boas, Malinowski, Radcliff-Brown, Margaret Mead, and Gregory Bateson among others carried out research that was driven by four domain values: "a commitment to objectivism, a complicity with imperialism, a belief that ethnography would create a museum-like picture of the culture studied (monumentalism), and a belief in what was studied never changed (timelessness)." This became definitive to "traditional anthropology" or "classical ethnography" (Denzin and Lincoln 1994, 7).

During the 1920s and 1930's, as anthropologists applied Darwinian principles of social evolution to determine where societies and cultures belonged along the chain of "uneven" development, a wave of self-critical thought emerged in an effort to separate themselves from colonialism and moral relativism. According to what became known as

Auguste Comte's "comparative method" every society, except for Western Europe, suffered some level of "arrested development." Information collected about such societies by anthropologists would be deposited into the Human Relations Area Files at Yale University (Vidich and Lyman 1999, 27-28). The ethnographic differences found in the researched "other" were pathologized, classified, and ordered into the "museum of humanity," linking the truth of the local culture to the universal truth of all and providing points of departure and separation between the researcher and the "primitive" culture studied (Shapiro, 2000).

Supported by the work of Talcott Parsons, who attempted to "unify and coordinate conceptually the empirical work of all the social sciences" into one grand theory (Marcus and Fisher 1986, 10), the post-World War II era produced American capitalist dominance and theoretical intellectual hegemony. Parsons was also important during the Cold War decades in resurrecting Comptean and Calvin Puritanism, by placing societies in a chain of development according to their "adoption of an American social, economic, and political structure" (Vidich and Lyman 1999, 29).

However, despite its problematic history, traditional anthropology has provided the chance to confront other worlds and ways of being, and this has brought into question our own world, which we take for granted. By holding this mirror up to our own, the "anthropological project" has also, through method and ideology, sought to focus on people who have typically been suppressed and subordinated by the operations of power. Thus, anthropology has brought to center the Western production of marginalization and exploitation of the different "other." But beyond these good intentions, the "center" brought it's own problematics (Ortner 1994, 388).

Anthropology during the 1960s became much more conscious of its role in aiding the interests of imperialist and conquering states, giving attention to the plight of the African-American and the Native American, among many other minority groups in America (Vidich and Lyman 1999, 29). In coming to an understanding to the effects of their basic theoretical orientations, which helped build their world legitimacy, shifts in research methodology occurred which were reflected in anthropological languaging, i.e., the word "primitive" was replaced by "underdeveloped" or "Third World." A new issue emerged within the practice: "How can we sustain this important project while at the same time recognizing the violence of the 'scientific' gaze and being concerned to engage in critical accounts of other cultures?" (Dirks, Eley, Ortner 1994, 38).

The politics and conflicts of the 1960s provided an exit for Parsonian sociology as theory took a political and ironic twist back to the nineteenth century writings of Marx on a large scale. The 1970s and 1980s saw the diffusion of many theoretical orientations including Marxism, French structuralism, and Parsonian sociology among other alternatives used freely by researchers who began to operate more independently (Marcus and Fisher 1986, 12).

For example, influenced greatly by Max Weber and Talcott Parsons, the emergence of Clifford Geertz and symbolic anthropology brought a focus upon the operations of culture through the avenue of symbols as vehicle for meaning and culture. For Geertz culture is best understood from the viewpoint and actions of the actor who is interpreting meaning and operating within "certain institutional orders." Influenced by Max Gluckman and Karl Marx, according to Ortner, Victor Turner adhered to the view that the normal state of culture is one of "conflict and contradiction that constitute the

normal state of affairs" and not one of "solidarity and harmonious integration of parts." Influences of Emile Durkheim provided a study of culture with a "pragmatics of symbols." For through symbols, particularly rituals that become vessels of power, actors resolve conflict and validate or transform norms of society (Ortner 1999, 374-377). Meanwhile, Claude Levi-Strauss brought forth the school of structuralism and "a universal grammar of culture" through the

> . . . sifting out the basic sets of oppositions that underlie some complex cultural phenomenon—a myth, a ritual, a marriage system—and of showing the ways in which the phenomenon in question is both an expression of those contrasts and a reworking of them, thereby producing a culturally meaningful statement of, or reflection upon, order. (Ortner 1994, 379-381)

During the 1970s, the internal disciplinarian debate between "materialism" and "idealism," "interpretive emics", and "explanatory etics" continued to dominate the direction of research practices. But anthropologists employed a number of approaches to culture which provided an interconnectedness from culture to culture joining earlier anthropologies in assuming that human actions and history are almost entirely structurally and systematically determined (Ortner 1994, 385). Durkheim found order through functionalism, Levi-Strauss through abstract structuralism, Weber and Geertz through "symbolic social action," and Marxists and feminists, while questioning the power relations that created order, did not move beyond order itself (Gupta and Ferguson 1997, 4). Political economists brought history into the study of culture, but it was a history "often treated as something that arrives, like a ship, from outside the society in question. Thus, we do not get the history of that society, but the impact of our history on that society" (Ortner 1994, 388).

According to Spivak, the major problem since post enlightenment theory has been "how subjective structures can, in fact, give objective truth." Under this construction of the other, "only the person who knows has all of the problems of selfhood," while the person who is known, the "other," is authentic and un-conflicted (1990, 202). Likewise, Gupta and Ferguson write that within "spatial territorialized notions of culture," anthropology has dualistically constructed the notion of "local" culture as "given," romanticized with nostalgia as original, natural and feminine, in contrast to the masculine and artificial contamination of the "global" (1997, 6-9).

2.1. Postmodernism/Poststructuralism

Postmodernism has been a term that describes both a social and cultural phenomena and a theoretical orientation that became known through French poststructuralist writers. Those ascribing to postmodernism differentiate themselves from other theoretical orientations such as Marxism, by adhering to a radical politics in which all identities and relations to the social and natural world are perceived as decentered and "socially or discursively constructed," and therefore open to reconstruction (Epstein, 1999). The poststructuralists gave culture a more complex reading through an analysis of power relations. Bourdieu and de Certeau brought forth the idea of individuals as active agents interacting with culture upon their own terms, instead of passive recipients. Gramsci, Raymond Williams, and Stuart Hall view culture as a continuous, incomplete,

and contingent "battlefield." Foucault brought forth the idea of the social permeation of power relationships inherently linked to resistance (Gupta and Ferguson 1997, 5).

Foucault gives two senses to the word "subject": One is at once under the control of power and one is acting as one's own agent of power, but never is one outside of power. For it is that power both reduces an individual to a category within which a person finds his or her own identity through self-knowledge but an individual is never totally defined by this category. The line between complicity with power and resisting power is a slippery slope, for inherent in both is a relationship to power; when in this relationship, one can become co-opted for the purpose of the other. However, resistance, like all experience, changes subjects in both senses of the word: being "the way in which they are subject to someone else and the manner in which they come to be tied to their own identities through self-knowledge." Given this transformative potential, the representation of a subject's experience, identity and community, should not be conceived as "natural with continuous histories" or linking it to a totalizing grand theory. Instead, a subject's relationship to the community is based upon the experience of inclusion and exclusion, in which the subject is both product and producer of an identity that is mobile, unpredictable, and contested being that it is predicated upon difference (Gupta and Ferguson 1997, 18-22).

By accepting this understanding of identity we become more sensitive and tolerant of differences, even the incommensurable. And through this acceptance, representation becomes capable of creating community and transforming power by connecting individual local acts of resistance to dominant cultural forms into a collective practice that allows the experience of resistance to be intersected and retraced through readership. In doing so representation becomes an actor in the construction of both: place and people, identity and community through "the field of power relations that links localities to a wider world" (Marcus and Fisher 1986, 8).

2.2 Feminist and Emancipatory Theory

Another reading of postmodern/poststructuralist theory is provided by Barbara Epstein (1999), who interprets Foucault's definition of *subject* to be an expansion of the structuralist's inability to theorize the subject as an agent with will and intentionality, constructing instead a "decentered and fragmented subject," thus replacing Marxist's alienation as the dominant social pathology. Dirks, Eley, and Ortner write that the postmodern decentered, "depthless subject" is constructed with no sense of history who is, therefore, not capable of becoming "a coherent political actor who formulates a comprehensive social critique and an agenda for change" (1994, 12-15).

Postmodernism, therefore, excludes explanations that utilize any aspect of experience that creates categories capable of informing our own abilities to negotiate relationships. Haraway writes that "social reality is lived social relations, our most important political construction, a world changing fiction" (Haraway 1985, 597). Throughout history there are many "subjugated knowledges" that are conflicted with and un-reflected in "the dominant stories culture tells about social life" (Harding 1987, 188). Women are often considered the primary location for such subjugated knowledges, but because of women's differences by race, class and color in their experiences of male oppression there is no unified science of feminism that expresses the truth of female

oppression. Instead, unity exists upon the multiplicity of experiences by women in their found resistances against power which are told in their many stories (Harding 1987, 188).

Radical feminism, which began in reaction to a patriarchal anti-war movement through an emphasis upon "the personal as political," has become bound to a belief that only a certain number of female experiences are politically correct. In doing so, radical feminism is replacing the real with the ideal and polarizing theory and experience (Epstein1999, 45). By separating theory from experience, feminist ethnography loses its unique power of "locating the self in the experience of oppression in order to liberate it" (Visweswaran1994, 19). Within such a practice the far right becomes the far left as theory becomes stagnated by duality. According to the conservative right it is natural by religious order for man to dominate woman, and according to the radical feminists there is no escaping the biological determination that requires man to oppress woman. Thus, in both cases, the only resolution is through gender separation to liberate the female (Sturgis 1997, 345).

At the core, Epstein points out that postmodernism suffers from an inability to accept that there are certain innately preexisting human needs, however shaped from society to society, that provide a base upon which we critique the humanity of a particular social order. Epstein writes that in order for a theoretical framework to facilitate social change, there is needed "an ethics, a moral basis for the critique of existing society and a moral framework for projecting a vision of a better society" (1999, 47).

The all-encompassing relations of power are brought to the forefront because it has become "the foil for uncovering the suppressed subject position of the subaltern." But my research into the world of the prison can only be meaningful if it reflects the visions, beliefs and hopes of my research community for another way of being in the world. And this can be accomplished only by championing their resistance and visions over this diffuse state of power (Dirks, Eley, Ortner 1994, 20).

Practice Theory unifies anthropological and historical studies by grounding both culture and power in history. "Power" transforms both "culture" and "history." By doing so, *practice* is a theory of history in which "social beings, with their diverse motives and their diverse intentions, make and transform the world in which they live" (Dirks, Eley, Ortner 1994, 16).

Through the histories of the community a body of knowledge emerges that Foucault refers to as "insurrected subjugated knowledge." He defines this as 1) an "erudite knowledge" that has been hidden in the struggles and conflicts of the past masked by institutionalized systems of thought; 2) a "local popular knowledge" that has been marginalized and owes its "force only to the harshness with which it is opposed by everything that surrounds it." Through a "historical knowledge of struggles" emerges the power to effect change (Foucault 1972, 81-84).

Foucault writes that the political problem for the researcher is not to break down the truth of science or to change the truths of people, but it is to free the "power of truth from the forms of hegemony, social, economic, and cultural, within which the intellectual operates at the present time." This begins by approaching the researcher's self, and the hierarchical division between the researcher and research community (1972, 132-33).

Traditional anthropologists have not located themselves in the same critical plane as their subject matters. The identity of the researcher has been considered with disregard to the validity of one's findings. A researcher can be unknown and anonymous to the

reader, but "the authors of the favored social theories are not anonymous at all: they are clearly men, and usually men of the dominant classes, race, and cultures" (Harding 1987, 184). The vulnerable role of observation has been reserved for the researched "other." To remain in a place of invulnerable power, the anthropologist's self remains invisible and hidden behind the logic of her words where truth exists.

But as Ruth Behar writes of self-reflective anthropology, what happens with the observer during observation is as important as what happens with the observed. The anthropologist is not transparent as traditional anthropology would have us believe. A researcher, such as myself, has hopes, beliefs, values, and assumptions prior to an intervention. These are all parts of the truth put forward in the construction of knowledge. Thus, to make more precise the location of knowledge construction, the reader needs "to see in the observer who is serving as their guide". And by doing so a researcher makes available "the connection, intellectual and emotional, between the observer and the observed" (1996, 7, 14-16).

> Theory is a guide to practice; no study, ethnographic or otherwise, can be conducted without an underlying theory or model…the researcher's theoretical approach helps define the problem and how to tackle it. (Fetterman 1989, 15)

Bringing the above written issues into a framework that guides my research, I utilize Angana Chatterji's analysis of "emancipatory, critical anthropology" as a decolonized anthropology. Emancipatory anthropology requires the constant questioning and mapping of the intersubjective relationships that exist in knowledge construction. Through a scrutiny of subjectivities, differences and similarities in identities, understandings, and practices emerge that link individuals and groups beyond physical locations. This redefines the lines that create political categories, thus extending the reaches of social change (1999b, 101-103).

Power and knowledge is central to participatory anthropology. By facilitating a "participatory research" in which there is a collaboration between all partners of the research, anthropology provides a practice that empowers partners as "social agents,"—rather than as subjects of inquiry—who have investment in the knowledge because of their participation and control of the knowledge constructed. And by doing so, anthropology works to construct knowledge using language in representation that is shaped by the various local sites in which the knowledge is produced (Chatterji 1999b, 104, 112-113).

The differences in languages and histories of the research community become strengths in action through a building of alliances across differences. Where once differences acted to separate and isolate cultures from one another, they now "lead to a clarification of our different approaches and priorities. It is perhaps the engagement of differences that permits relationships to endure" (Chatterji 1999b 7).

The authority of the knowledge that is constructed between partners of research comes from the fact that it is based in the expertise of the various partners/stakeholders' histories of experiences and oppression. Out of their own voices emerges a critique of the inequities of social relations locally and globally. Thus, through this knowledge goals are formulated for social change (Chatterji 1999b, 6,9,12).

The researcher facilitates the equal distribution of power for the construction of knowledge and demands that all knowledge is relevant from one site to the next. Thus, the selection of methods in knowledge production should be made relevant and practical to the differences that each site of knowledge production presents according to their objectives (Chatterji 1999b, 12, 100). Emancipatory research defines spatial sites of research according to political sites allowing for the linking together of multiple geographical locations through common issues and concerns. In doing so, emancipatory anthropology is made relevant to both the local and global.

This is not to say that collaborative research is at all perfect. There are flaws in its makeup as a practice in which participation varies from one constituent to the next. The essential intention behind participation is an empowerment that will "always be partial and incomplete . . . such a collaboration neither infers a lack of conflict, contradiction or dissonance, nor does it assume consensus. It refers to strategic relationships that advocate justice" (Chatterji 1999b, 7).

> Will the discipline of anthropology open to new language games, new forms of reflection and new dynamics of power in the formation of knowledge? I suggest that such a move is a necessary moment to the decolonization of anthropology. (Shapiro 2000, 5)

Traditional anthropological representation has largely been constructed upon the experience of the male. The female has been forever the present "other." Ethnography has always approached understanding the woman through relationship to men. Chatterji stated (personal interview, April 1, 2004) that feminism is a response to the construction of gender, the rigid fabrication of what is "normalized," and what is excluded and included. A feminist inquiry is a paradigm shift. The male is no longer the focus of or the primary producer of research. And "to consciously adopt a woman's perspective means to see things one did not see before and also to see the familiar rather differently" (Nielsen 1990 20). Making the invisible visible, feminist research has examined issues not previously, including among them—wife abuse, heterosexuality, childbirth, sexual harassment, pornography, and prostitution (Nielsen 1990, 20). Chatterji continues that "the criminalization of social life and certain communities is a concern to feminists in their struggle to think about ethics, social justice, gender, and the repercussions of current heterosexist and sexist frameworks of gender (personal interview, April 1, 2004)." Violence on men as it occurs in the prisons, only exacerbates the greater violence already being perpetrated on women. Domestic violence is the number one cause of violence in America, and the violence of prison can only promote a greater violence upon the relationships men have with themselves, female partners, and family. This research on prisons focuses upon men in prison, but what is attempted is the absence and degradation of the female to establish an understanding of the violent patriarchy culture of prison.

Researchers, both academic and non-academic, have analyzed prisoners and the prison throughout history time and time again. A research project of the prison that is towards "the liberation of the female," is one that allows the many voices to be heard that might not be included within the politics of the research. There are some prisoners that acknowledge the prison as an oppressive regime with many problems, but also credit prison with giving their lives purpose outside of self-destruction. Critical thought creates space through a politics of inclusion. The voices and perspectives of prisoners, guards,

volunteers, educators, family of prisoners, and prison officials all contribute to understanding the systemic problems of prison, and thus its solution. This shift towards a politics of inclusion, changes the question of "What constitutes knowledge?" to "What do we need to know to survive in a manner we are peaceful and happily together" (Nielsen 1990, 31).

> My cyborg myth is about transgressed boundaries, potent fusions, and dangerous possibilities which progressive people might explore as one part of needed political work . . . The political struggle is to see from both perspectives at once because each reveal dominations and possibilities unimagined from the vantage point. Single vision produces worse illusions than double vision or many headed monsters. (Haraway 1985, 599)

"Prejudgments" are how we come to know the world through experience, according to Nielsen they "are the means by which one reaches the truth" (Nielsen 1990, 26 28). When one enters a community or when one writes to bring different communities and individuals together, a person has an opportunity to use prejudgments as "essential building blocks for acquiring new knowledge" as cultures clash and horizons are fused (1990, 28-29).

How one experiences reality, what is considered pleasurable and painful, is to some degree always embedded within a power hierarchy. Drawing upon conventional form does not mean that it compromises its ability to be critical or resistant. Much of feminist literature is both popular and resisting (Felski 1997, 428). Resistance does not depend on being outside or inside of a certain politics. To assume that every prisoner experiences prison in an adverse manner is to deny the complexity of resistance, and that prisoners are "both historical subjects of inquiry and conscious historical actors" (Vance 1997, 333).

> Informants, subalterns, subjected subjects may be necessarily complicit in the discursive formations of anthropology, colonialism, or the state ... But they are never contained solely within them, nor are they ever totally dependant on the exemplary autonomy of the politicized intellectual. (Dirks, Eley, Ortner 1994, 39)

A goal for this anthropological research is to be more accountable to "people's own struggles for self-representation and self-determination" (Visweswaran 1994, 32). Traditional anthropology has not been answerable to the communities that they have researched. There is a needed feedback and evaluation between participant subjects to make knowledge construction a dialogic, open, and equal process (Nielsen 1990, 31) (Fals-Bordo 1991, 9). As Fetterman writes: "The success or failure of either report or full-blown ethnography depends on the degree to which it rings true to natives and colleagues in the field" (1989, 21).

To activate social justice, writing should reflect a "participatory democracy" which activates the reader through the emotional relationship created, demanding "a democratic solution to personal and public problems" (Denzin 2000, 900). Denzin recommends a privileging of the "how" over the "what" in culture. "What" indicates a

situation that does not change, while a "how" indicates individuals, groups, and cultures that are in a constant state of flux and recreation. "How" connects individuals, groups, and cultures across boundaries in disempowering, loving, and conflicting ways where unity is never fully realized. "How" reflects the fact that when a researcher enters and then writes about a community, one does not just interpret the world, s/he is also changing the world. And what changes occur depend upon how this intervention is initiated, sustained, and then represented (Denzin 2000, 905).

In bringing the self to a community in research and writing, a researcher should work to "demystify methodology" through an ethical research that is "the product of shared discourse" defined by an openness to participants in revealing the "backstage" work of the research process. There becomes an exhibiting of the social body, after all one's identity is never outside of a social community. A researcher does not pretend to be the investigator and magician who can solve the problem outside of a communal effort (Angrosino and Mays de Perez 2000, 695). There has to be a sacrifice of the self and the thought that "I am who I am regardless of the 'other'", instead realize "I am who I am because of the community, I depend upon the community as much as they depend upon me." The process of self-sacrifice is painfully achieved, and sometimes more painful to watch unfold. In doing so a mirror is presented to the reader, so one can see how he or she is in relationship to the research community. Such an unveiling challenges the spectator away from one's comfort zone towards a shift in perspective of self and world, making possible "meaningful judgment" and thus "meaningful action" (Denzin 2000, 902).

An ethics to representation should recognize that this emotionally charged writing is both "factional and fictionally correct" (Denzin 2000, 902). Factional in that one is writing from a personal space, but acknowledging that this space is a fictional space constructed by and through the intertwining of the multiple experiences and perspectives of the actor's involved: the writer, the community, and the reader. What is discovered through self-reflection are "the multiple 'truths' that operate in the social world, the stories people tell one another about the things that matter to them" (Denzin 2000, 903, 905).

CHAPTER 3

POWER AND PRISON THEORY

In the following section I intend to first outline George Lakoff's (1996) traditional binary oppositional theory in which he describes well the two conceptual systems that have driven punishment practices historically in Western society: "nurturing parent model" (NPM) and the "strict father model" (SFM). I will then approach the prison through the perspective of Foucault (1977, 1972) who describes the relationships of power that are manifested through the operatives of prison producing a number of effects, of which I will address primarily four in this research.

According to Lakoff what we consider to be "common sense" is embedded in a morally definitive conceptual framework that we as a larger society have ceased

questioning. Lakoff states that much of moral reasoning is metaphorical and the most "common, unconscious and authentic metaphor" is the "the nation as a family." According to Lakoff, the family is the model that can best capture the underlying foundations for two differing systems: the "nurturing parent model" (NPM), and the "strict father model" (SFM) (1996, 4-12).

According to the SFM the key to a crime free society is the installment of a self-discipline to insure a self-reliance through the threat of punishment that is painful and, if need be, physical for consequences of disobedience. Punishment will reduce crime because the aversion of a punishment will outweigh the benefits of the crime. Where the institution of the family fails in offering children the appropriate amount of strict male discipline, it is the role of the morally superior state to impose the threat of force and the application of retributive vengeance to punish individuals. Thus, the SFM advocates the building of more prisons, longer and more punitive sentences, the death sentence, and gun ownership for the "moral" individual (Lakoff 1996, 200).

The core of the SFM—given that we each act in our own self-interest and have equal opportunity to pursue financial success and a crime free life—is a social Darwinism that is defined by laying blame upon the individual for poverty and crime. Thus, those individuals who cannot economically succeed in climbing the ladder of success in capitalistic society, along with those who are not able to morally and logically respond to the threat of punishment, are inherently inferior. One's behavior is evidence to one's true moral character and predictor of future behavior. Thus, given this moral framework, the existence of impoverished single mother families and homelessness is "natural" just as is the existence of the death penalty and prisons (Lakoff 1996, 203-205).

Where the SFM emphasizes the use of fear to making a community cohesive the nurturing parent model of discipline is "maintained through love, respectful and firm interactions and a constant attention to mutual responsibilities and explanations." The SFM approach to using punitive measures as the core of social policy only facilitates the cycle of violence begetting violence. The SFM approach unfairly targets the poor due to a legal system that is based upon a hierarchy of economic privilege leaving the poor inadequately represented. Where the SFM advocates for the right to bear arms, the NPM advocates for the equality of human rights (Lakoff 1996, 198-207).

NPM sees crime as a result of "poverty, unemployment, alienation, and a lack of caring and community." When the institution of the family collapses it is the failure of the community and not the individual single mother. Without a nurturing environment a child will be attracted to the closest equivalent, which is often a gang. There is a breakdown in education and in socializing children to treat others with respect. It is the role of government to insure adequate social investment and programming to right the wrongs of a society that has become criminal (Lakoff 1996, 203).

Lakoff points out that these two models are not black and white, as there are many shades of variations. Largely it has been the SFM that has defined this discourse, thus controlling the direction of social policy, while the NPM has had to reside in a reactive mode, unable to produce a truly alternative model. Both models have in common the reliance upon the authority of the state (1996, 12).

3.1. Foucault and Power

Foucault (1977) points out that since its birth in the 1820's, the modern prison has been critiqued for the same shortcomings with which it began—that prison is ineffective in reducing the crime rate, and cannot help but increase recidivism. This is unavoidable due to the fact that prison "imposes an unnatural existence" through isolation and useless work. Prison facilitates the professionalizing of criminals through a hierarchical organization of delinquents. Prison brands the former inmate with the label "criminal" as s/he reenters society with a "prison record." And prison often reduces the inmate's family to destitute conditions (1977, 264).

Such criticism evokes the same historical debate concerning prison as outlined by Lakoff's discussion of the Nurturing Parent and Strict Father Models. Based on this debate those that are proponents of the NPM have developed a critique of prison for its double cost to society: the cost of continued victimization and the actual monetary costs of building more prisons. Despite these costs and critique of prison, prison has always been offered as its own remedy (Foucault 1977, 268).

"Prison as its own remedy" has been justified based on the notion that we still have not achieved the intended ideal prison after nearly two centuries. For Foucault (1977) there are seven "universal maxims" of the ideal prison which have yet to be realized:

1) Prison's primary purpose and effect should be to reform behavior;
2) there needs to be an accurate method of classifying prisoners;
3) individualize punishment;
4) there is needed an effective work;
5) educational components in the process of reformation;
6) prison staff are to be skillfully trained in the technique of imprisonment; and
7) prison needs to support the inmate into society to insure a successful social reintegration (264-70).

Foucault (1977) looks at the very fact that prison has yet to move beyond itself as a remedy to its own short coming to indicate that for some reason the failure of prison is important. For Foucault the prison is not just a simple system that logically responds with readjustments to the need for change, instead prison is the complex system that he refers to as the "carceral system." The carceral system is simultaneously four dimensions of power: 1) the production of a knowledge of each inmate which allows prison to 2) accumulate a wealth of power through knowledge, and more knowledge due to its power, while in the process 3) producing a "delinquent" population, and 4) unsuccessfully, yet repetitively, resorting to the same reform without giving space to alternative answers to the unresolved failure. As will be shown all four elements are interdependent and connected and allow the carceral system to play out its functions in society (276).

To analyze and understand the complexity and usefulness of the carceral system, one must understand the complexity of power. For Foucault (1972) power is not simply and suddenly something that emerges and takes someone's rights away. For him "in reality power means relations, a more-or-less organized, hierarchical, coordinated cluster of relations" and an analysis of power should "make possible an analytic of relations of power." Accordingly we are never "outside" of power relations. Nor are we just on one side of power, that is to either be defeated or privileged by power (198-199).

Power relations are multiple in form as they are not just a primary "global strategy." Instead relationships of power are an assortment of tools and methods utilized to serve a multitude of strategies. Thus, strategies of power exist on every level: individual movements and group movements. Relationships of power cannot be entirely viewed as only a force that represses and dominates, for just as power is multiple in form so are its effects in producing resistance and knowledge. Where relationships of power develop so do sites of resistance on both the group and individual levels. Further, the exercise of power cannot be without the production of a truth that legitimates and perpetuates power (Foucault 1977, 93, 142).

3.2. Power and Delinquency

Foucault asks the question: what purpose does the failure of the prison serve? Who benefits from the failure of prison? In short, the function of the prison is to provide crime with a usefulness, an "economy." Foucault states that the carceral system does not simply make an offender obedient to the law, instead, in its application, the system differentiates crime into a "class dissymmetry" by tolerating, neutralizing, and allowing some offenses, while applying pressure on and profiting from other offenses. According to Foucault (1977) prison is the link that produces a class dissymmetry of crime by isolating, monitoring, differentiating, dissociating, and organizing "delinquencies" from "illegalities" (272-276).

Delinquency is indeed a type of illegality, but delinquency is part of the functioning of society while illegality operates outside of society, posing the real threat to the powers in society. Delinquency has less potential for being physically, economically, and/or politically harmful to the powers of society, but rather holds greater strategic potential as a tool to the powers of society in opposing and controlling other illegalities. In dissociating delinquency the carceral system prevents delinquency from becoming the dangerous illegalities that are capable of spreading, recruiting, and accumulating momentum in becoming a "formidable force" to society by operating outside of the control of the institutional social powers. For example, delinquency might be the drug dealer or thief who lives and works out of many low-income neighborhoods, robbing and bringing violence to his/her own community. Illegality might be the politically informed white, black, or radical "terrorists" who are willing to sacrifice themselves, and at times others, for their beliefs to bring destruction to the government and its symbols of power (Foucault, 1977, 276-7).

Delinquency is maintained by the "pressures of controls on the fringes of society, reduced to precarious conditions of existence, lacking links with the population that would be able to sustain it," and as a result delinquency remains "concentrated, supervised, and disarmed." It is made possible by the fact that it is constantly "hemmed in," controlled, and monitored by the police and exposed to long and short prison sentences. Delinquency provides the visible branding and serves the function of the scaffold that puts the delinquent on display as an example for society to what can happen to a person engaged in crime. By making the delinquent visible the delinquent is also kept in check. Most neighborhoods know who the local drug dealers are (Foucault 1977, 278-9).

This controlled delinquency has also been "colonized and subordinated" as an "agent for the illegality of the dominant groups." Evidence of this is seen in the history of

making criminal "acts of desire" and their organization into prostitution and drug rings, gun trade, and alcohol prohibition. These movements are organized through police checks, medical interventions, and prison stays. The criminalization of acts of desire produces profits for the already powerful, while acting to morally divide the poor and working classes. Ironically, the poor are the working material from which delinquency is produced and are the most subjected to acts of delinquency. In addition, the source from which this moralization emerges—the Christian church and Strict Father Model—is the source that legitimates the logic behind the economic deprivation of the poor (Foucault 1977, 280).

The "moralization of the working class" is among a number of strategies to control delinquency: politicians incite fear amongst populations by calling for wars on crime, more police and prisons. The fictional depiction of criminals in movies, novels, or television's "reality" show "Cops"; the worker's movement against prison labor; and the "hyped up" overextended and sensationalized press coverage given to crime: In each case, delinquency becomes the dividing point for many groups of society; potential sites of resistance are divided and diffused (Foucault 1977, 280).

Delinquency's visible presence impacts society by creating a fear and demand for an increase in supervision of social behavior through the police force, prison, and the extension of prison known as parole and probation. Through supervision there is greater control of delinquency for which delinquency provides the means, as many become informants through their associations in prison and society. Due to the fact that conditions in prison do not make a prisoner self sufficient, the delinquent parolee re-enters society with yet a greater potential as an informant agent for the criminal justice system and against other delinquents (Foucault 1977, 281-2).

According to Foucault (1972), "domination is an effect of a number of premeditated tactics operating within the grand strategies that ensure this domination" (203). The moralizing and dividing of the working class through the use of delinquency is a strategy of the dominant class with the objective of power, but it is not a strategy that the dominant class consciously decided to impose on the working class. Foucault (1977) characterizes power not as an "absolute" suddenly emerging into existence; rather, power develops through "islands of dispersed power" in relationships. When we view power in terms of relationships that consist of strategies of domination, resistance, and coalitions, we can see that power is constantly in transition (204, 208). Being in constant transition allows for power to effectively shift on the individual and group level to strategies of power and resistance.

The criminal justice system, including the court system, is the "relay," the "theatrical apparatus," that insures the "economy of illegalities" through the unbroken circuit of police, prison, and delinquency. Delinquency is the "ambiguous status as an object and instrument for a police apparatus that works both against and with it." In sum, prison and the criminal justice system is the mechanism that produces the delinquency that it is suppose to be fighting (Foucault 1977, 278, 283). The failure of prison in reducing recidivism is precisely its success in producing delinquency.

3.3. The Operatives of the Carceral System

> *A universal feature of imprisonment is the way it snatches its participants from everyday life and places them in an abnormal*

> *environment, divorced from their routines, and exposed to quite different pressures and imperatives. Prison is an upside down world, a single sex environment with an inverted class structure. Its population reflects the inequities and injustices of the wider society, and relationships with the outside world are mediated through censors and eavesdroppers. Constructive human reactions and behavior become more difficult. Confinement and security impose a rang of indignities and absurdities on those who are confined and those who confine them.*
>
> Vivien Stern (1998, 105)

Foucault's genealogical analysis of the prison system, along with Donald Clemmer's (1958) and Erving Goffman's (1961) sociological analysis of prison culture, takes Western culture's familiar and unquestioned penal practices and reveals the illogical and "strangeness" of their reality. Nietzsche (1974) defines the social phenomenon that he refers to as the "error of all errors" to be "what is familiar is what we are use to; and what we are use to is most difficult to 'know'—that is, to see as a problem; to see as strange, as distant, as 'outside us'" (aph. 355). Our use of the prison and its failure has become so common that we no longer can see its problematics.

Both Clemmer and Goffman portray culture as a theatrical stage on which we are playing different roles putting on different masks and creating different identities for every relationship and "scene" of life. In prison there is one stage in which all acts occur, and one "mask"/identity that is imposed upon the prisoner.

> Prison not only robs you of your freedom, it attempts to take away your identity. Everyone wears a uniform, eats the same food, follows the same schedule. It is by definition a purely authoritarian state that tolerates no independence and individuality. (Nelson Mandela as cited in Stern 1998, 107)

Goffman (1961) reveals that there is a specific purpose for the stark contrast between the culture of the prison and that of the "free society." Prisons provide a "disculturation" of inmates whose goal is to create a "particular tension" between the outside and inside cultures to produce "a strategic leverage in the management of inmates." This "particular tension" legitimates, facilitates, and develops prison's own morale for its illogical orientation of existence. The more contrasting the internal prison culture is to society's culture the more legitimated and real the internal becomes. This discrepancy often provides a punitive function, as it can become a constantly painful reminder to the inmate's social exclusion (13, 117-121).

Goffman (1961) defines prisons, mental health hospitals, and schools as "Total Institutions" (TI). That is, they are places of "residence work where a large number of like situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead to an enclosed formally administered round of life." Total institutions are places where all activities are done in the same facility and under the same authority with all essential needs of the individual provided. All activities are regimented, sequential, rational, and performed in large groups of people so that those not conforming stand out (xii, 6-7).

According to Foucault (1977) the production of delinquency by prison can be greatly attributed to the disciplinarian model, which found its rise in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century through its usefulness with large populations that were found in prisons, hospitals, schools, military, and factories. Discipline's success is due to its "simplicity, hierarchical observation, normalizing of judgments, and their combination" (170).

According to Foucault (1977) discipline is the "art of correct training." The chief function of discipline is to "train in order to select and levy"; it functions to link forces with the purpose of multiplying and using them. This training is the organization and transformation of the "confused useless multitudes of individual bodies" into a useful body of multiple individuals. Discipline produces the individual delinquent, through a "technique of power" that sees the individual as an "object of its exercise and a tool for executing its exercise." As will be shown the individual constitutes a means and an end to the practice of discipline (170).

In discipline, power is produced through the production of knowledge of the inmate. This knowledge and power is provided by a number of methods, one being the collection of the everyday habits of the individual through an observation that is potentially present at every moment upon the inmate. This surveillance is provided through a number of methods, one that is the organizing of space into what is known as the panopticon, the design created by Jeremy Bentham in 1792, first used in 1843 and still the dominant architectural design of the modern day prison (Foucault 1977, 172-73).

The "panoptic machine" provides the ability to see each individual in his cell from one central point of the prison. While each individual is under the constant threat of being observed, s/he is not privileged to knowing when, for the observer is not visible to the observed. A prisoner can only see that there is a tower where observation is possibly taking place, but can not see if there is actually someone in the tower observing at that moment, there is no verification: "one is seen without ever seeing." This "trap of visibility," allows for the automatic operation of the panoptic machine without the constantly present body of the observer. It also allows for any individual to be at the controls of the machine, and the more multiple the potential observers with potential agendas, the more effective is the power of the panoptic observation to inducing anxiety and, thus, control of the inmate's behavior. Eventually one unknowingly begins to act at every moment as if s/he is being supervised (Foucault 1977, 201-2).

What is produced is the intensifying of the "homogenous effects of power." The power of observation is internalized and the "subject of visibility assumes the responsibility for the inscribing in him/herself the power relation in which s/he is controlled, and the prisoner plays both roles" of the observer and the observed. The prisoner becomes the "principle of his own subjection," without the need for "the perpetual body that observes." In short, the inmates become instruments for their own observation, control, order, and conformity. This is one of the principles of discipline, that the individual becomes both the means to the end and the end (Foucault, 1977, 202-203).

The power of discipline also depends on the "extension of the hierarchical surveillance." Surveillance acts on the individual, but it functions in "a network of relations from bottom to top and top to bottom"; in this hierarchical surveillance discipline is both subtle and overt. This hierarchical surveillance is evidenced in the

culture of the prisons that allows for controls, norms, and rules as might any culture possess. The allowed, organized, regimented, and hierarchized structure of the gangs in prison, along with the informal relationships between prison guards and prisoners, are two of the major forms of prison culture that result in the extension of the hierarchical surveillance (Foucault, 1977,176-77).

Also part of the prison culture that is essential in the power of discipline is the system of punishment and rewards based on time and rank within the formal prison hierarchy. In the time one has to serve there is a reduction or increase according to one's conformity to the norm; one gains privileges or loses privileges according to how well one models their behavior to the norm (Foucault, 1977, 178-82).

In short, according to Foucault (1977), the "art of discipline normalizes by comparing, homogenizing, hierarchizing, excluding, and differentiating" individuals (183). Where this power of normalization culminates into one point, is the prison examination and system of documentation carried forth by "prison experts," i.e., psychiatrists, therapists, religious counselors, physicians, and social workers. Foucault refers to this as the "imposing marriage of power and knowledge" that is not a simple level of conscious knowledge, but instead is what "makes possible the knowledge that is transformed into political investment." Every aspect of the carceral system functions towards a collection of information through systems of documentation that allow specific traits of each individual to be established as an "analyzable object" and to enter into a "comparative system of the collective body of knowledge." To this end, prisons contribute to the sciences of man as to the definition of human deviance.

In short, the prisoner becomes an "apparatus of knowledge" collected through the cultural forms of classification, the panopticon, inmate hierarchies, and the examination. This accumulation of knowledge becomes the source of information in which prisoners are divided and classified according to their disposition and character, not on the crimes they have committed, but on the "potential of danger" each inmate has hidden in their character. This hidden character is revealed by observing their behavior and by their answers to a series of questions that establish a psychological profile. In the examination each individual becomes a "case"/ "object" to be known, an "effect" of discipline through a produced identity as a result of being objectified for knowledge. This produced identity transforms the prisoner into the body of delinquency (Foucault, 1977, 185-91).

Goffman (1961) writes of the prison ritual referred to as "civil death": As one enters prison one's self-identity and image is degraded and stripped. The goal is to demoralize the inmate with this initiation through the physical stripping of one's belongings, personal tools, and name (replaced with a number) so that the new inmate can be "fed into the administrative machine" in the production of the offender's new identity. This identity is further imposed through the daily routine of activities that force the inmate into physically demeaning poses, language, physical and verbal assaults; the taking on of new identities (often a new sexual lifestyle); and the inability to physically control the boundary between self and environment (1961, 23).

Donald Clemmer (1958) writes of this identity production when he describes the process of "prisonization" as being the degree to which a man accepts the culture of prison as his definitive existence. This entails the acceptance of a humanly inferior role, along with a new pattern of eating, working, sleeping, language, and the recognition that nothing is owed to the environment for the supplying of needs (1958, 300-01). After a

study of 2300 inmates Clemmer concluded that those who: become closely associated with the hierarchy of prison gangs; who are subjected to longer sentences; and who enter prison with fewer ties to the outside community, were at greater risk to higher degrees of prisonization. Those inmates who have become prisonized to a higher degree have more difficulty in reentering society without returning to, or beginning, a life of crime upon release (1958, 312-314).

In society, prior to the rise of discipline, to be identified as an individual was a mark of power and prestige. With the rise of discipline, to be identified as an individual is repositioned at the bottom of the hierarchy. This is not to say that the individual at the bottom does not resist being at the bottom. However, the powerful have found strategic leverage by becoming anonymous and unknown just like the individual that is positioned in the central tower of the panopticon. Foucault (1977) illustrates this effectively by pointing out that when our society wants to humanize, individualize, and make visible the powerful, we ask the question: "how much of the child he has in him, what secret madness lies within him, what fundamental crime he has dreamt of committing?" (193-4) The Republican attempt to impeach the former President Clinton for his extramarital affair with his intern Monica Lewinsky can be no better example. We distinguish people as individuals and as part of the "normal" population by identifying each person as deviant as if our "true" nature is deviant.

The carceral system produces identity, one's truth, as one becomes known. This is why Foucault states that we cannot only place power in the prison as a repressive, negative force as is the historical critique of prison presents, for it also is a productive force that produces "the domain of the individual and knowledge," the domain of the delinquent and delinquency. The revealing of this production of the individual's identity is at the heart of what Foucault's (1977) genealogy uncovers, a logic that is revealed to be illogical. Prison fabricates a truth that is the norm of human existence in the social world, and based on this fabricated norm individual identities are determined to be normal or not,; this is the prison system's contribution to the sciences of man (217).

Nietzsche (1974) compares the natural sciences and the human sciences, which he refers to as "unnatural sciences." In natural sciences certainty in regards to knowledge is accomplished "precisely due to the fact that they choose for their object what is strange, while it is almost contradictory and absurd to even try to choose for an object what is not-strange" (Nietzsche [Kaufmann] 1974, aph. 355). In social sciences, such as anthropology, psychology, and criminology, man the "object" to be known, is never totally "strange" for the "object" is human as is the scientist (1974, aph.355). Yet prison pretends to be able to know and define the true nature of inmates.

3.4. Resistance and Theatre

There are no relations of power without resistances.
(Foucault 1972, 142)

Theatre is anthropology, anthropology is theatre, in both situations as subject, as actor, you live in disguise, in a situation of not belonging to the reality which you are living. Essentially, both are the craft of solitude and revolt: Resist one's own prejudices.
(Eugenio Barba, June 20, 2001, letter to author)

Goffman (1961) writes of the prison cultural "ceremonies," such as the prison newsletter, group therapy, self-government, open house for the public, prison theatre, education, holiday parties, intramural sports, and religious activities that allow for prison staff and inmates to take off their usual "prison masks" while giving prisoners moments of control. During these moments prisoners are allowed some freedom of expression and defiance, seemingly making the authority of prison vulnerable. In making this allowance, the authority of the prison regime makes a statement of its own power, and decreases the chance of a larger conspiracy and uprising (106-10).

Michael Jackson's (1998) existential theory of the "intersubjective," states that there is a desire to feel in control of the past and future. That is, one is not just a passive actor being guided through life by the external powers of the "other." Through cultural forms such as theatre, language, art, storytelling, poetry, and music individuals interpret reality so that control, balance, and choice may be found in the most imbalanced and uncontrollable relationships (Jackson 1998, 194).

Eugenio Barba produces and directs theatre with the Odin Theatre which he founded in 1964 in Oslo, Norway and carries forth to this day in Denmark. He writes that the reason he continues to do theatre is because it allows him the chance to meet people who are not "at ease with their condition." And because of their discomfort, they remain on "tip toe" like "flying fish" to "get a glimpse of the world which lies beyond their own element" that is their vision of the world the way it could be. For Barba (1999), theatre "represents the tension to lean over the limits: the limit between the 'present' of the performance and the 'past' of the story being represented, between the intentions and the action, the actor and the spectator, between us and our 'shadow'" (19-22).

Eugenio Barba once traveled to Ayacucho, a town in the Peruvian Andes, which had been caught in a violent civil war between the ruling power's army and the "guerrillas of the Shining Path." The violence of the civil war imposed a destruction of the "normality of every day life" through a rule of terror. It was there in Ayacucho that Barba met a theatre group by the name of "Yawar Sonko" that was once a group of 20 and at the time had dwindled to three due to the effects of the civil war. But the three remaining members courageously continued to produce performances that represented the oppressed people of the Andes on one side and the imperialist exploiters on the other side: good versus evil. Through theatre they protected the "relationships which belong to the everyday life." The theatre group risked their own safety for the reason that they told Eugenio, "Because a normal theatre ought to be able to exist here too." In such cases theatre transcends itself as it takes upon an obviously sacred quality when it is imminently connected to a struggle for life in the face of death (Barba 1999, 23).

Julie Taylor (2001) writes of her meetings with a group of women who were once political prisoners of the Argentine military dictatorial Isabel Peronist Government from 1976-1983. The group of women, who were mostly university students, political activists, and labor organizers, were caught between the leftist dictator and the guerilla resistance, thus they were kidnapped and brutally imprisoned. But during their years of captivity, they recomposed themselves and a lost community through secret theatre gatherings inside of prison, in which they enacted their memories of their past into the present, thus claiming "responsibility and liberty" in their own conflicted bodies (45: 4, 106).

The world we intend to glimpse through theatre, the motivation to act, the "why" one does theatre, is different from one actor to the next. But Augusta Boal (1979) writes that "all theatre is necessarily political, because all the activities of man are political and theatre is one of them." Theatre is a strategic weapon and for this reason one must fight for one's rights to engage in theatre. Initially theatre was "created for and by the people" but soon divisions were created between the actor on stage and the passive audience, between protagonists and the chorus reflecting the ideology of the aristocrats. The dominant culture has used theatre as a means to further domination and "in so doing, they change the very concept of what 'theatre' is. But theatre can also be a weapon for liberation. For that, it is necessary to create appropriate theatrical forms. Change is imperative." Boal's "Theatre of the Oppressed" is one that is not a "revealing of how things are" but to "show real things," to "influence reality and not merely reflect it," and one that is always in transition just as are society and individuals (1978, xi,166).

Similarly but with a different style, Barba's (1998) theatre is that of a mirror to society that "reproduces the image but it also reverses it" turning the world upside down. Barba writes of how theatre allows him to maintain his communist values in creating his own microcosm society which stands in opposition to those values on the outside. Barba writes that "I am waging a war against a large part of society . . . under the camouflage of art" (58, 65).

In Southern Italy, Calabria, I have had the honor to come to know and work with an anthropological theatre group by the name of Proskenion. I joined them one week in the province of Caulonia, where they have come for the last decade with their international community of artists Linea Trasversale to help "sponsor" a community. This province is like so many others in the south of Italy, which has had its economic vitality destroyed by global market effects. Once a thriving arts and commerce center, the younger generations of Caulonia no longer stay leaving a community of elderly World War II veterans. But many things still remain including the traditions dictating that women must be inside before dark. Also still remaining are the folklore and memories through which we learned of the woman's hidden resistance. By day our group would listen to the elders of Caulonia and attempt to "step outside our eyes." At night we performed their stories on their streets, which they transformed into a stage. Over time as attention has grown, artists, media, politicians, the young and the old have traveled from far and near to participate and hear the stories that continue to be told.

For Barba (1999), theatre provides the opportunity to "embody personal needs" and thus "the possibility of changing ourselves, and therefore changing society" (39). As the long-time American theatre director, researcher, and theoretician, Richard Schechner writes that "In short, the theatre is a model of the innumerable ways men have of actively integrating their feelings, wishes, fantasies, and dreams with the facts of the natural world . . . Theatre is coexistent with the human condition and a basic element of this condition" (1994, 199). The late Polish theatre director and researcher, Jerzy Grotowski refers to the actor's need to reveal the "whole personality . . . is a question of the very essence of the actor's calling, of a reflection on his part allowing him to reveal one after the other the different layers of his personality" (1968/1984, 99).

The production of theatre is not only the production of a performance, for it is also the production of relationships. Beginning with the collaboration of a theatre group, Grotowski writes that:

> On stage we depend on others, collective process, we find a creative birth despite the fact that we do not have the security of depending only on the self. For we work with others and on other people's schedule, imposed on us. We are not in total power. (1984, 203)

Thus, in finding the embodiment of a person's needs, there is the building of a common ground with others in spite of each person's needs for doing theatre:

> It is often thought that a theatre group has unity because its members resemble each other. On the contrary, it is necessary to look for reciprocal differentiation in order to achieve totality. (Barba 1999, 48)

According to Schechner, theatre's social function also extends to the relationship between actors and audience. On one level, actors are not shamans, yet people cast projections on them and worship them for having shamanic, god-like qualities. The performer "introjects what has been projected on him," thus the performance is "nourished by those who worship him, he becomes what is expected of him" by the audience of worshipers. The experience of being "god" if just for one night, can create for the actor a feeling of wholeness that overrides the alienation and divisions imposed by an alienated and divided society (1994, 201).

Grotowski writes that this "total act" that is provided through theatre, allows a "provocation of the spectator," allowing for a new perspective for the spectator (1968/1984, 99). One can understand one's self through the actions of another man. This knowledge is based not on watching and mimicking a gesture, but instead in that moment when an actor is "released from his daily resistances, and profoundly reveals himself through a gesture" and through this gesture a certain "human experience" or "human condition is revealed." This allows for a sharing, an openness, of understanding in "surmounting solitude." This "personal enrichment" for both the actor and spectator is not because theatre comes from a prior knowledge form, instead it is because of the actual experience of theatre in the moment of the relationship, that new meaning can be found in theatre (1968/1984, 98). And in this confrontation between actor and spectator, there is allowed "a solidarity amongst egoisms which become social change" (Barba 1999, 22).

CHAPTER 4

A HISTORY OF THE WESTERN PRISON

Given the perspective of the Western prison defined by Foucault's "carceral system," the intention of this section is toward an exploration of the historical relationships that have defined the truth, and thus treatment, of criminality. Plagued by failure over the last two centuries, attempts to reform and make a more humane prison has come from various ideologies and intentions, but the effect has been only one, prison as its own remedy. It is here that we find evidence of prison's usefulness to maintain the

larger divisions and inequalities of society through the production of power and knowledge.

4.1. Early Punishment

The history of Western society's use of punishment dating back to public torture and executions at the scaffold during Ancient and Medieval times, has been marked by a legally sanctioned "violence, discrimination, public ceremony, vengeance, and repentance" (Blomberg and Lucken 2000, 20). Until the early part of the eighteenth century the detailed theatrical staging of punishment that coincided the presence of the church, was important because the state did not benefit from just "naked violence." Instead, it had to deepen its power through a "theatre of righteousness and repentance" which required an attention to the aesthetic marking it "an official expression of the law." What deepened this power was the belief that the soul of the accused was being saved through the extraction of truth by confession at the scaffold (Spierenberg 1995, 50-52). However, being that the punished and the audience to this theatre of punishment were largely the poor and lower class of society, they increasingly did not attend as a supportive audience. Executions became more like a popular festival for mocking the magistrates rather than the magistrates' intentions to impose fear upon the masses. Thus, in reaction to public disorder, punishment became isolated and hidden from society (Spierenberg 1995, 55).

In an overcrowded seventeenth century Europe as feudalism exited, capitalism entered, and a displaced out of work population exploded. Based upon a moral criteria of "hard work, industriousness, and discipline" the poor population became categorized into deserving and undeserving. The latter was considered a threat to the stability of society and was sent to the prison workhouse, the galley, or transported to penal colonies in America or Australia. Meaningless work was thought to civilize as society's moral view of the poor, not crime, created the shift to bondage. However, when the rich wanted to punish their wayward family members by utilizing the power of the state, but did not want to expose their loved ones to the cruelty of transportation or the workhouse, private prisons became necessary (Spierenberg 1995, 60-61). Thus, prison became useful to control certain classes of society, while also to differentiate punishment according to one's class status.

Thought to be too cruel for the punishment of even the servile offender during the Roman Empire, heading into the nineteenth century for the first time in Western history, time served in prison became the primary means of punishment. Punishment's truth was no longer a physical sensation of pain, but based upon an ideological representation of pain in our minds. The advantages of a successful crime were never to out weigh the pain one would have to endure if one were caught, thus deterring the drive to commit the crime. The power to punish became hidden in "nature" and what made punishment natural and to out weigh the interest to the crime, was to be accomplished by "setting the force of crime upon itself." Time became the "operator of punishment" which was believed to scientifically match the nature of the crime. And to this day, time is the iron link joining crime to punishment (Foucault 1977, 104-110).

After independence Americans rejected the British use of prison and came to see the problem with crime as being due to the severity of British codes and methods. Hampered by brutality, disorganization, and corruption, the British in 1776 through the

reformative writings of Jeremy Bentham and John Howard, had moved towards a newly organized prison based upon isolation and surveillance. In America certainty in punishment became most important to produce the effect of deterrence, rather than the internal routine and management of the prison that was so emphasized in England (Blomberg and Lucken 2000, 38). However, by the1830's there was a high level of crime and poverty in America, as urban populations were quickly expanding from the beginnings of industrialization and the rising immigrant populations. Like the earlier English prisons in the mid to late eighteenth century, the earliest American prisons became overcrowded, violent, and disorganized. Prison reform and expansion was met in popularity with the property owners and upper class. The support that the prison received throughout society was based upon a moralizing concern of the deviant who was seen as a threat to the authority of the republic. The institutions of the church, family and community were losing their strength as a social control, and where the institutions failed the prisons would pick up (Rothman 1995, 100-108).

The American prison became heavily influenced by the European scientific writings of Jeremy Bentham, John Howard, and Cesare Beccaria as crime was no longer viewed as the product of religious destiny or free will, but the result of a contagious moral and social disease linked to the evil environment of the disorganized city (Blomberg and Lucken 2000, 48). In 1830, riding on a string of economic and political successes, the United States joined the European quest to cure the criminal through a reformed prison based upon the design of space, time, discipline, and the administration of the internal affairs to counter the socially disorganized cities. There emerged two important models: the Philadelphia and the Auburn prisons both based upon the principles of surveillance, isolation, obedience, religion, and work to purify the pathology of crime.

The Philadelphia prison, also known as the separate system, exemplified by the Eastern Penitentiary, emphasized the use of architecture to keep the inmate in total solitude for nearly 24 hours. The criticism of this model was the cost of construction and the insanity it was known to produce in prisoners. The goal was to individualize treatment through the construction of walls, but the result was the total homogenization of the population, the "uniformity of criminality," that stripped the identities and negated the needs of individuals. Each prisoner became a number on his uniform and had to cover his head with a hood when outside the cell, each cell was the same and even the chapel was composed of individualized stalls (McGowen 1995, 92).

The Auburn model, also known as the silent system exemplified by the state of New York's Sing Sing prison, was based on cellular confinement by night and enforced silence by day when the inmates would be in common work areas. The criticism this model received was that it induced the use of floggings by guards to insure silence, and tempted the inmates by putting them next to each other with orders not to speak. In both prisons management was modeled after the military with the incorporation of concepts such as the lock step shuffle and the use of horns and bells to determine the activities of prisons. The management, discipline, internal and external designs of the prison resembled the newly forming factories of this time period (McGowen 1995, 101-105, 110-111).

Of the two models, the Philadelphia model was the most appealing by both the States and throughout Europe. In England, 1842, after representatives having toured the

Eastern Penitentiary, the Pentonville prison was built influenced by both the Philadelphia model and Jeremy Bentham's 1792 panopticon design. The new model of prison satisfied both the punishment seekers and reformers. It became identifiable with Western Civilization's "march of progress," and spread throughout the world via British and European colonization (Stern 1998, xx).

Between 1780 and 1865, "strategies that were intended to reform prisoners found acceptance because they increased the severity of confinement or aided in the management of convicts." Thus, the prison volunteer work of the nineteenth century Quakers, who advocated a reformed prison based upon a compassionate open interaction between the inside and outside of prison, did not influence politicians. Unlike such organizations as "The Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline" that advocated the replacement of human discretion with mechanical force, the properly constructed cell, and the treadmill (McGowen 1995, 97).

The goals of reformers in Europe and America included the production of a newly socialized identity through an individualization of treatment and a totally controlled environment. As punishment became hidden and towards an impermeable separation between the inside and outside worlds, a void of knowledge was created that had the effect of an increased public fear of those in prison. The result was a prisoner who was not accepted back into society as society viewed the prison as insight into the offender's true criminal nature (McGowen 1995, 97-8).

The failure and violent nature of the reformed prison was predicted by Charles Dickens after visiting the Eastern Penitentiary of Philadelphia in 1842:

> I believe that very few men are capable of estimating the immense amount of torture and agony that this dreadful punishment, prolonged for years, inflicts upon the sufferers . . . I hold this slow and daily tampering with the mysteries of the brain, to be immeasurably worse than any torture of the body. Those who have undergone this punishment MUST pass into society again morally unhealthy and diseased. (Rothman 1995, 111)

4.1.1. San Quentin and the "Dark Ages" of American prisons

The California Gold Rush period of 1849 brought an influx of immigrants from Europe, Australia, Central and South America who were fleeing political upheavals, criminal sentences, and in search of wealth. With the overabundance of unclaimed wealth and no legitimate system of government, came a rampant amount of crime and violence with nowhere to store criminals. Prison was ideal in answering the need to control the populations and wealth for the Euro-Anglo public officials and police who were themselves former outlaws (Lamott 1961, p.6).

The international debates and influences from reformers were alive and well in California in the search for the most effective site for the first state prison. The islands of Angel, Alcatraz, and Goat were thought to be places where the most "enlightened system of prison discipline" could exist based upon isolation, separation and control. Instead legislatures had to settle for 20 acres of land 13 miles north of San Francisco on a nearly isolated peninsula jutting into the Bay. It was purchased on Bastille Day, July 15, 1852, named Point Quentin after the Native American warrior Punta de Quentin and later

canonized as San Quentin. The labor to build the prison was performed by the 40 prisoners who worked by day and slept in inhumane conditions on the prison ship Waban by night. By its completion in 1854, the inmate population had swelled to 300 and was composed of men from 31 countries. Though the popular Auburn and Philadelphia models of the time greatly influenced the policies and practices of San Quentin, the prison was built in a Spanish colonial style with 48 cells known as "Stones" (Lamott 1961, 12-32). Each cell was constructed with solid-iron doors with "Judas holes" to allow the constant potential for the un-returnable gaze of the guards upon the four prisoners in each cell (Cummins 1995, 6-7).

San Quentin emerged during a time that American prisons had entered the "dark ages" (1850-1900) as overcrowded populations forced the abandonment of the reformative ideals. In 1867 Wines and Dwight were hired by New York State to survey the prisons of North America. Their report criticized American prisons for their overcrowded cells inhumane physical conditions, lack of centralized administration, untrained staff, and the overt use of corporal punishments with no concern for rehabilitation (Rotman 1995, 152-57). Society had become desensitized to the conditions of the prison due to the increasingly high number of Chinese, Irish immigrants, and the newly freed African-American slave. Blame on prison conditions were focused on who was in prison, not on the prisons themselves (Rothman 1995,114).

In it's infancy San Quentin was a mirror to the rest of the country's prisons. The management of the prison was performed by James Estell, who at the time was the head of the American Party that led the political attacks against the immigrants of California. Discipline in San Quentin was handled with corporal measures such as floggings and water torture, but even more inhumane was the prison's use of isolation cells in the basement of the Old Hospital known as the "dungeon," where men existed on bread and water. Overcrowded and disorganized like the rest of the country's prisons, San Quentin joined the rest of the country with regimented routines of work and religion marked by the ringing of a bell and the wearing of the striped uniform to insure "the physical control of the precise number of bodies" (Lamott 1961, 52, 95-102).

In 1870 San Quentin sent representations to the first Congress of the National Prison Association. The Congress declared that prisons should put into the past the violent brutality of punishment while prioritizing the search for the cause and cure of the criminal. The congress prescribed an indeterminate sentence contingent upon the prisoner's ability to demonstrate rehabilitation through a combination of isolation, work, Bible, and school. The 1870 Congress provided the seeds for the "New Penology" (1900-1930) and the "twentieth century Rehabilitative Ideal" (1900-1960). The search for the causes and cure of crime was lead by the newly created University of Chicago's Sociology Department. "The Chicago school" was created by Rockefeller who, like other industrialists, was concerned with the instability of the American workforce blamed upon the social unrest in the low income neighborhood "slums." Research focused upon the individual offender whose past history caused criminality. Scientific social casework was to determine these causes and individualize the treatment to change the problem behavior. The theory put forward was that there are multiple causes of crime needing to be answered by multiple penal services, resulting in an expansion of penal services including: the start of the Federal Bureau of Prisons in 1929, women prisons, probation, parole, and juvenile court (Blumberg and Lucken 2000, 116).

By the 1880s, California was attempting to become a "respectable middle class" state and overcome their association with the lawless Gold Rush period. The rehabilitative ideals set into motion by the 1870 Congress were slow in coming to California. In 1907 at San Quentin, Warden John Hoyle emerged as the "missionary of the New Penology." His greatest achievement was a classification system that provided both a system of segregation and discipline based upon privileges for each of the three classes. After South Block was opened in 1910, San Quentin became known as the most modern prison in the nation with one of the four most respected wardens in the country as Hoyle was turning the worse prison into the "best" in the country. In 1917 legislation for indeterminate sentencing was passed allowing prisoners to be held until thought fully cured. In 1925, riots throughout American prisons broke out and in San Quentin there were race wars between the whites and the Mexicans marking the end of the New Penology (Lamott 1961, 172, 185). The marginalized reform measures proved failures as guards were under-trained and political conflict weakened the indeterminate sentencing. Probation and parole only expanded the population of a criminal justice system that was already hampered by inadequate personnel (Rotman 1995, 157-63).

For the next 13 years, San Quentin would join the rest of the country in the rise of the "Big House" at which time 18 prisons held over 1000 prisoners. San Quentin became the largest "Big House" in the country, and with the hardships of the Great Depression the SQ population would grow to 6397 men (twice the number of prisoners that England and Scotland had together) in a prison built for 3000. During the 1930s San Quentin became notorious for its violently repressive conditions (1960,200-219). In 1938 and 39 a series of riots and protests broke out after which all five prison board members and the warden were put on trial and found guilty of corruption and abusive handling of prisoners (Lamott 1961, 235).

4.1.2. Rehabilitation Ideals

Foucault writes that with the rise of the rehabilitation ideals of prison came an inquiry into truth (which was once through the accusations of the king and the confessions at the scaffold) lead by experts such as psychologists, chaplains, doctors, educators who could reveal the truth with tools such as isolation, silence, social histories, psychoanalysis, school, work, and discipline. All have the goal of "correcting the soul," based on a set of morals and values of what constitutes normality (1977, 25-30).

In 1940 the rehabilitation ideals reached their accumulated climax when Clinton Duffy was hired as warden of San Quentin. He brought with him a philosophy that rehabilitation could be achieved through programming in sports, education, religion, psychiatry, classification, and a system of discipline that was based upon privileges. Changes he brought forth included: a hobby shop, vocational courses, the San Quentin Newspaper, a prison radio station, Alcoholics Anonymous; an inmate fire fighting team; and an inmate self-governing committee. Often accused of coddling prisoners and being too open to the public, Duffy personalized his relations with the prisoners and placed a strong emphasis on improving the prison's relationship to the press and public. Kenneth Lamott, the author of Chronicles of San Quentin (1961), joined Hollywood and mainstream press to glorify Duffy as the "greatest humanitarian to ever govern a prison" (Lamott 1961, 246).

However, Eric Cummins offers a different perspective of this time period in his *The Rise and Fall of California's Radical Prison Movement* (1995). For example, he states that the prisoner newspaper was so heavily censored that it was no more than a tool for the voice of Duffy. And through extensive surveillance, censorship, and record keeping, Duffy attempted to control not only the bodies, but the minds of the prisoners' by monitoring communication, movement, association, and outside contact. Any notion of criticism against the prison would entail loss of privileges, longer sentences, and isolation (Cummins 1995, 8-9).

Cummins writes that with Duffy, "the age of the expert had come to San Quentin." Prisoners were perceived as having fallen through the cracks of society because of a lack of opportunities to conform. Through the active participation in programming provided by prison's school of experts, a prisoner would be given the "opportunity" to conform to the values of conventional society. This "opportunity" would begin in the newly established Guidance Center where every "fish" (new prisoner) would have their past investigated through a barrage of tests and interviews to be analyzed and classified by psychologists, sociologists, medical doctors, religious counselors, and educators. The results would provide the treatment plan for each prisoner's needs for "self-understanding and improvement," and would be placed in a file, "jacket," which would follow and accumulate new reports upon each prisoner throughout one's sentence (Cummins 1995, 11, 13).

In 1942, the newly elected Governor Earl Warren reinforced Duffy's reformative attempts upon all of California's prisons by creating the Adult Authority parole board. According to the California Penal Code the Adult Authority was to be comprised of experts in the field of sociology, education, and law enforcement who were to determine if a prisoner had made the mandated steps towards rehabilitation prior to release. But by 1953 this paragraph was deleted as the board became, henceforth, predominately law enforcement and corrections personnel. One's "jacket" would be used by the Adult Authority to determine if the prisoner had been successfully rehabilitated and ready for parole. Each prisoner under an indeterminate sentence would come before the Adult Authority (AA) once a year to be judged upon one's understanding and attitude towards his diagnosis, and compliance taken towards one's treatment program (Cummins 1995, 13-17).

The centerpiece of San Quentin's treatment program was a group therapy program as part of the education department, which included prayer therapy and bibliotherapy (Cummins 1995,14). The bibliotherapy program operated by the choosing of books for prisoners to discuss during therapy. It was directed by the senior librarian, Herman Specter, who from 1947-68, ran the country's best prison library with over 30,000 volumes and over 90% of the prison using it. But like all prison libraries at the time, it was a censored library that did not allow law books or books that criticized the church or state. "Classics" were only allowed and all books read were included in a prisoner's jacket. A prisoner's writing were to be kept to confessional style, and being that prisoners were considered "civilly dead" since 1871 anything they produced, including their ideas, was considered property of the state (Cummins 1995, 17).

By adopting a treatment model of criminality, the names changed (in 1954 American Prison Association became the American Correctional Association, prisons became "correctional institutes," guards became "correctional officers"/CO's, and in

1959 the dungeon became an "adjustment center"), but the violence and the corruption of power remained. As Cummins writes, there were "unforeseen consequences that transformed the treatment staff into custody officers of sinister, Orwellian character." And because the ratio of treatment staff to prisoners was such that staff members had caseloads that were unmanageable, it was still the CO's who had the most contact with prisoners. Custody, control, and punishment enforced with beatings were still a primary fact in San Quentin for the daily life of a prisoner (1995, 15).

The bibliotherapy program "separated prisoners from the power of their words," but this would change after death row inmate Caryl Whittier Chessman. Chessman was sentenced to death without having committed murder. In court he had defended himself and continued to do so on death row by flooding the courts with writs while tutoring others on their appeals. In 1952, against the opinion of librarian Herman Spector, Warden Teets authorized the release of Chessman's first book, Cell 2455 death row, in which Chessman confessed to a psychopathic mind, denied the guilt of his crime, and argued that his years on death row had rehabilitated him. This first of several books became a best seller and was translated into 18 different languages establishing international support for his release. The argument by Chessman's supporters had its roots in prison reformers from the nineteenth century, that criminal guilt is overridden by the demonstration of a certain level of intelligence, regardless of ones offense.

His execution on May 1, 1960, sparked off Bay Area prison activism and the disbelief in the rehabilitation rhetoric. Chessman provided a model of how a convict could subvert the reform rhetoric through writing and education, rise to cultural hero status, and mobilize populations. But for prison administration Chessman provided a model of what could go wrong with the education of prisoners, as a result the iron gag of prison was reinforced (Cummins 1995, 33-62).

During World War II, California's wartime industry drew large numbers of out of work African-Americans and from 1951-80 black males were imprisoned over twice the rate of white males. With the rise of blacks in prison, came a rise of Black Muslims, self educated and critical of their captors. In Cooper vs. Pate (1965) for the first time the Supreme Court became involved in a prison matter by legalizing the Black Muslim religion within prisons. The Black Muslims became the "in prison political arm" for the civil rights movement, and the most common residents of San Quentin's adjustment center (Cummins 1995, 65-66, 73).

The minister of San Quentin's Muslim mosque was Eldridge Cleaver. Cleaver's book Soul on Ice, which he wrote in prison and smuggled out, provided the doorsteps for Cleaver to become minister of information for the Black Panther Party and presidential candidate for the Peace and Freedom party. The writings of Eldridge Cleaver provided a two-class analysis to the prison, replacing Chessman's rehabilitative ideology with "collective oppression." Cleaver's writings unified and brought to the forefront prisoner rights issues to the civil rights movement. But also, Cleaver redefined the "cult of the outlaw" begun by Chessman as he called for a full-scale American revolution and fed the Left a "supermasculine psychosexual politics" that gave political glory to male violence and criminal activity. He confused some to believe that all prisoners were self-actualized revolutionaries as radicals romanticized the ideal, losing the real, and compromised resistance. The cry became "Free all prisoners everywhere—they are our brothers" (Cummins 1995, 194, 27).

In 1967, a large scale "race riot" erupted in San Quentin during which treatment staff were demanded by the warden to act in custodial roles. Despite the fact that much of the increased resistance in San Quentin could be attributed to the treatment staff who permeated ideas from the outside, seeing this gave prisoners final validation that treatment staff were not to be trusted as they were part of the "sinister intentions behind the treatment machinations." White, black, Chicano, Native American, and Asian unified in San Quentin and across the nation against the rehabilitation regime (Cummins 1995,94).

The underground prisoner newspaper at San Quentin, the Outlaw, became primary in helping to organize and unify inmates around common grievances. After the two labor strikes of 1968 in San Quentin, the Penal Code Section 2600 was passed. This "Convict Bill of Rights" amended the "civil death" of prisoners in giving prisoners the intellectual freedoms of reading and ownership of writing, along with the right to inherit real and personal property and to correspond confidentially with members of the bar and holders of office (Cummins 1995, 94, 133).

The Folsom labor strike in 1970 carried on for a record 19 days with 2400 prisoners refusing food and creating extensive media coverage. Prisoners protested in solidarity over prison profits through the exploitation of prison labor. It was the beginning of the United Prisoners Union (UPU), which at its height had a membership of 3000 prisoners and its literary arm, the Outlaw, reached 25,000 prisoners in state and federal prisoners nationwide by 1975. The UPU adhered primarily to a civil rights model in taking action through the courts and media relations to gain public support. Post-conviction law was changing quickly due to a bombardment of habeas corpus petitions by jailhouse lawyers, convict writ writers, and empathetic legislatures and judges (Cummins 1995, 133).

However, there was a growing division between radicals and moderates reflected in the demands produced in the San Quentin and Folsom strikes. The power of such demands as the creation of a prisoner labor union, the abolishment of the Adult Authority and disciplinarian units, and the integration of minorities into the prison staff, were compromised by the also present demands to free all political prisoners and asylum for those on death row.

Section 2600 provided the opportunities for prisoners to organize elaborate hierarchical covert educational departments. Illiterate prisoners, thought to be incorrigible, were cutting their intellectual teeth on Marxist-Lenin, and Mao Tse Tung. Most notably the Chicano based La Nuestra Familia (NF), the Black Panthers, and the Black Gorilla Family (BGF) often teamed against the Mexican Mafia and the Aryan Brotherhood. Yard power became determined according to radical political consciousness and gang affiliation. Inmate study groups were blamed for the increased level of violence in California prison, in which 1970-71 nine guards and 24 prisoners killed (Cummins 1995, 137).

In 1970, revolutionary writer George Jackson and two other prisoners were charged with the killing of a white guard in California's Soledad prison. Jackson had been given a sentence of one year to life for his part in a $70 gas station robbery. His philosophy was one of "selective retaliatory violence" or an "eye for an eye" (Cummins 1995, 165). He had also written of French revolutionary Regis Debray's "foco" theory, which asserted that revolution was possible through targeted violent actions by "vanguard

groups" of guerillas (1995, 199). Moved to San Quentin's AC, George Jackson and the Soledad Brothers replaced Cleaver as the Left's new cult hero as Jackson's Soledad Brother rose to best seller fame. But the isolation in San Quentin disconnected Jackson from the reality on the outside (1995, 170-3). The "real" George Jackson became irrelevant, what was most important was the ideals of the foco that were appropriated by the Weather Underground, the SLA and the BGF (1995, 213).

The blood bath in 1971 at San Quentin's adjustment center, killing three guards and three prisoners including Jackson, set off a wave of prison riots in the Fall of 1971. The largest was the Attica uprisings in upstate New York which, which had started peacefully by the actions of prisoners in protest to inhumane conditions, but ended bloodily by the actions of police. Attica set off a wave of bombings by the SLA and the Weather Underground on the outside of prison. Inside prison the demand for the death of guards flourished as foco tactics became the center of the prison movement which upstaged and divided the Prisoner's Union in 1973. The violence loss the nationally expressed grievances from prison to prison, and the support by mainstream public and press (Cummins 1995, 253).

On the rise was the right-wing conservatives who used the illegal tactics of the "panoptic paternal" COINTEL program to suppress outside Marxist revolutionaries which they blamed for the prison insurrections (Cummins 1995, 223-27). The death penalty was reinstated in 1973 and Governor Reagan asked for the construction of a super-maximum secured prison to isolate "troublemakers" (1995, 231-3). Televisions and radios were installed to subvert reading and writing, on which censored programs were shown during times of unrest. Monitored phones for collect calls to outside were installed (Cummins 1995, 239). Retaliatory beatings by gangs of guards intensified, cell blocks were subdivided, more guards were hired and put on the gun rail, the educational contract with the College of Marin was terminated replaced by the prison's hiring of their own teachers, and 3/4 of the library's books had disappeared (1995, 251).

The Prisoner's Union in 1977 was banned from the prison by the California Supreme Court and later the U.S. Supreme Court on the grounds of causing institutional security risks. But this was not without many accomplishments towards its end. In 1977, except in the cases of murderer or kidnapping, California prisoners were "liberated" from indeterminate sentencing and the Adult Authority (Cummins 1995, 253).

As was true in the evangelical mission of the early American and European prisons by prison reformers, the control of prisoners' communication, reading, and writing had very much to do with a "more primary power relation." But, as Cummins writes, when unrest becomes more prevalent within a community, as it did in the Bay Area during the 1960s, "it is then that the voice of the convict reader/writer will be most strenuously controlled because these are the times when it may come to have real subversive power." The impact that prisoners' words had on the outside community were so powerful that it became necessary to end San Quentin's rehabilitation mode. "Simple punishment" returned along with a stricter than ever control of reading and writing (Cummins 1995, 61-2).

What was at stake was the linguistic control of the produced prisoner's self through writing. In 1970, the Committee on Riots and Disturbances submitted a strategic plan in case of an attack by outside revolutionaries on a prison. Amongst its suggestions, the committee advised heavily securing the administrative areas where each prisoner's

jacket was kept. The loss of these files would be considered as detrimental as a mass escape considering their importance to the truth in criminality. The foco definition was the outlaw as hero, while the treatment model was outlaw as pathological deviant. These differing truths not only reflected whom the man or woman is that sits behind bars, but also how we define ourselves as a society in our treatment of the criminal. Which is why during the treatment eras of prison since its eighteenth century beginnings, criminal guilt is secondary to defining criminal origin and causation. The story of the prisoner became a moral story of penitence directed to the outside. When the ideals of this story no longer reflected the moral authority of the status quo, then the story could no longer be told (Cummins 1995, 234, 265).

The privileging of the "ideal over the real" has been one of the fundamental dysfunctions in the legacy of prison reform. From Chessman to Cleaver and then to Jackson, the real material deprivations of the prisoner that were addressed by the prisoner union, was usurped by abstract ideology. On the other hand, the California Prisoner Union's did not have a great writer of ideas that mobilized the middle class to express the practical humanitarian needs of the prisoner that the guerilla revolutionaries had in Cleaver and Jackson (Cummins 1995,275).

4.2. Today's Prison Empire

A nation should not be judged by how it treats its highest citizens, but its lowest ones.

(Nelson Mandela as quoted in Stern 1998, 1)

In the end we get not the prisons we need but the prisons we deserve.

(Stern, 1998, xxii)

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice succinctly stated in 1967: "Crime flourishes where the conditions of life are the worst." Thus, the commission recommended as the "foundation of a national strategy against crime . . . an unrelenting national effort for social justice" (Currie 1998, 110). But the 1980s economic restructuring of the Reagan administration favored the growth of corporations at the expense of the working class, and created a new "threat" to social order, that being poverty. The gap between the American rich and poor and the country's child poverty rate rose to the highest among all other "industrialized democracies" (1998, 121-5). The "lazy" welfare recipients, who were largely African-American and Latin-American, became the scapegoat for politicians to subdue their suffering working class constituents (Travis 2002, 29). Returning was the Strict Father Model's neo-conservative

truth of the offender as “a rational actor, a morally deprived actor, and/or a biologically predisposed actor” as the sole blame for criminality (Blomberg and Lucken 2000, 174).

In 1965 only 4% of the public felt crime was their greatest issue of concern, but by 1994 it was 50% (Travis 2002, 29) as popular press and politicians manufactured fear and a demand for more severe punishments into the American public. Empowered with a moral authority, Reagan declare the “war on drugs” in 1982, despite the fact that overall drug use had been declining since the late 1970s and crime rates had peaked in 1980. Probation, parole, and indeterminate sentences were abandoned for arithmetically determined sentences as rehabilitation was abandoned and, once again, policies of reform were turned inside out for punitive philosophies of retribution, deterrence, and incapacitation (Blomberg and Lucken 2000, 176).

The 1994 federal crime bill authorized $7.9 billion for prison construction grants to only those states who would pass indeterminate “truth in sentencing” laws (Parenti 1999, 169). Throughout the 1980s and 1990s the California legislature would pass over 1000 new statutes mandating increased punitive sentences, one of which was California’s 1994 "three strikes and you're out" law. The law provides that the first two "strikes" accrue for serious felonies, while the crime that triggers the life sentence of a minimum 25 years can be any felony, as has happened with the stealing of a bottle of shampoo, forging of a driver’s license, and making a $20 drug sale. Twenty-one states followed California with similar determinate life sentences (Connolly 1996).

Coinciding the new sentencing guidelines, state and federal legislatures implemented laws that ensued heavy handed policing, reducing personal privacy and search and seizure protections for the individual. Prosecuting attorneys were given greater authority and the role of defense and judicial discretion weakened. Thus, the power of the courts was replaced by the power of the legislature and the system became bound to an “assembly-line justice,” which by 2002 saw 90% of all criminal cases handled through plea bargaining (Davis 2002, 63).

Prison expansion became the sponge to absorb the expanding criminal justice system, as prison sentences became more frequent and longer. In 1970 state and federal prisons stored 200,000 inmates, 93 per 100,000. In 1980 it was 500,000, 1996 the number reached 1.7 million (Currie 1998, 13-16) and 2002 it reached over 2.03 million at 702 per 100,000. Internationally, the U.S. has become the most imprisoned nation state per capita in the world with Russia in second at 644 per 100,000 (Farmer 2002, 243). Meanwhile, the California Department of Corrections (CDC) has become the fastest expanding prison system in the history of the United States at 467 per 100,000 (Lawrence and Travis 2002), storing 161,785 in 32 prisons, and 114,136 on parole (CDC 2004).

The difference between the U.S. and other industrial countries is not wealth, but a set of values that tolerates a greater degree of poverty, social exclusion, and insecurity. Instead of striving towards social justice and equality as recommended in 1967, the prison has become our drug, employment, education, medical, and mental health policies. In 2002 one in eight, 12.1%, or 22.5 million adults and 12.1 million children, lived below the poverty line. From the legacy of slavery, African-Americans have been the most impoverished with a 24.1% poverty rate (*New York Times,* September 23, 2003) and nearly 1 million African-American children in families that make less than half the yearly income to define poverty (*SF Chronicle*, April 30, 2003). Even between 1990 and 1998, at the height of prison construction when the economy was at its strongest, investment

continued towards prison expansion while social welfare and education were left untouched.

Educationally at the local, state, and federal levels in the last 20 years—spending on K-12 education rose 33.4%; spending on incarceration rose 571.4%; the number of kids graduating high school fell 2.7%; the number in prison and jail rose more than 400% (Prison Activist Resource Center 1999). From 1980 to 2000 the number of African-American men enrolled in secondary education rose from 463,700 to 603,032, while the number in prison rose from 143,000 to 791,600 (*SF Chronicle* 8/28/03). In California, 1998, there were 22,555 African-Americans in secondary education while there were 44,792 in the prison (Prison Activist Resource Center 1999).

Over the last two decades, the guard has become more "highly valued as a moralizing force" in the rise of prison expansion (O'Brien 1995, 180). State and federal professional standards for guard forces have helped establish unions and a voice of power in the management of prisons, best demonstrated by the California Correctional Peace Officers' Association (CCPOA) (Morris 1995, 222). Since 1980 the CCPOA has achieved an unparalleled ability to dictate policy in its self- interest helped by their generous political contributions. In 1998 the CCPOA gave $4.5 million to political campaigns including $2 million to Governor Gray Davis and $763,000 to the media (MaCallair and Shiraldi 2000). Between 1854-1984, California built 12 prisons, but between 1984 and 1995 there were 21 new prisons built in comparison to one new university. During which time 26,000 new jobs were created for guards with the highest salaries in the country that in 1996 was $10,000 more than a CA public school teacher (O'Brien 1995, 180) In 1980 the average guard salary was $14,400; today a guard starts at $44,000 to $55,000, and after their most recent raise a guard will be making an average salary of $73,000 by 2006 (Jones and Lopez 2003). The total numbers of guards (over 47,000) continue to rise, despite the rise of automation in the operation of modern prisons.

California's two male Security Housing Units (SHU) at Corcoran (1988) and Pelican Bay (1989), along with the female SHU at the largest female prison in the world—Valley State Prison, have been the answer to Reagan's 1972 call for modern high security prisons. The SHU is built in the style of the nineteenth century Philadelphia model, "space age dungeons," with electronic surveillance and automation, virtually no human interaction and complete sensory deprivation as prisoners are confined to their 8' by 10' cells with solid steel doors for 22.5 hours a day. In the last two decades super-max control units have been built by 41 states, the District of Columbia, and the federal government (Morris 1995, 272).

The growth of the prison industry, characterized by the political rise of the guard and brutality of the SHU, cannot be explained by increased crime rates or violence in U.S. society. Crime rates actually decreased from the 1980s to the 1990s, yet the rate of incarceration continued to grow (Morris 1995, 218). From 1995 through 2001 there was a 14.4% drop in crime at the same period that federal prison populations rose by 69% and state prisons by 22%. Violent offenders such as murderers and rapists decreased from 57% of the state and federal prison population in 1980 to 44% in 1995 (Mauer 2002, 53).

Why does this illogic continue? In the 1990s homicide rates dropped by one half while homicide stories on the three major networks increased by fourfold (Mauer 2002, 53). Since 1988, when George H.W. Bush successfully used the television ad of

furloughed prisoner and African-American Willie Horton Jr. for his presidential campaign, politicians have increasingly used the fear of criminals as an effective tool for election. It has become a competition among politicians as to who can make the most punitive promise (Sussman 2002, 259).

Also, media outlets that paint a complex picture of prisoners and prison life are automatically accused of "coddling" prisoners. And more so than ever the media has become corporate owned and profit oriented producing a Hollywood media culture that puts entertainment a priority ("if it bleeds it leads"). Images of prison riots and "celebrity" prisoners held in SHU's such as Charlie Manson and Sirhan Sirhan, evoke a "good versus evil" and "us versus them" entertainment value, more so that an analysis of dysfunctional prison policies or a story of the unknown poor imprisoned Latino or African-American. Sussman writes that "whether through social habit, conscious policy, or business focus, the news media often end up mirroring politicians' self interested stereotyping of prisoners and prison issues" (Sussman 2002, 273-275).

In the United States there is now over 6.8 million men and women in prison, jail, or under probation and parole supervision. In California from 1980 to 2000, the number of parolees released has increased ten-fold from 11,759 to 126,184; the number of parole violators returned to prison has increased thirty-fold from 2,995 to 89,363; and the percentage of parolees returned to prison has nearly tripled from 25% to 71% (Ommission on California State Government Organization and Economy November, 2003).

The National Council on Crime and Delinquency proposed in its 1955 Standard Probation and Parole Act that after completion of one's prison sentence, a person should be restored to his/her full civil rights. Prior to 1955 a person convicted of a crime would suffer "collateral sanctions" that mounted to a "civil death." But in the interest of successfully reintegrating an offender back into society, the states and federal governments began movement away from such sanctions throughout the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. But by 1986 states started to move back towards civil death by denying, for example, convicted felons driver's license privileges, parenting and voting rights: 1.4 million or 13% of African-American males (Mauer 2002, 51) and 4 million of the entire American adult population cannot vote (Travis 2002, 25). Drug related convictions translates into the disqualification for certain federal benefits, including: welfare benefits, Section 8 housing, and student loans (Travis 2002, 31). Given that there are 47 million Americans with a criminal record and 13 million have been convicted of a felony crime, there is a large section of society who are experiencing a "permanent diminution in social status" (Travis 2002, 18-19), and as was suggested in 1955 "those persons who feel some connection to their fellow citizens are less likely to victimize others" (Maur 2002, 57).

4.2.1. Race, Gender, Age, Mental Health and the Sick

Exacerbating their permanence prisons provide a usefulness affirming these social values and controlling a certain "surplus" populations. The drug addicts, African-American male, Hispanics, poor and single mothers, the sick and mentally ill, the impoverished and homeless, and the elderly and children have become the working material for a profiteering industry that consumes $40 billion nationally and $5.7 billion in California (CDC 2004).

As a product of the rise in poverty and the war on drugs, it has been property and drug offenders filling the state and federal prisons. Particularly drug offenders who have increased from 40,000 in 1980 to nearly 500,000 in 2001 (Mauer 2002, 53). Today, in California nonviolent property crimes comprise 22% of the prison population, drug offenses 23%, violent crimes 48%, and "other" 7% (CDC, 2004). Both drug and property offenses has translated into the imprisonment of the poor black, Hispanic and white populations.

After 400 years of displacement and slavery, the racist legacy continues institutionalized and revealing itself in the undeniable statistics of poverty, education, and punishment. The U.S. imprisons more of their black male population than South Africa did during apartheid. One in every eight African-American men between the ages of 25 and 29 is in a jail or prison. A black male born today has a 29% chance of serving prison time at some point in their lifetime (Mauer 2003). In comparison, there are some 2.4% Hispanic males and 1.2% white males incarcerated between the ages of 25 and 29 *(San Francisco Chronicle* 7/28/03).

The African-American population comprises 12.7% of the U.S. population, 48.2% of state and federal prisons and local jails, and 42.5% of the people sentenced to death (Prison Activist Resource Center 1999). In California the African-American population is only 7% of the state's population but they comprise 29% (CDC 2004) of those imprisoned, and of those sent to the SHU are 82% people of color. Against the "3 strikes" African-Americans comprise 43% of all defendants (Connolly, 1996). And despite the fact that they comprise 13% of all drug users, 74% sentenced to prison for drug possession are African-American (Blomberg and Lucken 2000, 181).

The under-mentioned Native-American population that comprises 1% of the general population, has over 4% of their adult population under correctional supervision. This contrasts with 2% of whites and 10% of African-Americans. The Native-American experiences violent victimization over twice the rate of the rest of the country (Bureau of Justice Statistics 1999).

While punishment has become increasingly racialized, it has also become genderized, as women have surpassed men in become the fastest growing population comprising 3% in 1970 to 6.7% of the prison population in 1999. Behind Texas, California has the second most women imprisoned in the country with 11,432. The United States imprisons ten times more women than Western Europe even though the two have similar total population numbers (Chesney-Lind 2002, 80-1).

Women's role in the patriarchal hierarchy of American society "colors and shapes" their criminal activity (Chesney-Lind 2002,86). Historically, while deviant men have been considered violators of a social contract, deviant women have been treated as inherently insane and immoral. Behind the efforts of such prison reformers as Elizabeth Fry of the nineteenth century Quakers, female prisons became infused with the domestication of the fallen woman in returning her to her "truth in femininity" (Davis 2002, 72). And viewed as more "vulnerable" to the "contagious nature of crime," women have been given longer sentences and more closely controlled than their male counterparts.

Recent developments since the 1980s, in the name of "separate but equal punishment," women have been treated as if they were men without significant differences. However, women do bring forth many differences: Women have been the

hardest hit by the war on drugs with 60% percent of imprisoned women convicted of drug offenses or property crimes, compared to 41% of the men imprisoned. Women convicted of violent crimes were more often acting in self-defense against the abuse of a spouse or boyfriend and a majority of women imprisoned enter with histories of sexual abuse (Chesney-Lind 2002, 83, 92).

In many respects women experience a double punishment when sent to prison. One-fourth of women in prison were either pregnant or gave birth some time during their sentence (Blomberg and Lucken 2000, 192), and 84.7% of female prisoners compared to 46.6% of male prisoners, had custody of their children prior to imprisonment (Prison Activist Resource Center, 1999). Being that there are less female prisons, women are often transported much further away from their homes than men, therefore, will less likely be visited by their family. Studies by Human Rights Watch in 1996 and the United Nations in 1998 made well known that the threat of sexual assaults by prison staff have become an institutionalized component for women behind bars. And, not surprisingly, drug abuse and mental illness plague women more than men in prison (Zedner, 1995, 323).

Given the rise of mothers and fathers in prison, increasingly prison tears apart families as 1.5 million American youth have a parent behind bars (Miller, 2003, 8). Plagued by poverty and absent parents, larger numbers of youth turn to gangs and early criminality. Juvenile institutions are growing, but even more disturbing is the fact that since the 1980s and 1990s, forty states have passed legislation allowing more youth to be tried as adults doubling the number of youth in adult prisons. The United States has also become the only industrialized country to execute their youth (Rollin 2000, 90).

On the other end of the age spectrum, studies show that there is an age peak for criminal activity, which is between 15 and 24 years old. But between 1981 and 1991 the number of inmates over the age of 55 increased by 50%. In 2000, there were 125,000 prisoners over the age of 50, and 40 to 50,000 over the age of 65 in state and federal prisons. Not only are the aged very vulnerable within the culture of prison, prisons are not designed for geriatric care translating into ineffective and overly priced health care (Blomberg and Lucken 2000, 196-7).

The history of American prisons is littered with the violent treatment of the mentally ill, as exemplified by the notorious dungeon and “crazy alley” of San Quentin’s past. Progress was considered as they were sent to hospitals for the criminally insane during the second half of the nineteenth century. However, the deinstitutionalization of mental health hospitals, a decrease in community-based health care facilities, and the growing trend by cities to criminalize behavior that is associated with homelessness, has resulted in jails and prisons as the dumping grounds for the mentally ill. Approximately 16% of the inmates in jail and prisons have a diagnosed mental illness, which is five times more than the general population and four times than that of the state mental hospitals (Kupers 1999, xvi, 13). More prone to violent incidents within prisons, prisons have resorted to treating the mentally ill with primarily sedative-hypnotic drugs that amount to “chemical straightjackets,” while also concentrating the largest of mental health services in high security facilities (Blomberg and Lucken 2000, 199).

In the history of prison, every social health crisis has been exacerbated in prison, as best demonstrated by the devastating effects tuberculosis had on nineteenth and early twentieth century prison populations. With the number of drug offenders in prison at an

all time high, there has been an increasing number of AIDS and Hepatitis C patients causing yet another TB epidemic. The incidence of AIDS in prison in 1994 was 518 cases per 100,000 in comparison to an annual incidence rate in the general population of 31 per 100,000 (Kupers 1999, 152). One of the end effects is that many prisoners are not only sentenced to time imprisoned, but also sickness. This is compounded by the fact that prisons remain inadequate in the way of health care provisions (Farmer 2002, 257) and staffing; two-thirds of all prison doctors are not board certified (Blomberg and Lucken 2000, 152). In San Quentin I was told by a prisoner that "medical care in the CDC is minimal to the point of comedy. Unless you are on the verge of death you will rarely see a specialist and serious problems often go undiagnosed or untreated. I was more afraid of getting sick in San Quentin than I was of getting stabbed or hurt."

4.2.2. The Prison Industrial Complex

During post-slavery times prisons in the south became disproportionately black; and convict lease programs, chain gangs, and private prisons became popular to fill the labor void left by slavery's end. By the 1930s throughout America, convict lease programs and private prisons ended due to their corruption and inhumane treatment of prisoners (Silverstein 2003, 3).

In the 1980s, a large surplus population exploded again due to the deindustrialization of the job market. In 2003, state and federal prisons store 622,700 and 250,000 Latinos (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2003) as prisons have found a rebirth in usefulness to control, concentrate and profit from this excess population. Contracts with private companies to build and run prisons has had a resurgence with the number of private prisons increasing from five prisons with 2000 inmates in 1987 (Silverstein 1997, 156) to 26 corporations operating 150 facilities in 28 states with over 91,828 prisoners in 2002. Two of the corporations, Corrections Corporation of America and Wackenhut, own over three quarters of the global private prison industry with prisons in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Europe (Davis 2003, 95-7).

Although private prisons "bring profit and prison together in a menacing embrace," the real foundation of corporate stakes in the prison industry is both the labor of prisoners and the prison as a consumer of corporate products. For example, VitaPro Foods owns a $34 million contract to supply the state of Texas a soy based meat substitute. AT&T, Dial Soap, Nestle Food Services, Ace Hardware, Hewlet Packard, and R. J. Reynolds are just a few corporations that make large profits from sales to public prison systems (Davis 2003, 100).

In 1879 California outlawed prison labor leased to private business due to conflict with business competitors and labor unions, leaving prisoners meaningless non-transferable work to the outside. In San Quentin prisoners worked from 1880-1950 as "sweated industrial laborers" in the prison's gunny-sack factory (Lamott 1961, 131-133). The California Prisoner's Union in the early 1970s decided against labor strikes as effective strategy largely due to the fact that stopping prison industry was helping the guards receive overtime more that it was hurting the prison's profits.

Today, the California Prison Industrial Authority (PIA) is the largest state prison work program in the nation. A study by UC Berkeley's George Goldman found that in 1997-98, PIA factories and farms brought in $150 million in direct sales and $230.1

million indirectly a year. The PIA is supplied with raw materials such as paper, wood, metal, fabrics, and food from private industry for a profit of $115 million. It is responsible for 3000 jobs state wide for a personal income of $142 million, yet 7000 prisoners in 23 prisons earn an average of 57¢ an hour (of which 20% is subtracted by the courts) (Yang 2002).

The PIA is ran by the Prison Industry Board (PIB) which operates without congressional oversight and whose director doubles as the director of the CDC. Under the PIB there are 560 overpaid supervisors, sales persons, and administrators with salaries worth $62 million (not including civil servants). The PIA has lost money five out of the first 12 years of its existence, losing $1.5 million in 1992. A California State Audit Committee reported that between 1994-1997 over $30 million was wasted by the PIA from the purchasing of products from private industry that are resold back to public institutions, while also ignoring competitive procurement procedures when contracting out work. The CDC is its own biggest customer purchasing over half of the PIA's products. More, California is one of the few states that require public agencies, schools, and libraries to buy overpriced prison-made products, making the tax payer and the student absorb the gross inefficiency (McGowan 2001).

While prison industry is supposedly by law not to conflict with unions or private business, the fact that PIA markets some 1800 products covering hundreds of industries on the backs of the 57¢ an hour paid prisoner, makes it inevitable to take jobs away from the working class. The PIA employs only 7,000 of the 162,000 CDC prisoners and those employed are provided skills for out of date techniques and equipment, virtually worthless outside the walls. Not regulated by OSHA, nor protected by a union or the Fair Labor Standard Act, prisoners work disabling, repetitive, meaningless jobs while being exposed to toxic substances and dangerous conditions (McGowan, 2001).

4.2.3. Post-9/11 and Prison Resistance

After the events following September 11th, 2001, the United States has defied international criminal law while licensing themselves as the global cop invading and killing thousands of civilians in Afghanistan and Iraq, while locking up hundreds of suspects at a make shift prison in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. In the "War on Terrorism" the United States, Israel, and other nation states are applying the same failed philosophy of "war on crime" and the "war on drugs" that has built the U.S. prison dynasty. But the international criminal in this war on terrorism is minus even the minimum of civil rights given to criminals in the U.S. Already in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba human rights violations have been reported and a means to carry out the death penalty is prepared. While also in Iraq, American corporations such as Vice-President Cheney's former company Halliburton have been awarded non-competitive bids to rebuild Iraq based upon an American model of society. Of the billions of dollars appropriated from American tax payers, 100 million has been requested for the building of new prisons.

Meanwhile inside of the United State's borders, with the passing of the Patriot Act I (and soon to come II), the rights of the individual have been undermined and vast numbers of immigrants from Middle Eastern countries and the Global South have been exported or detained in prisons and detention centers. And inside of prisons, the gulag has been reapplied making near impossible for inmates to organize resistance and for media

to have access. As a result movements of resistance on the outside have emerged with fortitude connecting the various common points of violence between prisons, wars, corporate profits, and state hegemony.

One such movement, known as the Critical Resistance: Beyond the Prison Industrial Complex, has accumulated strength behind the efforts of Angela Y. Davis prompted by her frontline role in the prisoner's rights movement. The first meeting in Berkeley, September of 1998, drew an international gathering of over two thousand people with 103 round tables, workshops, and panels. Since then conferences have been held in New York and New Orleans.

Drawing from a critical parallel to the Military Industrial Complex, the goal of Critical Resistance has been to build alliances in the launching of a large-scale movement against "the symbiotic connection between the corporate economy and the punishment industry." To move beyond the profit producing "prison industrial complex" the organization has chosen to "challenge racism, sexism, heterosexism, and class bias which fuel the expansion of prisons." They have challenged the old rhetoric of "reform" that has only reproduced and expanded the prison industrial complex. And by building resistance at the local, national and global levels Critical Resistance intends to "imagine an abolitionism for the prison industrial complex in the way that nineteenth century activist imagined the abolition of the slave economy" (Critical Resistance 1998, 1-2).

In 2002, we witnessed some headway on the part of the movement to abolish the death penalty. In Illinois, Gov. George H. Ryan exonerated all of the states death row prisoners. But for the most part prison continues to coexist with the death penalty despite the fact that the birth of the Western prison was intended to replace all forms of corporal punishment. Angela Davis points out that death penalty opponents mistakenly look to a life sentence of imprisonment as alternative to death. While saving lives, this has the effect of giving the prison a deeper permanence.

The challenge put forth by Angela Davis (2003) to death penalty and prison abolitionists, and thus to this writer, is to imagine and manifest a more humane prison without adding to its permanence in our society (106). The goal to abolish the prison is not to discover the "one singular alternative system of punishment," for the prison industrial complex is beyond the physical entities of the prisons and jails. We must dismantle and replace the "symbiotic relationships among correctional communities, transnational corporations, media conglomerates, guards' unions, and legislative and court agendas" that sustain the permanence of the prison. The lifeline to this power structure must be cut by contesting these relationships that define the prison industrial complex while producing strategies to reduce the numbers of people who are sent to prison through "a continuum of alternatives" that leaves prison as the very last resort (Davis 2003, 107).

4.3. An International Perspective

The extremes of U.S. policies to date have been such that in many parts of industrialized world they have been seen as an aberration and have been met with resistance. Yet in other, sometimes more subtle ways, these policies have begun to alter the political and cultural climate in which issues of crime and punishment are perceived in different nations.

(Stern 2002, 279)

While the U.S. has the most extreme "populist punitive" culture of it's industrialized peers, other countries follow as they download American cultural products (Roberts et al. 2002, 60). The "war on drugs," the way the United States view the poor as threats, the reduction of the complexity of crime and the construction of it as entertainment used by politicians to induce fear into the populace—all these provide the "global prison economy" products, services, and ideas that have been directly marketed to states all over the world. Impoverished states are most affected, as private prison corporations mostly target prison populations that are out of the government's control, or directed toward governments which cannot afford basic provisions for prisoners (Stern 2002, 291).

Most disturbing is the globalization of punishment styles. In many impoverished ex-colonial countries who cannot afford to shift penal paradigms, the same nineteenth century prisons colonizers built to control the populations, are now used by post-colonial regimes to control political opponents (Stern 1998, 11). Today, countries such as Turkey and South Africa are modeling their new prisons after the SHU (Davis 2003, 101). And Caribbean countries carry a median rate of 297 imprisoned per 100,000 and the Cayman Islands with 664 are just behind the United States (Walmsley 2003).

Between 1990-2000 the U.S. experienced a 68% increase in prison growth, likewise 27 out of 42 European countries experienced dramatic prison growth: England saw a 44% climb to today's rate of 139 per 100,000, Germany a 56% to 98 and Italy a 67% to 100 (Mauer 2003). But the American imprisonment binge is distinctly an American phenomenon (Stern 2002) as the U.S. and Western Europe have diverged despite their common penal histories. In explaining the difference one cannot ignore the amount of violence in the United States, which recorded an annual average of 5.87 homicides per 100,000 from 1998-2000, while Germany recorded 1.19 and Italy and England each recorded 1.50 homicides—the average for Western Europe (Barclay and Tavares 2002).

In Northern Ireland, prison use exploded from '700 to 3000' prisoners during the late 1960s to 1979 as the prison became a major tool by the British to suppress the period of civil violence known as the "troubles" between loyalists and republicans. The 1998 Peace Agreement that called for a cease fire between the loyalists and republicans greatly impacted the Northern Ireland Prison Service as some 447 political prisoners were given early release and overall the prison population was reduced by 42% during the 1990s (Northern Ireland Prison Service Electronic Document). Today, Northern Ireland is closest to the U.S. with one of the highest homicide rates in Western Europe with 3.10 per 100,000 (Barclay and Tavares 2002). But it is one of the most further from the U.S. in prison population with 1200 prisoners (68 per 100,000) in three prisons (International Centre for Prison Studies).

But it is a difficult task to compare crime and prison rates across nation states due to differences in crime definitions and reporting methods. However, explanation for incarceration rates can be informed by the values of a society and their degree of punitive threshold. The harshness of the U.S. and the mildness of Europe's punitive practices relates to each of the countries history, culture, traditions, and political structure, as James Q. Whitman (2003) articulates. In nineteenth century Western Europe a movement

began away from the harsher "low status" treatment of prisoners and towards "high status" punishment practices that were once only reserved for aristocrats. Whereas, in the U.S., the direction has been towards degradation and "low status" punishment for "all," driven by the acceptance of extreme consequences for individual choice and an embedded Christian moralization of all crime as being inherently evil.

While Americans traditionally have defined themselves against strong state government, Europeans accept a state that is relatively powerful and autonomous, and, recently, more merciful towards the offender who is protected from the demands for retribution by the populace (Whitman 2003, 3-17). In continental Europe there is a tendency to "dampen the relative effects on individuals of social structure" allowing for more humane, cost-effective strategies and policymaking infrastructure, independent of popularity-based politics (Roberts et al. 2002, 60).

As such, in Western Europe there is a tendency towards not treating another person as inferior, with the intention of maintaining their dignity and respect. In Germany, a prisoner is referred to as "Herr" and is not required to wear uniforms (Whitman 2003, 3-17). Under the "principle of approximation," life in German prisons is to approximate life on the outside. Unlike in the United States where prisoners experience "civil death," German prisoners are encouraged to exercise their right to vote. Prisoners actually work in "real jobs" comparable to outside jobs, some even with four weeks paid vacation (Whitman 2003, 8).

Mauer writes that what can most be learned from an international prison comparison is that "the means by which different nations respond to issues of crime and punishment is very much a reflection of policy choices" (Mauer 2003). Western Europe moved to abolish the death penalty in the 1970s while the U.S. temporarily abolished it in 1972, only to commence killing in 1976. Today, the U.S. remains the only industrialized state that maintains the death penalty, which to Europeans provides enough evidence of the dysfunction in U.S. policies, and warning to never abandon their welfare programs (Stern 2002, 281).

Among European countries, England is by far the most influenced by U.S. penal policies in recent years. From 1972-92 British judges were discouraged from sentencing an offender based upon an offender's past record, youth were not imprisoned, prison was thought only to harm an individual, and 77% of all offenders were given fines. In 1993, after two highly publicized murders involving youth and Labor party's successful "Tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime" campaign, the England joined the U.S. in the "war on drugs," while passing similar "two strikes" and "three strikes" mandatory minimum sentencing guidelines. As noted by their imprisonment rate, Her Majesty's Prison Service (HMP) became the most punitive in Western Europe by policy and practice (Ryan and Sim, 1995).

However, in comparison to the United States, Western Europe prison populations are kept in check due to lessons learned from World War II concentration camps and the failures of the rehabilitative era. Prisons became commonly mistrusted and known to damage the individual, family, and community, both economically and morally. Thus, prisons could no longer be looked to as the only source of punishment. Western Europe, particularly the Nordic countries such as Denmark, Sweden, and the Netherlands, have moved towards the minimal use of prison while adding some of the most progressive alternative ways of punishing people that denies liberty, but also allows reparation.

Prisons that are used often have added features that allow for more of an open interaction with family and community (Stern 1998, 21-24).

4.3.1. The Sameness of Prisons

> *The poor are locked out of 'Fortress Europe' but those who are locked in the prison facilitates their regulation and control.*
> (Sim, Ruggiero, and Ryan 1995, 13).

Vivien Stern writes from her international studies of prisons, that from culture to culture, state to state, prisons around the world maintain many differences, most notably the degree of deprivation a prison imposes upon human beings. However, what was most striking to her was " the sameness of imprisonment . . . the features that are common across countries and cultures, irrespective of level of economic development or form of government" (Stern 1998, 6-11).

Across Western Europe in the 1980s and 1990s, there has been a trend towards the increasing number of alternatives, but with little or no impact upon prison populations, since increasingly prisons are being used against those who commit drug and property crimes, usually the young men, the poor, immigrants, and minorities, political dissenters and disenfranchised youth and women (Stern 1998, 6-11). In Italy and Germany, penal de-carceration has been attempted by giving the judiciary and prison governors flexibility and local discretion to apply alternatives to their prison populations based upon conforming to a standard. Immigrants are not usually eligible due to not having outside family or community, thus are considered among the nonconforming lifestyles who are less likely to be considered by prison officials for alternative sentences (Ruggiero 1995, 46-67). Italy's prison population includes 30% foreigners (in Germany 34%) while they comprise only 2% of the general population (International Center for Prison Studies, 2003). There has been a harmonization of discourse around criminality by Euro politicians, state officials, media organizations, and popular culture. "Folk devils" have been utilized to legitimize draconian strategies such as the war on: terrorism, drugs, and organized crime. In Italy "for every mafia member sent to gaol, a hundred drug users were incarcerated; and for every politician punished, a hundred black immigrants were interned" (Ruggiero 1995, 46-67).

Stern writes that internationally, prisons mostly subject nonviolent people to violent conditions, returning humiliated and weakened in relationship to society. In every prison there is a higher value given to work over education. There are formal and informal organized divisions, hierarchies, and codes amongst prisoners with violence as the common language. There is typically an understaffed, under trained guard force that experiences undo job stress and resorts to imposing divisions along with demeaning mental and physical violence to control their populations. Conditions and security measures taken inside of prisons facilitate undetectable human rights violations (Stern 1998, 6-11). Typically prisons are overcrowded: England has 138 prison institutions at a 110.3% capacity. Germany has 222 prison institutions at 103.9% capacity. Italy has 205 prison institutions at 133.3% occupancy (International Centre for Prison Studies, 2003), and reports from workers at Milan's San Vitorre prison state that cells for one are being crammed with six men. The violence of every prison can be found in the details of a

prison's harsh physical environment—from the ever winding barb wire and camera presence, to the constant sounds iron bars shutting and the indecipherable shouting of men, to the stench of badly cooked food and poorly washed bodies, to cold dark days in the winter and unforgiving hot days in the summer (Stern 1998, 6-11).

Internationally, prisons are secretive societies, what is made known to the public is manipulated and minimized from the whole truth by each prison regime, justified for "security measures." The effects are that families are torn apart and true reparation is compromised. Outside each prison exists an uninformed and fearful public that is convinced that prisons are the answer to crime, yet in every society prisons offer basic provisions that on the outside do not exist. Societies protest when they believe the prisons are being coddled, or maintain too inhumane, conditions creating waves of reform rhetoric, but never true change (Stern 1998, 6-11).

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

In the following section I locate this ethnographic research through its situated inquiry and objectives; a listing of methods, ethics, outcomes, limitations, and field processes. I also introduce to the reader the research community, including the Alternative to Violence Project, the San Quentin college program, the European Prison Theatre Travel Diary, and this writer's own life story.

5.1. Situating the Inquiry

> *Knowledge and the creation of a history in any field is… selectively based on who has the power to get themselves heard.* (Thompson 1998, 15).

Historically, the knowledge about prison made available to Western society has been largely one perspective, and that is the perspective of the people who control the key to each prison. What this "prison authority" presents to society is posed as the true representation of the prison society, prison experience and thus prison knowledge. But the prison is experienced in multiplicity and has as many valid perspectives as those who experience its depths, including those of the prisoners, guards, support staff of teachers, counselors, clergy, and volunteers. The problem is that only one perspective has been largely presented, while the others (which make up the majority) are pushed to the margins.

I do not intend to replace the one perspective that we have been given for so long. This research, or any one research upon its own, is incapable of dismantling such a powerful institution as the prison industrial complex. I only hope to contribute to the growing body of resistance that aims at taking the foundation out from under that one perspective. Therefore, I situate my research within Angela Davis's insistence to move towards a more humane prison through the development of a "continuum of alternatives". I believe this to be most effectively done by producing knowledge that finds its strength in a foundation of multiplicity. Thus, my inquiry is one that aims at challenging the stereotyped "prisoner" that is so produced by politicians and media into the imagination of the public. Therefore I use the terms "prisoner", "inmate", and "convict" as adjectives to describe imprisoned men and women, but it is my interest to unleash the human behind the object name through their words and my experiences of them. I intend to do this by painting as whole of a picture of their lives and the system that attempts to define them that my own perspective allow.

I also situate this research within an international prison community, drawing upon prison voices and research from California, Michigan, along with other parts of the United States, and from Europe including Germany, Italy, England, and Northern Ireland. Through these locations of differences and similarities, I intend to connect "individual

acts of resistance to a collective practice in allowing the experience of resistance to be intersected and retraced through readership" (Gupta and Ferguson 1997, 22).

5.1.2. Objectives

My primary goal was to find an avenue to interview those most not heard from the prison, that being to interview 12 to 15 prisoners. I decided to do this by pursuing an "alternative" form of knowledge production that had already situated itself inside of prison with prisoners running the program, or with outside members facilitating. And because I wanted a participatory action research methodology, I aimed for this community to be an active one in which I could facilitate an inquiry and set of questions around their interests. They would help me to define my questions based upon making their program more active and effective within the culture of prison. I would employ a feedback loop where I would give them copies of my writing to insure that it met their intended truth. Within that parameter I would ask them to employ me as a volunteer participant-observer, immersing myself into their culture, and descriptively writing with self-reflective detail about the culture of prison: routines, relationships, violence, and resistances. I intended to write about the lives of prisoners before, during, and after prison—their stories using their words.

5.1.3. Timeline and Field Site

In the summer of 1999, I began to explore different avenues into the prison, including volunteer work for the Buddhist Peace Fellowship prison meditation and book programs, and the Vipassana meditation programs in the prisons of India, and county jails of Seattle. In September, I was introduced into the Alternative to Violence Project (AVP) community by Nancy Nothhelfer, a Psychology Doctoral student at the California Institute of Integral Studies in San Francisco and one of the founding members of the AVP chapter at San Quentin. Through AVP, my first entrance into San Quentin state prison was in October 1999. I remained an active participant within the AVP community until March of 2000 and then the San Quentin College program until June 2000. From September 2000 until June 2001, I entered into the second phase of this field research by participating in The Culture of Prison Theatre in Europe, 2000: A Travel Diary from Imprisoned Places.

5.2. Methods Applied

I drew upon both participant-observation and participatory action research as my primary models for research methodology as I became involved with both the Alternative to Violence Project (AVP) and the European Prison Theatre Travel Diary (EPTD).

While volunteering inside of San Quentin, most of the knowledge that was presented to me was through informal conversations and my participation in workshop experiences. While in Europe, I conducted tape-recorded interviews that varied from one hour to four hours long. I kept to four open-ended questions to allow the prisoners control and room for the differences in experiences to emerge: 1) What was your life before prison? 2) What has your experience in prison been for you? 3) What brought you to

theatre and what has theatre been for you? 4) What has life been for you after prison or what do you see life to be like after prison? While these questions led down various avenues of conversation and some spoke openly about their offenses, I never asked them, as was never done in San Quentin, about their crime. At the beginning and end of each interview, I would ask the men if they had any questions for me; some did and some did not. I thanked each of the men for sharing with me their lives, when possible I gave a small offering of some food or money depending upon the context.

I always had as an intention to create a two-way flow of information between myself and participants. In San Quentin, AVP workshops naturally allowed an open forum of communication in regards to who I am, my history and research interests. In Europe, to overcome the limitations of not being able to develop a long-standing relationship with interviewees, I wrote a three-page autobiographic letter to explain my work, life, and interests. In Belfast, I first offered this letter to a participant who appreciated the letter, but seemed surprised at the level of sharing. I rewrote the letter into different versions for my interviews with the Italian, English, and German participants. In these letters, I toned down the amount of details about my life in hopes of not intimidating the men with high expectations for their level of revealing.

In Germany's Tegel prison and England's Wellingburough prison, I was allowed to bring a camera inside of the prisons by permission of both prison administration and prisoners. I took pictures of their rehearsals, performances, and after our interviews. This opened another vehicle for documentation, but also served as a return gift to the prisoners.

In Germany and Italy we used translators, in both cases women who worked with the prisoners as theatre directors and were acting as translators. The use of a translator was new to me and seemed to have an effect of both distancing my relationship with the men and creating a comfort level due to their already established relationship with the translators. It also created two different dialogues with the side-bar conversations that occurred between myself and the translator in English, while also between the men and the translator in their language. This slowed the pace of the conversation down and gave me a "back stage" to formulate my answers and questions with the translator, while possibly doing the same for the men. I was dependent upon the translators, who I trusted and could not have worked without, but there were rare occasions in which I wondered why the answers that came back seemed to have no relevance to the questions I asked.

Being that this research occurred through multiple fragments at multiple locations over an extended time, my understanding of prison culture in regards to the experience of daily prison life was also informed through published prisoner writings. Most notably, the late prisoner writer Jack Henry Abbott, whose letters to Norman Mailer became the best-seller book *In the Belly of the Beast* (1981), greatly filled out details of prison experience. Also this research was informed by prior prison research, most notably Dr. James Gilligan's (2000) *Violence in California Prisons,* along with newspaper reports of current events inside and outside of California state prisons. Current events became important, as I have attempted to present a writing that was informed across temporal and geographical locations.

5.3. Consent and Pseudonyms

In San Quentin at the start of each workshop and support group, along with any students of the college program that I tutored, I introduced to them my research project, asking if there would be any objections to my writing of our experiences as a group and individuals that wanted to talk with me. I vowed to use only pseudonyms, and while there was some apprehensions among non-prisoner AVP participants, not once did a prisoner object to my doing so. Some very seriously and some with jokes ("so you're here to run tests on science's greatest rabbit?") approached me to tell me of their lives individually.

With the prisoners and ex-prisoners in Europe, and with each ex-prisoner I met in California, I provided a Consent Form (See Appendix A) and Statement of Confidentiality (See Appendix B), translated into each of their languages; these gave context to the research and asked for permission to tape record and use their experiences to further the research. I have assigned pseudonyms to the participants who requested to not use their names. At the end of the Consent Form I asked the person if they were interested in receiving copies of their interview and returning feedback to this researcher.

5.4. Fieldwork Processes

As an AVP volunteer, I participated in four three-day workshops inside of San Quentin. Each workshop started on Friday evening running from 4:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m., and then on Saturday and Sunday our sessions ran for 12 hours each day. Each workshop had between 15 and 30 prisoner participants, and between three and six non-prisoner participants. Through participating in the Basic, Advanced, Training from Trainers workshops I became a facilitator. I managed to co-facilitate one inside workshop and participate in another inside workshop that was specifically for prisoner and non-prisoner facilitators. I also attended eight support groups, which were three-hour long mini workshops held inside San Quentin twice a month for prisoners and outside AVP community members. I joined seven other AVP volunteers in October 2000, to take part in the annual Brown card training inside San Quentin with the Visitor's Officer Lieutenant Neinhuis. Brown card trainings were to re-familiarize volunteer organizations to prison rules for members of volunteer organizations, and made us responsible agents for other AVP participants. After AVP's dismissal from San Quentin in March 2000, I became involved with San Quentin's all volunteer staffed college program as a teacher's assistant for an introductory psychology class. As I had with AVP, with the college program I maintained a volunteer participant researcher status.

The relationships between myself and research participants developed differently from country to country, prison to prison, interview to interview. Because the Escape Artists were my entrance into the European community and the fact that they are a troop of ex-prisoners from HMP Wayland living in the community, there was more space to develop a relationship. Particularly, my relationship with Paul Malcolm had more time as I was privileged to many interviews and conversations as we traveled to each European imprisoned location. In all I interviewed ten ex-prisoners/parolees: four of whom were at one time imprisoned at San Quentin, one out of Michigan's Pontiac prison, two were former prisoners inside of Her Majesty's Wayland Prison (England), two paroled Italian prisoners still living part of their lives behind prison walls, and one was once a political prisoner in Northern Ireland's Maze Jail and Maghaberry prison. I interviewed a total of

nine inside of prisons: eight inside of Germany's Tegel prison and one inside of HMP Wellingburough. While I interacted with well over one-hundred prisoners in San Quentin, I wrote of my interactions with forty-five.

Becoming part of the European Prison Theatre Diary, it became important to my research to participate in everyway possible the theatrical events that involved the men with whom I interviewed. Thus, I came to know many of the prisoner and ex-imprisoned performers by way of both interviews and their work on stage. In doing so, I was allowed the opportunity to watch the men I interviewed to perform to both outside and inside audiences.

I witnessed Paul Malcolm perform his much esteemed solo performance of Dominic Wallis' "Monster" on six occasions. In HM Wellingburough Prison, I had the chance to participate and lead theatre classes that were instructed by my host and director of the prison theatre studies group, Jenny Dunbar. And in Germany's Tegel prison I observed a week of rehearsals and returned months later to witness their performance. In Calabria, Italy we entered two Mafioso prisons where a meeting of performances occurred and we presented ourselves before media, community, politicians, and prisoners. And as I was able to witness ex-prisoners Paul and Neil perform on various occasions, in Rome I was privileged to witness paroled prisoners Romeo and Franco perform their self-written play in a closed down cattle slaughterhouse. I spent two days with prison theatre legend Rick Cluchey who was one of the founding members of the San Quentin Drama Workshop in 1957. Still doing what he loves best, I witnessed him perform Samuel Beckett's *Endgame* with a Los Angeles community college theatre group.

Given my intention to build a holistic perspective of prison life, in San Quentin I interviewed the Public Information Officer Lieutenant Vernell Crittendon, and the Visitor's Officer Lieutenant Neinhuis, both of who started as guards and between themselves have over 50 years of experience inside San Quentin. Lt Neinhuis gave me a tour of the prison as I received tours of Tegel (Germany) and Wellingburough (England). In the two Mafioso prisons in Calabria and in the politically divided prison of Maghaberry, our tours were limited to the processions from the gates to where the performances were held—the library and prison chapels. In each prison, my research was informed by a number of different interactions with prison administration, staff, guards/ex-guards, teachers, volunteers, and artists.

5.4.1. Alliances and Challenges

The greatest challenge was to orient my research actions upon a participatory action research model. How could I involve prisoners in such way that they were part of the research design and writing process? While it was the rights of the imprisoned that I wanted to empower, it was the educational programs that I relied upon to access the prisoner. It was helpful that both AVP and the European prison theatre groups shared with me a common interest in the human rights of the prisoner.

At each AVP workshop, support group, and organizational meetings, I introduced my ideas for research in alliance with the AVP community, while also I sent out a research proposal email explaining my interest in interviewing 12-15 prisoners who were interested in speaking to their experiences of prison. I received strong support and

suggestions by many prisoners. I also received support from AVP non-prisoner stakeholders Pablo Paz, Nancy Nothhelfer, Dotty Joos, Peter Laughingwolf, and Chia Hamilton among others. But coinciding with this interaction, and knowing that I would need the authorization of the prison and CDC to conduct such a study, I contacted David LeBouf at the CDC Research Department in June 1999. He asked for a research proposal, but advised against formal interviews, which he felt would demand too much of the prison's resources. He was in favor of a quantitative analysis of AVP, but informed me of the possible two-year wait to conduct research through his department. I was advised by the then college program director Sean McPhedridge, along with individuals within the AVP community, of the difficulties in gaining the trust of prisoners as a CDC researcher. Sean and AVP stakeholders, also advised that what was needed were first-hand testimonials of men who had experienced AVP, not quantitative analysis as mandated by LeBouf.

As AVP's status inside of San Quentin became unstable and the time frame LeBouf had required impossible, I decided against the idea of a formalized research project inside of San Quentin. Thus, I resigned to focus my research upon my experiences with prisoners as a volunteer relying upon my memory of conversations and experiences through note-taking during and after workshops and support groups.

During my involvement with the college program, I was introduced to Aida de Artega of the "Arts in Corrections" at San Quentin. The California Department of Corrections "Arts in Corrections" originated in 1976 on a small scale that expanded to 43,000 hours of arts activities provided for 8,019 prisoners by 279 artists in 18 institutions during 1989. Since 1985, Aida de Artega has coordinated a flux of paid artists who enter the gates to teach their crafts and arts to San Quentin prisoners. I contacted Aida in my attempts to start an experimental physical theatre workshop inside of the prison. Aida was immediately receptive as were a number of prisoners with whom I had spoken in the college program. Aida and I attempted for one year to find a common time in which the prison could provide the resources for a workshop to take place. But in the end it did not happen because of the prison's lack of time and space availability.

However, it was also during this time in 2000, that I was beginning to make contact with the Matthew Taylor and Paul Malcolm of the Escape Artists in Cambridge, England. I went to Cambridge in September 2000 where I also met other prison theatre practitioners, including Donatella Massimilla of Milan, Mike Maloney of Belfast, and representatives of AufBruch from Belfast. These groups had met biannually since 1994 and the meetings which I attended in Cambridge, were to put into motion the first-ever unified project. The community was awarded 100,000 Euro marks from the Culture 2000 Programme of the European Commission, some thatwould be used to sponsor half of my travels to and from California. "The Culture of Prison Theatre in Europe, 2000: A Travel Diary from Imprisoned Places," traveled to imprisoned places beginning in Cambridge, then to Belfast, Paris, Wuppertal, Berlin, Milan, Rome, and ending in Reggio Calabria in June, 2001. Performances were presented and practices exchanged inside and outside of local prisons.

By the time we met in Italy our community had already put into motion long-term goals. Based upon our commonly shared belief that: a) the arts are a fundamental right for all human beings; b) all humans are capable of change; c) theatre is a powerful tool towards changing individuals and society; and d) the power of the voice of the prisoner to

deliver this message of hope. A mission statement was produced upon which the group commonly agreed that their goal is to make accessible the arts and theatre to all imprisoned individuals.

As part of my attempt towards a participatory action research, I was challenged by my desire to have direct feedback from the men of whom I was representing with my writing. Paul Malcolm of the Escape Artists was the one "prisoner/actor representative" that did have a voice of power in our meetings during the Travel Diary. Paul's friendship and story has greatly influenced through content and inspiration this research. He was the one prisoner with whom I truly felt like I was able to collaborate in the writing of his story. But given the context of each relationship that emerged, my relationship in participatory collaboration, as it was with Paul, was impossible to completely find with others. With every ex-prisoner and prisoner I interviewed in Europe I attempted to provide the men with copies of pictures, interview transcripts, and follow-up questions, to which a total of four men replied.

But in San Quentin this was not something that I was able to do with the men that I had come to know through AVP and the college program. I met David Deutsch in March of 2004 just after finishing the third draft of this dissertation. David entered San Quentin in 2000 just before the demise of AVP's inside involvement. He had just been released from San Quentin just four months prior to his contacting me through our common ally Jody Lewen, the San Quentin college program director. David had a degree in Sociology in the 1970's and spent three years in San Quentin where he was able to work through a drug addiction. During this time, David worked himself into both a spiritual journey through his involvement with the prison's religious program, and education through his involvement as a tutor with the education program. I was privileged to have David read and comment upon my entire dissertation over the course of a weekend. I incorporated many of his experiences that mostly validated, but in a couple of cases changed my interpretation of my findings. He confirmed that he was in the belief that my writing spoke greatly to the problems that many prisoners would express if given the chance. He also confirmed that this representation of the prison spoke to how he personally came to experience, in many ways, the strange and violent culture of San Quentin.

5.4.2. Limitations and sample population

Because this research was not "formalized" by the California Department of Corrections, the sample of men inside San Quentin with whom I interacted with was limited. Also, I had to rely upon a collection of short conversations and experiences instead of longer tape-recorded interviews. Not only was I limited in the tools I could use and how my interactions were with prisoners, also the potential for this research to have an impact upon the California Department of Corrections is also limited.

Only three of the ten ex-prisoners in California and Europe that I interviewed were African-American and the rest were Caucasian. Their ages ranged from the youngest of 25 to the oldest of 70. Inside San Quentin, the average age of the population comprising our workshops and college tutorials were likely between 30 and 40. A majority of AVP prisoner participants were African-American and a close minority of Caucasian. Due to language barriers AVP was not well attended by Latin American

prisoners, so I came to know only three Latin American prisoners and only once did I have experiences with an Asian American prisoner.

In San Quentin, my volunteer work lead me to interact with a number "short timers," men who were serving short sentences from one to four or five years. But the men with whom I became most close through a consistent interaction over time because of their involvement with AVP and the college program, were the lifers (25 years to life) and "extended timers" (10 to 15 year terms).

In Europe, the men I interviewed formally were left up to my hosts. In Wellingburough prison (England) the theatre teacher/director Jenny had chosen for me to interview Steve for reasons similar to why AufBruch selected the eight men of Tegel—being that they had very compelling stories and a strong presence within the theatre group as a performer and member.

Both in San Quentin and European prisons, my interactions were with men who were in the process of achieving an education in one form or another, thus these were men who, for the most part, were not embedded in the prison's criminal sub-culture. But many of the men were, instead, engaged in a critical social analysis of their lives that one might consider somewhat an anthropological insider/outsider perspective.

5.5. Outcomes

The prisoners and ex-prisoners who contributed to this research are people with a desire to be heard by us on the outside. In that way, this research has contributed and acted to empower their lives to some extent. Just as the men of San Quentin were always grateful for the volunteers (giving us secret hugs as we arrived and left the prison), all of the men I interviewed in some manner thanked me for the interview. Many seemed proud and validated to be heard, and in Europe the men were in disbelief that someone from California would travel such a distance to hear their story and witness them perform.

I wanted to use the real names of the men who would allow it as a tribute to them as human beings if they were to ever have a chance to read the produced work. But even more so, I hope that the writing and return of this document to the participants through the avenues in which I met them and the disciplines of criminology, art, and anthropology, will go further to address the human rights of themselves and all prisoners.

I plan to distribute a copy of this research to both the international and local Bay Area Alternative to Violence Project chapters. During the European Prison Theatre Travel Diary, each participant documented their experiences in their own way, contributing to a collated diary-archive of memories posted on the Prison Arts Network Website (See Appendix E). I contributed to the diary through writing of my experiences and interviews with prisoner and ex-prisoner artists in the various Travel Diary locations. Even though these stakeholders have these earlier documentations, I will distribute the published draft of this research to the Prison Arts Network and to each of the European Prison Theatre Travel Diary's members with the hopes of language translations.

5.6. Presentation of Data

In writing, I was confronted with a limited avenue to communicate back with my participants for collaboration, more so in San Quentin than Europe. So I allowed the differences of the collected experiences and voices to be present, while I collapsed together similar repeating experiences and voices into four chapters. I wrote from my

experiences inside of San Quentin what I saw and heard as a volunteer, interweaving with the voices and performances in Europe, ex-prisoners of the Bay Area, prison staff and officials, along with the voices of experts in the fields of anthropology, sociology, penology, and theatre. From San Quentin, there were five voices of prisoners whom I associated with and represented the most, while there were some seventeen from which the reader hears less. From Europe, I incorporated my experiences of theatre and prisons from each country. While each country was represented by various voices, there were four main voices and eight supporting voices represented.

5.7. Introduction to Research Community: The Alternative to Violence Project

The prison volunteer work of the Quakers in the early nineteenth century Europe advocated a reformed prison with a compassion and empathy for the prisoner through an open interaction between the inside of prison with the outside community. Their work was driven by the belief that the prisoner's incorrigibility is related to the incorrigibility of the prison and society (McGowen 1995, 86).

In 1973, at the height of the prisoner rights movement, a group of prisoners at Green Haven prison, Connecticut asked for the advice from a group of Quakers in their attempt to address issues of violence in working with some juvenile gang members. The success of this interaction initiated the birth of the Alternative to Violence Project (AVP). Through the work of volunteers, a politics of inclusion, a compassion and respect for all others, AVP workshops spread throughout the world in and out of prisons, reaching 42 states and 12 nations. Theoretically AVP states:

> Violence is not just physical. It is everywhere, in all of us, in our thoughts and interactions. It is the key impediment to communication. Our experience of violence limits our self esteem , our capacity for joy, and our sense of community. Stress is our body's response to this violence. There is an alternative to violence that is accessible to each of us, at any time, in any situation. It is a force that allows a joining of adversaries to obtain a solution, where everyone wins. We call this experience 'transforming power'.
> (Bay Area AVP)

AVP provides tools and approaches to living non-violently grounded in one's own violent and nonviolent histories explored through a series of three 3-day experiential workshops: Basic, Advanced, and Training for Trainers. Built upon the experience of its participants, each workshop is as unique as its participants who comprise it. The Basic Workshop focuses upon the core conflict resolution skills through the building of one's self esteem, communication and cooperative skills. The Advanced Workshop focuses on the underlying causes of violence, including "fear, anger, communication, stereotyping, structures of power and powerlessness, and forgiveness." The Training for Trainers focuses on leadership and group process skills in helping one become a facilitator (Bay Area AVP).

5.7.1. San Quentin College Program

The effects of prison education programs to reduce recidivism, has long been established by a number of state studies. In Massachusetts, over a time period of 30 years several hundred prisoners received a college degree and only two returned to prison, for a recidivism rate of less than 1% (Ingley 2000, 21). Yet in 1993, California Governor Pete Wilson signed legislation that stripped prisons of secondary education funds and in 1994 Congress terminated the Pell Grants that had been used to pay for college textbooks and tuition fees for prison inmates. After which 350 state prison secondary education programs were scrapped and in San Quentin, where Patten College (a non-denominational Christian school based in Oakland) had just been accredited to begin a two-year associates degree program in liberal studies, this meant a loss of $8000 per prisoner student. But instead of folding, the college created an all-volunteer staff that since 1998 has witnessed 37 prisoners achieved their associate degree (Munn 2003).

Having removed the word "rehabilitation" from their mission statement in 1984, the CDC has downsized funding for vocational and educational programs such that only one-fourth of all CDC prisoners (Munn 2003) (average education level of seventh grade) are provided basic education. The availability of secondary education in prison is even more elite being only 140 prisoners who attend San Quentin's two-year college program.

5.7.2. The European Prison Theatre Travel Diary

During the height of the Rehabilitation Era, in 1957, San Quentin was the home of the first documented prison theatre companies with the production of Samuel Beckett's "Waiting for Godot." The lead prisoner actor and organizer of that group, Rick Cluchey, would leave prison in 1967 and reunite with his former troop members that included a number of Black Panther party members, who he would literally pick up as they exited the prison's gates. First known as Barb Wire Theatre then the San Quentin Drama Workshop (SQDW), the family of ex-convicts traveled for the next 10 years across America and Europe performing over 2000 times Rick's highly acclaimed play, "The Cage," which he wrote and first performed in San Quentin. They performed in schools, prisons, churches, and community theatres followed by a question answer period in which the group confronted issues of prisoner's rights and reform.

But it was their performance that spoke the loudest. The quality of theatre that the group produced was such that Rick and another member of the SQDW accepted an invitation to join Samuel Beckett for a number of years as part of his traveling production company. In the decades to come Rick's work with both Beckett and the SQDW would inspire movies, books, plays, and other prisoner theatre groups. Miguel Pinero credits having seen the SQDW's production of the "The Cage" in Sing Sing before writing and performing inside his award winning "Short Eyes." Across Europe a number of prison theatre companies would arise in the early 1990's giving much credit to Rick Clutchey as their predecessor and inspiration.

In the UK, The Escape Artists originally began their theatrical collaboration inside of HM Wayland Prison, a level C prison (Her Majesty's prisons are classified from the maximum secured level A to the Open prison level D), behind the efforts of prisoner Paul Malcolm who produced, directed and performed the lead role of the group's first

production in 1991. The group's initial success allowed them to contact the outside playwright Matthew Taylor asking him to join their production as director. After five successful productions, Matthew was banned from Wayland as a "security risk," which for the troop became an appropriate ending for a new beginning.

In 1995, with the ambition to fill a void between inside and outside prison for the artistically inspired ex-prisoner, Paul Malcolm and a few of the other ex-prisoner performers reunited with Matthew to form the Escape Artists. As in prison, the Escape Artist's approach to theatre has been to stay as close to their understanding of the playwright's words as possible, performing the works of Samuel Beckett, Harold Pinter, Frank McGuiness, and Matthew Taylor's own "Blagger" (which they performed at the famed Royal Opera House). Their politics has been one of changing society's relationship to prison by producing a quality of theatre that transforms the relationship an audience has with prisoners to that of artists. Paul's highly acclaimed solo performance of "Monster" by Dominic Wallis can stand upon its own in any venue, but has become an effective tool for the Escape Artists to enter into prisons, homeless hostels, youth offender institutions, schools, and colleges.

In Northern Ireland, Belfast, Mike Maloney uses his Australian immigrant identity to become this "strange guy who could waddle through quite a lot of categories" with his "exciting and valuable tool kit" of circus and theatre skills "that could do anything," including achieve diplomatic immunity and help to build bridges within his adopted home. According to Mike "art is a medium for change, prison is just the venue." One such venue since 1992 has been HM Maghaberry Prison, Northern Ireland's highest secured and largest of three prisons, where Mike has worked his magic with republicans and loyalists to produce plays of Beckett, McGuiness, and prisoner-written Christmas Pantomimes. Mike became director of the Prison Arts Foundation in 1996, who states as their goal "to release the creative self of all prisoners, ex-prisoners, young offenders, and ex-young offenders in Northern Ireland using all of the arts and crafts including writing, drama, music, and dance." Mike and his 25 artist now enter into all three Northern Ireland's penal institutes where 20% of the prisoners have been enrolled in the programs of PAF.

In 1998, Rick Clutchey was honored and performed at Berlin's International Festival of Theatre, hosted by AufBruch Kunst Gefangnis Stadt (Art Prison City). AufBruch has been working in the former East Berlin prison Tegel since 1997 doing theatre and art installations with some 30 plus prisoners under the direction of Roland Brus. Roland initially produced theatre with Berlin's homeless population leading to his direction in Tegel. In both places, his goal has been to bring the fringes to the center by giving the disenfranchised an artistic platform to create social commentary upon how their lives are relevant. In Tegel, AufBruch's multi-media productions often reverses the gaze of prisoner and spectator by holding a mirror up to their audiences who are a combination of family, community and prisoners. Roland states that "We're trying to create a dialogue which will break a metaphorical hole in the prison wall so we can reach the public and make the actual prison invisible and the biographies of the prisoners real."

In Italy, where Rick Clutchey was presented the key to the city of Rome by the playwright Dario Fo, Donatella Massimilla in 1989 established the Ticvin Theatre Company to focus on the woman's place in the patriarchal worlds of prison and theatre. Women inside of Italian prisons comprise 14% of the prison population and are more

likely than man to be from poverty, immigration, drug abuse, and less likely to be given community based alternatives (Ruggiero 1995, 50).

As an "outlaw theatre maker" Donatella's mission has been to build "bridges between art, theatre, and the margins". Essential to her politics is how she approaches the creative process: "self-dramaturgy" as a means to produce "performance manifestos." The work is initiated through the actor's own self as the source for the material. The actors' chosen text, image, memory, poem, song, and improvisation are woven together with theatrical stories and scenes proposed by Donatella. Donatella's actors include a company of male inmate actors known as "Madman's Ship" at Milan's San Vitorre prison. The men have established an identity as a group performing inside and outside audiences including family members, students, and politicians. Their success in the prison has lead Donatella to working with such men as Romeo and Franco who have been granted "semiliberta". Romeo and Franco leave prison to work with Donatella performing and doing community workshops, but always returning to prison.

5.8. Introduction to Researcher: Identity, Assumptions and Contributions

In my experience of both AVP and the college program, I always introduced my self as both researcher and volunteer. Never once did a prisoner openly object to my presence, but only my absence would have revealed the effect that my presence caused. My choice to enter the prison as a volunteer participant researcher allowed me to enjoy the privileges of being what prisoners have referred to as a "giver." Upon entering the gates all outsiders coming into prison must sign a statement releasing the prison of any responsibility in the case that a riot or hostage situation were to occur. But in my experience of San Quentin prisoners, and as I was once told by a former guard, if there were ever such a situation, the volunteers or "givers," would be the first protected by prisoners. We were placed upon a pedestal often at the sacrifice of a prisoner's own self-importance.

The identity-based power hierarchy that defines prison culture impacted my interaction with San Quentin prisoners. Thus, my experience of San Quentin was greatly informed by my historically situated identity as a 30-year-old white male doing research as a volunteer. As a Caucasian, which is a minority amongst prisoners, I was most often approached first by white prisoners rather than Latino and African-American participants. But being from Tennessee, and having experienced living and working for ten years in the inner-city with the African-American culture, a number of times African-American prisoners approached me to inquire about my background and accent. While also due to my physical size and demeanor that people might stereotypically associate with being a heterosexual male, I did not experience the prison as did one homosexual volunteer man, whose uncomfortable experience in a workshop lead him to not return for the second and third day of the weekend. As a male, my experience contrasted with that of women volunteers; many prisoners are drawn to education classes for the experience of being near a woman in such a female-deprived environment. And being in my early 30s like many of the prisoners themselves, I found a shared generational understanding of the world.

I share my social history to bring the reader into the circle with my community of participants. In doing so, I also share how the assumptions that inform my personal perspective are embedded in this research. But also, I write to highlight the permeable

line that exists between the violence of our society and each individual's history of relations to power, privilege, and resistance.

I was born the middle of three children raised in a primarily upscale, white, Bible Belt community of Chattanooga, Tennessee. My Dad's successful climb from working-class origins to one of the largest orthodontic practices in the southeast United States provided for us access to the most privileged circles and resources of society. Both my Mom and Dad were raised in very conservative Christian fundamentalist homes. Religion was the centerpiece of our lives, and my brother, Troy, sister, Kristin, and I, attended church functions sometimes three or four times a week.

Many of my early childhood memories move from one episode to the next of being in fear of punishment. Which for me, as a child, often meant the triple punishment of "spankings," being restricted to my room, and confrontation with the wrath of God. I lived in fear of two ultimate consequences: hell and the loss of my parents.

I was "slow tracked" in school and had speech "problems." I can remember the embarrassment and the fears around not being able to write or read like my classmates. And even more embarrassing, was that I "failed" both second and fifth grades as my parents switched me to and from schools to try and find the answer to their problem child. This was compounded by the daily self-conscious struggle of being a perpetual allergy-ridden asthmatic.

As my childhood and adolescence progressed, I became embittered towards my parents, school, church, and my brother and sister who both shined in their academic and social lives. I felt rejected, embarrassed, with no self-confidence or esteem. I often recklessly rebelled out of anger and as a result I found myself in trouble with authorities. In high school, I became obsessed with my physical size and strength to use as intimidation against those whose ridicule seemed to have no end. Sports became my only connection to my father and social inclusion, but internally I felt excluded and alone.

Always feeling an outsider, I was drawn to outsider friends. As a result my best friend at the age of 13, in the upper-class mostly white, age 7-12 boy's prep school, was an African-American boy by the name of Eric. Eric was from our city's inner urban housing developments, the "projects." He was on scholarship, and basketball became our connection, but in many ways, his community, family, and friends became my second home. I had found an identity for the first time of my life, known as "White Mike," I no longer felt invisible.

After high school and two years of failed fraternity college life, I returned to Chattanooga. Eric departed to the military but I remained in his neighborhood working in the nearby chicken factory and having two near marriage relationships with African-American women and their children. Throughout my early twenties I attended night classes at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga (UTC). School was the only remaining thread that kept me in the good grace of my Dad, while also it gave me a feeling of purpose.

I had an apartment a few blocks from the projects where I could keep my "white" front. For many years I attempted to keep my "black side" secret. By my early twenties I began an attempt to bring my two worlds together. But I had crossed a moral boundary, so I had friends and family turn their back on me, affirming and feeding my life of rebellion. My life in the African-American community was not perfect either. I was even jumped and badly beaten in the projects by a not known to me black man. I was

mesmerized, “don’t they know that I am on their side?” I became “street wise” and hardened to myself and the world around me. I developed the perception that quick money at whatever and whoever’s expense was the answer to my problems. With money I could create a gray area, a zone of freedom from racism. But the more I failed at financial excursions the more angry I became and self-destructive. I was a weekend binger on alcohol, cocaine, and women of the sex industry. My friends were becoming the men being put behind jail bars. I was jailed three times, twice for public drunkeness and once for assault but escaped from any real consequences due to my privilege.

I inflicted much pain upon myself, family, women in my life, and Mother Earth.

I recently heard a child molester speak of how he became a robot when he committed his violent acts. As I lived these moments, I felt outside of myself just as I feel I am writing of someone else. My violence was primarily a secret and without question in my mind, but I would later fester in self-guilt and hatred.

As I was working on my undergraduate in psychology I enrolled in a class entitled “The Psychology of the Black Experience.” Not only was I exposed to the works of such authors as Cornell West, Frantz Fannon, and W. E. B. Dubois. What affected me the most from that class, in which I was one of only two white people, was the realization that despite my life experiences within the black community, there was a vast difference between us that was seemed to increase as I learned more. I was reminded of being beaten up in the projects when feeling the anger and rejection of African-American men in that class. But I realized there was something new in knowing them, unlike my friends in the chicken house and projects. Though I was realizing at the time that I would never be considered “one of them” or “native,” I chose Criminal Justice to pursue for my Masters because it drew me closer to African-Americans and addressed an issue that I was becoming more familiar with in my daily life: society’s fringes.

As I worked on my Masters in Criminal Justice, I began to work with “at risk” youth as an in home case manager through agencies hired by the state’s juvenile courts and protective services. Most of the youth lived in the inner city and rural outskirts of the city and were the “problem child” that I was in different ways, but they did not have the social privilege that kept me from falling through the cracks.

At 25, my personal life was still in a spiral downward as I seemed to be looking for a crack. I bottomed out when I had my third car wreck in less that a month. One of which injured the other driver as I recklessly pulled out of a bank parking lot with $1000 dollars in cash that I was on my way to give to my new business “partner” of the drug trade. He showed up at the wreck and relieved me of the money and disappeared out of my life. In my desperate attempt for “justice,” I began to search for a gun to exert my vengeance. The consideration of killing another man made sense in the world and logic that I had created. At that very time I was offered a very well paid case management job two hours away in Nashville. I knew that I had to escape myself and start over in an urgent manner. Nashville was a desperate attempt at rebirth.

In Nashville, I met Joe, a poet, vagabond, singer/songwriter and former Vietnam veteran. He became, and still is, a mentor, brother, and friend. In the building that Joe and I were neighbors was a community of children, artists, musicians, and writers. Creativity and play was very present. Through Joe’s influence, I began to write poetry, learn guitar and sing as I was discovering the buried “artist” I did not know. I was consciously seeking, searching and growing. It was there that people saw me differently, respected me

as a creative human being, and in turn I found respect for myself. My sources of thought shifted as I began to read Buddhist literature. I became a vegetarian and started a meditation practice. My appearance shifted as I lost weight and grew my hair long. A rebirth had begun.

Coinciding my personal life, my academic understandings were also changing. Through the teachers in the Criminal Justice department at UTC, I was exposed to Karl Marx and Radical Criminology (Lynch and Groves 1989) and the social construction of criminality. But most importantly, I was exposed to two professors, Dr. Ken Venders who was a former parole officer, and Dr. Shelia Van Ness, a former prison employee. Through them, I came to realize that the dysfunction of the "system" and society, is not the people. The problem became the system itself and its inability to sustain any truly alternative practices despite their known successes.

I graduated with the Masters and felt a need to move out of Tennessee for the first time. I took a very important trip on my Harley motorcycle to San Francisco where I found a culture that felt like home. Three months later I returned there to live and found a new community in the Social and Culture Anthropology program at the California Institute of Integral Studies, where I began working on my doctorate. But I was also greatly impacted by my new job as a case manager in San Francisco's homeless population, where I learned about another link in the production of criminality.

In my first semester at CIIS, I enrolled in Richard Shapiro's class "Building Alliances." I was given an experiential framework to better understand the complexity of an individual's history of both oppression and privilege. For the first time I began to talk and feel the pain of my life. I was forced to look deeper at my own privilege and unconscious actions as a white male coming from a middle-upper class background as I heard from the life stories of others. And for the first time I was forced to confront my own oppression. Out of this I began, and continue, the process of forgiving others as I learn to forgive myself.

A bridge was built in "Building Alliances" that I walked over when, at age 30, I became a volunteer with the Alternative to Violence Project at San Quentin. It was the same year that I traveled to the Rainforest of Ecuador and met the Secoyan Native Americans whose culture is being threatened by oil interests. From "Building Alliances," San Quentin, and the Secoyans, I was confronted with my disconnection from nature, while I saw people's resistance to the violent effects of this disconnection through a resilient love for life and community.

Richard Shapiro's introduction to my reading of Michel Foucault deepened my understandings of radical criminology as I came to understand the cycle of duality in which the Western prison is imprisoned. But also Shapiro and Foucault opened up an understanding to how not all power leads to repression, but that there is a creation of an expressed resistance. Shortly into my volunteer work at San Quentin, I entered a theatre class seeking human relationships, artistic expression, and physical and social intelligence. What I found also was a part of my "self" waiting in the shadows, that could resist within and outside of myself an injustice, without the violence.

As one might assume from the reading of my story, I have come to empathize with those we imprison and lock away. Yet, just recently in my neighborhood in south Berkeley, we had over ten police cars lined up in front of our house looking for someone who apparently was "bad" enough for the police to have their automatic rifles drawn. I

was observing the police officers looking into our front yard when I glanced into our back yard and saw an African-American man jump over our fence from our neighbor's adjacent yard. He also saw me, and raised his index finger to his lips to signal for my quiet. I froze as I felt my pulse rise, I could not see any automatic weapons on the fleeing subject. But instinct sent me to the other window where the police were in view and spoke "he is in our backyard and heading east!" They then signaled for me to be quiet as they mobilized three of their lethal weapons over our back gate. But somewhat to my relief, he had escaped. I know the negative effects of sending someone to prison, yet when confronted with such a situation that aroused fear, I reacted in alliance with the system of dualities.

I hope this research helps to break down the walls of fear and ignorance that continues to give legitimacy to the violence and dysfunction of the prison. The prison itself not only produces criminals, it is criminal in its own composition. I hope this research jolts the mind of the reader, so that s/he must question as one lives their daily lives, one's own prejudice and assumptions in regards to the "criminal other." This research should contribute to a growing construction of knowledge, within academic and non-academic research, that seeks an alternative consciousness and informed practices of social justice and equality.

CHAPTER 6

HELL IN PARADISE

> Lt. Crittendon
> *Based upon my 27 years of experience, San Quentin is unique to the 32 CDC prisons, in the philosophy we embrace regarding prison and our mission. Here at San Quentin the staff have accepted the expectation that it is their responsibility to return back to society a better human being than the human being that first came into our prison. And that happens at all levels of the prison operation, by the way we set our programs up, the way we serve our meals, the commitment to recreation we have, inviting the public in to see the inmate do a theatrical play. And these all encompass the philosophy to turn back a better human being by developing the self-esteem with academic training, vocational training, and by having an individual to buy back into their community, and understand that he has a responsibility to respect their community, family, and selves . . .*

> These events are to the daily round in the institution what the daily round is to the display put on for outsiders, and all three aspects of reality—that which is concealed from inmates, that which is revealed to inmates, and that which is shown to visitors—must be considered together, three closely connected and differently functioning parts of a whole. (Goffman 1961, 106)

During my visits into San Quentin I would routinely take the Golden Gate Transit out of San Francisco, 20 miles north over and beyond the Golden Gate Bridge. Eventually I was dropped off at Main Street San Quentin, CA 94964, where my half-mile walk into the peninsula leading to the prison's East Gate would take me past on the right the state owned San Quentin Village where prison employees and private residents live, and on the left the tranquil postcard view of the bay. San Quentin sits on 432 acres of prime bay front Marin county real estate that developers are salivating over. But with million-dollar developments in the plans, for now the cream-colored walls and red tiled roofs remain fortified and a new $220 million death row appears closer to being a sure thing, despite the California economic problems.

Every time going into San Quentin was as much of an awakening to death and violence as it was towards the spirit of life and hope. I would sit in the early morning upon the beach as I waited for our turn, the volunteers, to enter into the East Gate. I would watch the deep dark orange of the sun crawling from the depths of time reflecting

on the water perfect serenity. A duck floats casually by, as I joined the waves of the bay going in and out, up and down, back and forth effortlessly and unrelenting. Suddenly a car roars by and I remember my date with San Quentin's East Gate. My breath shortens as I arise and turn from the unattainable wonders of Mother Earth towards the unthinkable pain of the human race. Here the unrelenting bars of steel clang in the skulls of two million, replacing the sounds of gentle waves, and the encompassing walls hide the sunrise and sunset. Two paradoxical realities sit seconds apart, a thin line between man's hell and mother's paradise.

Routinely volunteers and visitors entering into the East Gate share the entrance with the ongoing car traffic of some 1558 prison support and custodial staff, who have a parking lot on the inside of the gate. The very busy guard on duty alternates between checking the passes of incoming cars, the trunks of outgoing cars, and the identification and signatures of incoming and outgoing volunteers and staff. After we are accompanied by an escort, we walk some 100 yards with escort in front and for a few minutes we are walking through Small Town, USA with post office, prison barber shop, dry cleaners, business offices and houses to our right. To our left is another million-dollar view of the Bay, but quickly emerging is the arsenal tower where a 30mm gun as a symbol of power was once routinely shot off towards the water. Twenty more yards and an airport-style metal detector, we enter into the count gate (the "visitor's entrance" on map) and another layer deeper into the prison's fortified walls. We again show our identifications, sign our name, and have our bodies waved for metal. Inside the count gate one immediately understands a nineteenth century prison fortress that has been given a twentieth century technological twist with massive black iron swinging gates along side of TV and computer screens.

Immediately exiting the other side of the count gate, one steps into Portal Plaza which has all of the appearances of a country club well groomed courtyard with flowers, fishpond, and fountain.

Lt. Crittendon

This uniqueness of San Quentin has emerged from a historic leadership, which began since its birth 152 years ago. We were the first prison in the U.S. to offer formal education classes in 1868. We were the first to recognize inmates as human beings with talent and put on a variety show that we aired live from San Quentin to America in 1943 over the radio station KFRC. Today's philosophy of returning a better human being has a long legacy as the baton has been passed from generation to generation of administration, to rise and meet the challenge of penal leadership.

On the right side of Portal Plaza there are the three buildings used for religious services. It was Palm Sunday and the Protestants were having their service as Lt. Neinhuis was giving me a tour of the chapel buildings, and we unabashedly stepped into the chapel doors. There was my old AVP friend Nolte, a lifer imprisoned for 29 years and counting, one of 327 in San Quentin. He looked happy and full of optimism and spirit as I always remembered him. I step out of the building not wanting to disturb the service as Neinhuis was telling me of how one of the buildings had a dual use: the Muslims on

Friday and then the Jews on Saturday. "We provide an example for the rest of the world to follow!"

Lt. Crittendon

We have one of the largest religious programs around with not only the traditional religions but also the Buddhists, Latter Day Saints. Historically only the Catholics were allowed into San Quentin until the 1930s and 1940s, now there is not only more of an openness to other religions, but also a sensitivity to the uniqueness of those various religious communities: the Muslims who want to practice Ramadan, the Native Americans who want to set aside sacred ground to practice traditional sweats. These are respected and encouraged inside of our prison today.

Religious services are the one program to which even some death row inmates have access. San Quentin is unique in that regard, as I have been told that Jewish prisoners at Pelican Bay and Corcoran do not have access to even a rabbi. But San Quentin is like every other CDC prison in that the prison chaplain, whom use to report directly to the warden with influence, now s/he speaks to a community resource manager.

Lt. Crittendon

On the contrary, our religious programs go outside of their traditional roles by being responsible for implementing and instilling to the inmate population self-esteem, responsible decision making, anger management, and parenting skills.

Straight ahead at the rear of Portal Plaza is the education building, where our group of volunteers was not to leave outside of this building while we were inside of the prison. The education building, the oldest and only building not earthquake retrofitted, is part of what once was the Old Hospital (1859) where the ghosts of the torturous dungeon remain in its basement. The building serves now as the home to the many educational, hobby, and vocational workshops and classes available. Along with the prison's main library, which is one of the state's largest including four pocket libraries, and two legal law libraries operated by certified librarians and legal law librarians.[1]

Lt. Crittendon

We accomplish our goal by involving the community, in a way one of the uniqueness about San Quentin, when the other 31 prisons opened up the first thing they did was to reach out to their

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1 In Italy, law only requires prisons to have a library, but does not mention how they are to be managed or financed. Until the year 2000, there were only 10 known libraries in the 205 Italian prisons, which has changed because of a growing network (Associazone Blibioteche Carcerarie) of volunteer librarians and individuals who have collaborated with community libraries to create and manage prison libraries throughout Italy (Barlotti 2003).

communities by painting murals in their parks, and asking how could they render services to the community. But here at San Quentin we do differently by reaching out through asking our community to come into our prison and helping in our mission of returning better human beings than the human beings that came in. Here at San Quentin, to illustrate our uniqueness, you can take any five of the other 31 prisons and collectively add up the total number of volunteers and programs, and San Quentin will still have more. We have almost 3000 volunteers that come in over a period of a year to implement self-help groups such as Alcoholics Anonymous, Cocaine Anonymous, Transcendental Meditation, Vietnam Veterans of San Quentin, Gable Club, and the only accredited college program in the state where an inmate can achieve an AA degree, NO cost to the tax payer . . .

During my first visit into the gates of San Quentin, I sat silently with 20 prisoners in the education building as we waited for the first of the three-day workshop to begin. Each AVP workshop always began in such a manner, the facilitators in one room planning out the day's workshop, and in the other room, sectioned off in their prison groups, were the workshop's participants: the blacks with blacks, whites with whites, and the couple of Latinos quietly sitting off alone. And not much differently, there was myself, representing the only volunteer who was not a facilitator, feeling very much the outsider that I was. I was beginning to complain to myself about the coldness of the room and the uncomfortable chairs in which we sat (made in the prison's furniture factory), as I realized that these were the conditions for us for the next three days. When Joey, a prisoner, announced very seriously to the group: "I love coming to this room." Another inmate asked "why?" Joey stated "it's got the coldest water fountain in the entire damn prison, and one of the few with no damn clock on the wall!" Members of each group let out a quiet smile.

On the left side of Portal Plaza is the modern day dungeon—the Adjustment Center (AC), San Quentin's SHU, prison within a prison, where the most dangerous and endangered men in the prison are kept. I asked a guard who was escorting me into the prison one day, "What is it like in the AC?" The guard responded, "the adjustment center is the animal's world, you would not believe what those animals are capable of." Written on the San Quentin map in regards to the AC: "The prisoners are so violent that guards must wear riot gear at all times."

In between the Adjustment Center and the education building sitting to the far left hand corner of Portal Plaza is a circular building known as Four Post (not shown on map) sitting on the same sidewalk where lakes and rivers of blood formed during the George Jackson incident in 1971. There is a shift in atmosphere once one passes by the Four Post, as it is the checkpoint for the passing into the very interior cellblocks of the prison. It is also where a designated member of our AVP group would pick up an alarm button that was to be pressed if trouble ever emerged, and when pressed would send off an alarm throughout the prison. While I have never heard of or witnessed AVP having to press the alarm, there are hundreds of these alarms within the gates being held by each volunteer organization, guard, and staff member and their signals are being set off quite frequently.

Sheen, a lifer, informed me that 98% of the alarms set off are false alarms. But in response to the alarm, prisoners are instructed to bow to a knee immediately or risk being targeted by guards on the gun rail. The alarms are a by-product of the post-prisoner rights movement at San Quentin, when yellow lines were drawn throughout the prison, mandating where a prisoner could sit, walk, or be shot by a gunmen. Along with the alarms and yellow lines, more gunmen were added upon a rail that navigates the interior prison's walls and yards.

Once I was talking with a lifer by the name of Sheen standing near Four Post on a break from the workshop (this was prior to when I took serious the rule mandating AVP volunteers from stepping out of the education building), when a beaming alarm was set off by one of the buttons. I felt my entire internal being clench as I froze wanting to duck, but immediately thinking how happy I was to have the visitor's colors of clothes (no blues), while Sheen casually dipped onto the nearest bench to avoid having to hit the ground with his knees. After the alarm was lifted and prisoners could return to "normal," I pointed out to Sheen that he had sat in a forbidden zone. I asked him why he would take such a chance in front of a guard post. He said that he was aware of who was on duty during that particular time at that particular post, and that particular guard was lenient with that particular rule. A prisoner can never rest, he must always be fully present in the moment, conscious of his surroundings, who is who, who is where, and what to do if x, y, or z happens.

6.1. Classification and Segregation

Both the intellectual Foucault (1977) and the prisoner Abbott (1982) were on the same page when they wrote that the violence of the prison could be measured by the number of caseworkers, psychologists, sociologists; and their tools and techniques of power used to force their way into the prisoner's soul for reformation. Today these mechanisms of power still exist, but the reformation of a prisoner's soul is no longer the goal, now hell is unleashed upon a prisoner's soul with the overriding reason of punitive vengeance and mass control.

Being toured through the internal cell block area of the prison by Lt. Neinhuis, I was suddenly reminded of my job of two years at Seaboard Farms, a chicken processing plant in Tennessee, where we killed 182 birds a minute (160,000-180,000 birds a day). The newly arrived live chickens were kept for hours to a day crammed and stacked inside small cages on trucks parked on asphalt "yards." The diseased, drugged, and often feces- and scratch-covered chickens, waited to be hung upside down in shackles and sent to their cruel death.

Lt.'s Neinhuis and Crittendon each spoke of the multiple missions that San Quentin maintains in the "official segregation of San Quentin's population through the classification process." San Quentin acts as the reception center (RC) for 18 counties in Northern California. All new prisoners, "fish," become a CDC number and sent to one of three RC's where they are given full body searches, placed in orange jump suits (as opposed to the regular blue attire) and enter into a holding pattern for 90 days. At San

Quentin there are 2912 prisoners who are dressed in orange jump suits. Touring North Block, the bottom tier was covered with orange suited prisoners in the middle of the afternoon lying around on make shift cots. But most are doubled celled throughout the prison according to their classification: those with a mental illness, those prisoners that are "extended termers" (15 years or more), parole violators and prisoners who have paroled from San Quentin's administrative segregation unit or a Security Housing Unit. And among those bodies of prisoners there are other sub-segregated groups.

> The examination is at the center of the procedures that constitute the individual as effect and object of power, as effect and object of knowledge . . . (Foucault 1977, 192)

Along with many very idle hours of nothingness since they have no access to programs, these prisoners are being herded around like cattle undergoing psychological, physical and sociological evaluations. Information that is collected is placed in a data base under the prisoner's CDC number and based upon this information a prisoner is given a number of points. The prisoner and his/her "jacket" then goes before the Board of Prison Terms to determine a prisoner's security requirement and which one of 33 California prisons the prisoner is sent. Whenever a prisoner enters the CDC, whether one has never been in a California prison, or has been out of prison for three days or three years, one must go through this evaluation period.

The second mission concerns the general population "citizens" of San Quentin's gated community: there are the 251 Level 1 minimum security prisoners who live on the Ranch in open dorms and work on the outside periphery of the prison and into the outside community. Then there are the 1723 level 2 prisoners who are segregated into various sub-groups, including: high risk to escape prisoners locked in "closed custody" one of the four cell blocks; administrative and protective segregation who are kept locked down in the Adjustment Center and East Block for disciplinarian or safety measures; then there are the 200 plus level two medium security prisoners who are short to be going back to their homes and have no violent acts against them like rape or arson. They live in H-Unit (built in 1983) in a dorm-like environment with two hundred other men. And there are those who are the "normal" level two prisoners who live in the celled environment but have the potential to work or go to other programs.

Besides H-Unit, the AC, and the Ranch, this official segregation takes place in 2500 cells in North (500), South (1000 separated into 4 sections: A, B, C, D), East (500), West (500) Blocks. Each cell is designed for one man, but a second steel bunk was added to each, so that like the rest of the prison, and for that matter the CDC, they stuff twice the capacity number of prisoners. Each cell cubicle is basically a 11-by-4_ foot bathroom with 7' ceilings and steel bunk beds. All four cell blocks are cold and hot depending upon the season, but always dark as there is very little light and ventilation. Windows to the outside are to an external shell that encloses the internal structure of 500 cells. There are five tiers of two rows of forty-two cells stretched with backs to each other facing out towards the larger rectangular external shell. The concrete ceiling of each of the five tiers creates the floor for the one above. Imagine two five-tiered waffles sitting vertical with flat backs to each other, and each waffle indenture comprising one cell. Running parallel to the five tiers some 10 to 12 feet across open space and attached to the external shell, is a gun rail catwalk for the guards' strategic positioning. (Davidson 1974, 7-12)

> A whole problematic then develops: that of an architecture, that is no longer built simply to be seen (as with the ostentation of palaces), or to observe the external space (cf. the geometry of fortresses), but to permit an internal, articulated and detailed control—architecture that would operate to transform individuals: to act on those shelters, to provide a hold on their conduct, to carry the effects of power right to them, to make it possible to know them, to alter them. Stones can make people docile and knowable. (Foucault 1977, 172)

6.2. Lives of Non-existence: Facing Death

San Quentin is unique to all of the CDC prisons, as it is the site in California where men who are said to have murdered are murdered by the state (or as the state politely refers to them as "condemned") next to men who are serving life and short termed sentences. Thus defining a third mission and final population for segregation. Death row prisoners, "the shelf," are classified either A, "angels," allowed limited programming (religion), or B, "bad seeds." The majority of the 614 death row prisoners, angels, are held in East Block where they stay in 5.5 by 9 feet "two person" cells. Inside each cell, where they are served all of their meals, they are allowed a TV, books, and radio, and every day they spend from 7:30 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. in one of four yards. While two smaller groups of the most violent, the "bad seeds," are kept in a section in North Block and the Adjustment Center in conditions similar to the SHU, with complete isolation except for yard time that amounts to one hour three days a week. Also segregated away from the main population of the prison and death row are the sex offenders, one of the most endangered offenders in every population:

> Steve (England)
> *That is always the problem—child molesters. One just got stabbed and nearly killed the other day, when they put a child molester on a wing. He was a big one, but he got stabbed through the neck, stepped on a couple of times. Hot water thrown on him. He got rushed out of here, he lost all of his blood, very close to death. It was his fault, because he said that he wanted to be put on the wing. He was doing five years for sexually assaulting a child. Child molesters are not tolerated in this country, in any jail. Normally they are in solitary confinement.*

California's death row is the largest in the nation but it is also the slowest. Since 1977 "only" 10 prisoners have been executed, while 12 have committed suicide. The average stay for those killed thus far, has been 13.6 years. On the average, one person every month is sent to live on the shelf and await death.

Being that San Quentin has both death row and a reception center within its confines, San Quentin is the most secured level 1 and 2 prison in the state. And while the prison's programs are an attraction for many lifers, the irregularities and downsized freedoms in San Quentin frustrate them. But I was told by a lifer, Matt, that the most

difficult thing for him about being in San Quentin is to see the "walking dead" angels who are "programmed for death" and are, at times, escorted through commonly shared parts of the prison. He stated that knowing they are so near to death makes him even more aware of his own death that he is living while in prison.

> Neil (England)
> *I can't see the end of it and I look around and can't see the beginning of it either. It's just going on seemingly forever. You see your own cell as your entire universe, and you think "I can't feel anymore pain than this," but then you look at someone else's, and you say "thank god I am not doing that." But it doesn't make you feel any better.*

Any prisoner that has been held in protective custody, administrative segregation, or the "hole," have survived conditions like that of the death row and SHU. Sheen spoke of the difficulties of surviving the hole and that a prisoner must "surrender over that time spent as days and time that do not exist." He stated that as long as one struggles against this non-existence, a prisoner may lose every bit of what is left of the self. In a conversation with Sheen, a lifer, I was venting to him about how I felt at various points of my life unheard and invisible to certain people. Sheen chuckled at my reactions, he said "it's not your loss that you are not being heard, it's the loss of those who are not listening."

> Abbott: A man is taken away from his experience of society, taken away from the experience of a living planet of living things, when he is sent to prison. A man is taken away from other prisoners, from his experience of other people, when he is locked away in solitary confinement in the hole. Every step along the way removes him from experience and narrows it down to only the experience of himself…The concept of death is simple: it is when a living thing no longer entertains experience. So when a man is taken farther and farther away from experience, he is being taken to his death. (1982, 63)

I overheard a guard talking with an inmate about the death row prisoner that had just been given a 30-day extension by the courts. The guard asked the inmate what he thought should be done to such a killer, the prisoner sincerely responded "no matter what the man needs to be prayed for and forgiven!" The guard quickly returned "why? such an animal don't deserve prayers having committed sins that even a Christian shouldn't be forgiven for!"

The death row prisoner they were speaking of, Darrell Keith Rich, also known as Young Elk. Rich was convicted of four counts of first-degree murder in the July-August 1978 deaths of Annette Fay Edwards, Patricia Ann Moore, Linda Diane Slavik, and Annette Lynn Selix. In addition to the four counts of first-degree murder, Rich was found guilty of 15 other counts, including rape, sodomy and kidnapping, in December of 1980. The brutality of these murders could not be understated, but what was understated was the traumatic history of violence in the life of Rich leading up to these murders. The CDC (2004) states on their web site:

First arrested age 17 for assault with a deadly weapon, and sent to the California Youth Authority at age 19. Since age 16, Rich has had a history of progressive violence. He was a heavy drinker from the time he was in his mid-teens up to his arrest in August 1978.

On March 15, 2000 I stepped out of my volunteer hat and joined some 800 protestors at San Quentin's East Gate "to stand against the murder of a murderer," "to affirm the preciousness of all life," and "to demand the end to the cycle of violence" as speakers took turns at the podium. The courts held up Warden Jeane Woodford's decision to not allow Darrell Rich's request to participate in a Native American sweat lodge purification ceremony before being killed. But outside of the East Gate a drumming circle was held by a group of the many Native Americans present. Also, very present was the power of the state. There was the usual state helicopter and boat to protect from any "storming of the Bastille," along with over 150 guards staring us down with many video cameras pointed at us from the roof tops of the prison: All this surveillance and showing of power for what I was told by one long time Death Watch abolitionists, has always been a "routinely" peaceful vigil. Also covering the "event" from every angle was the media. The vigil attracted quite a social scene where people were milling around and talking, something similar to an anti-war demonstration. There were two different loud speakers being used, one being used by the few Christian evangelists who were applauding the death, and one being used by the many people taking turns blasting the state for murder, and at times using the platform for other political issues. They were preaching to the converted and somewhat disturbing to myself who joined a large portion of the crowd sitting silent and still, in meditation, prayer, sorrow, and anger for what was taking place. At 12:06 a.m., the moment of execution, there was an attempted (only disturbed by the socialites in the back) moment of silence for Darrell Rich whom became the 22nd prisoner to be executed in the USA in 2000, and the 620th since executions resumed in 1977 and the 8th in California since 1992. And some 6300 in the U.S. await the routine to begin again.

Inside, the prison goes under lockdown for 24 hours in fear of the anger that spreads throughout the prison, as prisoners become aware that one of "our brothers was being killed today." As one prisoner read in his poem, there is "not a moment of silence or acknowledgement of a brother's death," instead the prisoners were fed a special chicken dinner as if "we were being rewarded for not acting up while they killed one of us." The next day for those inside and outside of the gate, it is "back to the program" daily routine.

6.3. "Programs" and Routines: Work and Education

Lt. Crittendon

A large amount of lifers without the chance of parole use to be kept here at San Quentin during the '70s and '80s when I was working inside as a guard, and I found that even they were also encouraged to have a program. They want a normalcy about their lives inside the prison. So they didn't always want to be on lock down or restricted movement, not able to get out of their cells and do the things they would normally do, as all human beings do we all have

a routine. If you go to any street corner inside of any metropolitan area and take a picture at a particular hour, and come back 6 months later and take another picture same time and day, and you will find the same people. Because we are creatures of habit, and so are they (prisoners). Even they want that kind of routine in their lives because this is now viewed, in their mind, as their lives.

Prison life is about routine: each day like the one before it, so that the months and years blend into each other…Time slows down in prison; the days seem endless. The cliché of time passing slowly usually has to do with the idleness and inactivity. But this was not the case on Rhoden Island. You were busy almost all the time with work, study, resolving disputes. Yet time nevertheless moved glacially. (Nelson Mandela as quoted in Vivien Stern 1998, 106)

David Deutsch
Time does pass very slowly in prison, although somewhat better if one stays busy all the time. My goal was to stay busy all of the time. I am up at 6:00am every morning out for breakfast at 6:45 a.m., exercise for an hour in the yard, go to work from 9:00 a.m. until 3:00 p.m., return to my cell for count-read a little bit and maybe take a nap, at 4:45 p.m. out for dinner. Straight from dinner to programs: tutoring on Tuesday and Wednesday night, Spanish on Monday and Thursday nights, class on Friday night, services on Saturday and Sunday nights. I was busy seven nights a week. Return to my cell at 9:00 p.m. and get myself ready for the next day. Watch TV until 10:30 until I fall asleep. Get up the next morning and do it again. A lot of guys lay around all the time, wasting years of their lives. But even staying busy like I did, when I got out it took a while to get up to the pace of life out of prison.

Day in and day out prisoners are moved around like water being detained and directed into rooms of space. In San Quentin a prisoner's day is divided up into movements like a school bell that signals for one period to end and the next to begin. And at each movement, a new count and if a count is short than the entire prison is held up or locked down until the missing numbers can be accounted.

Prisoners are evaluated for their job skills during their stay in the reception center to help determine their prison placement. The schedule, "program," of a CDC prisoner centers upon one's 9:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. job. Some prisoners that work in the kitchen and jobs outside of the prison have schedules that operate around a noon to 8:00 p.m. or 4:00 a.m. to noon schedule. There are two times during a day in which prisoners have access to a shower. Our AVP workshops would end at 8:00 p.m. and prisoners would leave hurriedly so that they could have access to an 8:15 pm shower call before the 9:00 p.m. count and the 10:00 p.m. guard shift change. Sheen told me how everything he does

is controlled by when he can take a shower. “Bird baths” after doing exercise and having to wear sweat soaked socks is part of the prison routine.

> Lt. Crittendon
> *“Program” is five days a week, a minimum of seven hours a day. Prisoners are assigned to one of three models of work efforts. One is prison jobs which you can make from to $13.50 to $54 per month. The second is prison industries, here in San Quentin we have a mattress factory, and every piece of furniture you see has all been manufactured in our furniture factory. These inmates can earn from $165 to $350 a month depending upon the individual skill level.(See History Section) The third came about when in 1990, Proposition 139 was passed that authorized prisons to allow outside industries to set up their productions inside and pay the inmates a prevailing wage. We are one of about 30 prisons that have brought in outside businesses to form Joint Ventures. Now the inmates are not getting rich, we immediately place a state and federal tax upon their pay, and then we will take their net pay and divide it into five different equal segments. One segment goes back to the tax payers of California as a form of restitution for housing that inmate. We will take another fifth and send it back to the county that the inmate came from for any support services that the county is required to provide. If the inmate has a wife or child he has left on food steps or med-cal. We will take one fifth of it and give it to the inmate to spend here on personal hygiene and canteen items. Then we will take one fifth and put it into a forced savings account so that once the inmate now leaves prison, he has the ability to have $2500, $3000 saved up to make that transition back to mainstream America. And then the last fifth goes to a victim’s rights fund that we give out at the end of the year to victim’s rights non-profit organizations. Just this December we gave about $30,000 to the Sunny Hill’s Children Garden, which we have been supporting since 1989 through one of our Joint Venture programs. They give care to sexually and physically abused children removed by the courts from their parents.*

Industries that are part of the Joint Venture program are exempt from paying worker’s compensation, vacation, or sick leave expenses while they are given a 10% state tax break. Prisoners actually earn 20% of minimum wage and have no chance to unionize themselves. This program was created by the passage of Proposition 139, the Inmate Labor Initiative of 1990, which was an initiative to overturn the 1882 abolition of convict leasing in California (Brown 1995). One of the most important aspects of Proposition 139 is its repeal of the principle that labor in prison must be voluntary:

> The people of the state of California find and declare that inmates who are confined in state prison or county jails should work as hard as taxpayers for their upkeep, and that

> those inmates may be required to perform work and services. (Brown 1995)

The CDC maintains that work in the institution is voluntary; however, each day worked reduces a prisoner's sentence by one day. Therefore, those who refuse to work will serve twice as long a sentence as prisoners who agree to work. Also, the "Work/Privilege Group" classification process further punishes prisoners who refuse to work. There are four work/privilege classifications for prisoners: A = full time work, B = half-time work/waiting list, C = refuses to work, D = special segregation unit prisoners. The prisoners who refuse to work, labeled as Group C, are "not entitled to family visits, and are limited to one-fourth of the maximum monthly canteen draw. Telephone calls are permitted only on an emergency basis as determined by the institution's staff. While access to the yard is allowed, no special packages or access to other recreational or entertainment activities are allowed" (Brown 1995).

> In discipline, punishment is only one element of a double system: gratification-punishment…all behavior falls in the field between good and bad marks … Through this micro-economy of a perpetual penality operates a differentiation that is not one of acts, but of individuals themselves, of their nature, their potentialities, the level of their value … It is easy to understand how the power of the norm functions within a system of formal equality, since within a homogeneity that is the rule, the norm introduces, as a useful imperative and as a result of measurement, all the shading of individual differences. (Foucault 1977, 184)

According to Lt. Crittendon, in 1995 the Sterling Bill was passed that set into place that no person who is determined to be illiterate can be assigned any work program. The average education level for a CDC prisoner is less than seventh grade, according to Lt. Crittendon there is a 37% illiteracy rate. But the Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy (2003) estimates it to be over 50% and that only 35% of illiterate prisoners have actual access to a literacy program. And according to college program director Jody Lewen, those prisoners who enter a GED or literacy program, will forfeit any form of income as they are not paid to go to literacy or GED classes. So unless a prisoner who enters the GED program has a family member or friend on the outside that provides them with a supplemental income, prisoners often cannot afford such supplies as pencil and paper2.

> David Deutsch
> *Even though you know that there are a lot of people who are illiterate in California, there is nothing like walking into a prison and having it hit you in the face. There is no special education*

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2 In Wellingburough(England) and Tegel(Germany) prisoners are actually paid even if they option to attend education instead of work programs.

program and mandatory education does its best but the peer tutoring programs do more when it is all said and done. It was my goal to just get them to be able to fill out a job application before they paroled.

In the CDC, of those prisoners eligible only, 30% have access to educational and vocational programs. (Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy 2003) One of the bragging points for San Quentin public relations is their vocational, sports, and college program (none of which are available if class C). In front of East Gate is the San Quentin Craft Shop, which a number of prisoner artists that with whom I spoke, were in the belief that the guards were funneling the profits.

Lt: Crittendon
The Inmate Handicraft Program has 90 authorized inmates to participate. They must buy the material they use, we supply the equipment and they make the product that is then put into the San Quentin Craft Shop and to be sold which is federally and state taxed, plus we will charge a IWF-inmate welfare fund that pays for the staff that work in the shop to coordinate that effort, pays for the inmate canteen, for our own television station here-SQTV and the movies we decide to show. It pays for the athletic program, for the baseball team and board games.

We have different programs-the Arts and Corrections, music, which can be accessed by all other prisoners, but when talking of making wood, glass, or jewelry object-90 can access. It is privilege based that once you earn will not be taken from you unless you do something to determine that.

The fact that prisoners are placed in jobs based upon skills they already have and the fact that the jobs most prevalent are manufacturing and textile with an increasingly service industry economy, prisoners are not necessarily building for their future after prison. A prisoner may pursue a vocation or college degree if they have the kind of super-human discipline and motivation necessary. For many prisoners the motivation to do anything outside of their "voluntary" job is hard to manage. To sleep at night or during the day requires the ability to sleep through the distractions of noise and lights due to the different schedules prisoners maintain and their general lack of privacy. To work during the day and pursue vocational or education at night, one survives upon an average sleep time of five to six hours. After dinner there is pill call for psychiatric meds and if a prisoner options to take college classes they are to arrive at the education building for classes on Monday and Thursday nights after pill call. Prisoners come to the night sessions exhausted and having to struggle with staying awake. Even without medications just having to subsidize their own courses while working, and tending with the stress of

prison daily life, many men who would take advantage of educational and vocational opportunities do not[3].

Jody Lewen took over the college program in 2000 and immediately went to work to make the college program more effective within the prisoners' daily life. She unsuccessfully pushed for a second pill call at night so that prisoners who were interested in attending classes after dinner could take their pills after class. She also proposed the idea to a prison administrator that prisoners be given a deferral from their work schedule for a couple of hours on Fridays for a tutorial session. The education building on Fridays was largely being unused on that day due to the fact that the GED classes are only held Monday through Thursday. The administrator immediately shot down this idea, sighting custodial supervision difficulties and fears of upsetting a balance that mandates work as the priority in a prisoner's life while relegating education as an incentive equivalent to a recreation. In this case Jody took her idea to Warden Jeane Woodford who immediately gave her the authority to move ahead with the plans for the Friday study hall.

As already mentioned, San Quentin's college program is the only one of its kind that has a two-year degree with teachers that arrive on site. But it is a program that has 140 students out of 160,000 CDC inmates. Jennifer Warren reported for the *LA Times* on May 10, 2003, that there are 280 prisoners at Ironwood State Prison benefiting from videotaped lectures provided by Palo Verde Community College, and 800 prisoners await for an opportunity to begin working on the associates degree. Under the logic that criminals do not deserve such an opportunity, and despite the fact that Palo Verde offers the same program to all community members in the area, the CCPOA are boycotting prison fundraising events as it did to successfully shut down a similar college program at Chuckawalla Valley State Prison.

Paul (England)

While in prison I just wanted to get myself sorted out and become a stronger person. But I found that the reality of prison life, a reality that was suppose to enable people to go on and live a better life and become rehabilitated, actually is a system that does the exact opposite and you have to resist prison to become strong. So very early on in my sentence I recognized the sham, the complete grotesque sham!

Another problem that CDC prisoners run against trying to pursue education is referred to as "rainbowing around" or "bussing therapy." Prisoners are randomly kept at one institution for 60 days before being sent to another for 120 days, then to another for 6

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3 Her Majesty's Penal system (England) maintains a disciplinarian system in which a prisoner must "progress" through conformity to the requirements of Basic and Standard to reach Enhanced status, where a prisoner may then have access to education and the arts. But this "progressive regime" is very subjective and requires immense self-discipline. In Northern Ireland, where this system is just being implemented, Mike Maloney states that by putting education and the arts as a "carrot on the stick…if you don't know what the carrot looks, feels and taste like than it is not an incentive."

months, etc. The reason given is for security, but the effect is that prisoners are unable to pursue programs offered at the various institutions to any depth.

Paul (England)

So I petitioned a Member of Parliament to make representations to the prison department on my behalf. I stated in my letters that I appreciated the move to a lower security prison, but it was more important for me to stay due to the benefits I was receiving in theatre. At that stage in my sentence I was aware that I would serve at least another eight to nine years in prison, in view of this fact I did not see any overriding urgency for a transfer. They responded with a "no" and all the negativity of prison suddenly hit me hard. What made me angry was its inability to treat me or indeed any prisoner as an individual, working towards my best interest, development and rehabilitation . . . But the prison system is just that ; a system, soulless and inflexible. As such it merely sacrifices prisoners on the altar of penal expedience.

6.4. Prison Environment

Like every other prison that I had visited, heard, or read about, San Quentin's North Block was dark and cold, more suited for rodents but useful to seduce prisoners into unnatural sleeping habits that helps limit their waking hours and, thus, need for supervision.

Kevin (Northern Ireland)

To describe Crumblin Road, it's a Victorian prison . . . you have your bars of soap and you rub them under your bed and around the doors to stop the cockroaches from coming in. You get up in the middle of the night and you step in cockroaches. I used layers of four or five blankets, around my legs to keep warm.

Amnesty International reports that in Guantanamo Bay one of the elements of torture the U.S. imposes upon its prisoners is through sleep deprivation and the use of loud music. In San Quentin, and in every prison that I entered, my thoughts were always penetrated by the noise of bars, keys, and voices shouting. And as Nolte, a lifer, explained to me, it is the constant intrusion of noise into his mental space that is the biggest challenge in not allowing himself into a violently reactive space:

David Deutsch

There is a loud speaker blaring from 5:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. in each of the cellblocks. And the screaming reminded me of an asylum at times. Funny how the longer you stay in prison, you begin to look forward to lockdowns that became like forced vacations during which I used to sleep for the first two days.

In North Block, Lt. Neinhuis and I passed by what smelled like pasta being cooked in one of the cells, Ramen noodles no doubt. I immediately remembered the

homemade illegal (but something to which most guards allowed) electrical heating devices, "stingers," prisoners would bring to AVP sessions to heat the water for their tea or instant coffee. Such items are greatly valued black market commodities. Sheen who works in the kitchen told me that his work was hell because of the hours and labor, but the perks of food picks is great. He explained how the food budget and distribution is controlled by corrupt guards who use their position to distribute privileges and rewards amongst select prisoners, mainly "snitches." The larger population goes underfed, with food Sheen referred to as "two notches below vending machine." *Prison Focus* reported in their Fall, 2003 (No. 18) issue that it is well documented that California and other states are not meeting the Eighth Amendment mandate to feed prisoners 2200-2800 calories per day.

> Historically, fights, stabbings and riots begin in the prison mess hall.
> Steven
> *I would wake up in the morning at 5am, do 500 pushups and sit-ups. I would make me a shield out of magazines and newspapers placed around my vital organs underneath my t-shirt and prison shirt. So now I am ready for them to bust the bar to go to chow. A lot of shit happens in the chow hall, but I never take a knife with me to the chow hall. But I have knives planted all over the institution. That is my job to have a cache of knives here, a cache of knives over there. And the people in my card that need to know where they are know where to access the equipment.*

While this reflects the fact that it is one of few places where prisoners are put together in large numbers and segregate themselves into their various groups (see Informal Segregation), it also reflects the fact that prison food is the most intolerable conditions regarding prison life. In my own walk through San Quentin's mess hall the fused smells of the visually unidentifiable foods, made the appetite of my empty stomach disappear.

> Paul (England)
> *On the evening when I finally learned that my request had been rejected, at dinner we were served a stew that smelled, looked, and tasted horrible. I saw this meal as symbolizing all that was rotten, rancid about the system. This may appear to be a trivial issue but prison meals rarely rise above the standard of deplorable. Every day at every meal prisoners are served food of this description. There is no need for it, none whatsoever. In my opinion it is calculated so that each day, at each meal, a message is reinforced: "This is rubbish food but it is all you deserve because you are rubbish."*

Then there are prisoners like Mohammad who has spent a good portion of his life impoverished and homeless, and says that prison food is the best food he has ever had on a regular basis for any length of time. And for Shaw, a lifer and vegetarian, Shaw stated that within his Buddhist practice he does not eat dairy, meat, poultry, or fish, nor does he care for the high starch under seasoned diet that is provided. San Quentin is not like an

airline that provides "special meals" for prisoners with special diets. Shaw, like a number of prisoners with use of ramen noodles and canned goods from the prison canteen, are self-taught chefs and their talents give them much power amongst the prison population. For Shaw, he learned to cook as a child from his mother, and the cooking that he does in his cell was a way for him to travel home and leave the prison walls.

6.5. The Uncontrollable: Lockdowns and Delays

> One frequent official objective is the reformation of inmates in the direction of some ideal standard. This contradiction, between what the institution does and what its officials must say it does, forms the basic context of the staff's daily activity…This 'people work' is not like personnel work or the work of those involved in service relationships; the staff, after all, have objectives and products to work upon, not services, but these objectives and products are people…As people upon which to work, people can take on somewhat the same characteristics as inanimate objects. (Goffman 1961, 74)

Lt. Neinhuis was explaining to me the leverage lock system on the first tier of North Block, and how one lever use to be able to lock and unlock 25 cells at a time. He was doing so by pointing to one of the cell doors occupied by a prisoner, who's face was slightly shaded by two of the 13 steel bars running from the floor to ceiling of each cell. I was amazed, Neinhuis did not see the human being's face that was inches away from his pointing finger. As Neinhuis stepped away from the cell, the face finally spoke "hey lieutenant, how's it goin? " To which Neinhuis responded "sorry, I didn't see you there." "How could he have not?" I thought to myself. Then I could feel my stomach churn as I realized who it was, "Hey Michael, its me Plato, remember . . .AVP." I froze in embarrassment to see an old AVP friend for the first time in three years. While most of society has yet to put faces to the cages of those imprisoned, I had never had a cage put to the face of the men I had come to know through the college program and AVP. Our meetings in the "freedom" of the education building now seemed superficial as I was suddenly confronted with the truth of their reality. I became embarrassed for Plato's existence, and maybe it was more for myself as I instinctively stepped into the familiar guilt of my own privileged freedoms. Plato was very calm and straight-faced, allowing only the edge of a smile to leak. Neinhuis, seeing our knowledge for each other, gave us a few seconds to say hello. I asked him what he is doing with his time, he said "the same: when I am not locked up in here, I am still in the library."

Plato, a "state raised convict," was the first prisoner with whom I was partnered in an AVP exercise. He spoke of his birth into a violently abusive foster care home, graduated into the juvenile courts and then to 27 years of imprisonment.

> Abbott: The state raised convict has no conception of any difference. He lacks experience and, hence, maturity. His judgment is untempered, rash; his emotions are impulsive, raw, unmellowed . . . There are emotions-a whole spectrum of them-that I know only through reading and my immature imagination. I can imagine I feel

those emotions, but I do not. At age 37 I am barely a precocious child. (1981, 15)

Volker (Germany)
I got involved with stupid shit which led to my imprisonment. So, I suppose that I have to suffer for the things I have done, in a way. My life story is that I am almost thirty-five. When I was seven, I was taken away from home and placed into care. Then, when I was fourteen, I was put into an institution for teenagers where I received training and education. I learned to work with metal. Basically, anyone who goes through this place ends up in prison, it's just natural progression, and that is what happened to me. I got married in 1981 right after I got out of the foster home. In 1982, my first wife died having our child. I became an alcoholic and started taking a lot of medication, prescribed drugs. My first arrest came in a drunken bar room brawl at the age of 19. To support my addiction I sold guns and robbed banks. I am now serving my third sentence.

Plato had managed to educate himself throughout his years of institutionalization and was, at the time of my SQ involvement, working in the prison library, doing research as an inmate lawyer for himself and other prisoners, and, according to Neinhuis, was once head of the Men's Council[4]. Neinhuis also told me that there is well known information that clears Plato of the murder for which he is now serving time. Neinhuis said that most every prisoner declares their innocence, but Plato was one of the few he actually believed.

David Deutsch
In Plato's case, it is well known that he is innocent for the crime that he is serving. Which is an interesting paradox—You can prove that what you are in there for you did not do, and yet because you have a life sentence you still have to be found suitable. In Plato's case, "we are holding him because we do not think he is fit to enter society".

Plato's long meditation upon the injustice of society both has fueled his legal efforts and his rage, which he sought through AVP a way to better manage. He and I participated in a basic workshop together and I was amazed at how the other men gave Plato such profound respect. Then I was talking with Adam, another lifer, who told me that it was because of both Plato's law talents and, "if you could see him in the morning when there is an early morning delay for the routine to start, you would understand why Plato is one of the most feared men in the prison." Plato and I both returned for an advanced workshop a few months later after we had completed our basic workshop. But prior to the first day of the workshop the prison was under a brief lockdown and we were delayed for two hours from entering the prison.

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4 A prisoner elected body of prisoners that reports to the warden, but whose status is more symbolic than with the actual power to effect change.

David Deutsch

Prisoners are limited in their relationships by living in a climate of constant uncertainty-any prisoner (except those on death row) can be moved to another prison in 30 minutes notice at any time and for any reason. They can also be sent to the "hole" (ad-seg) merely for investigation reasons. People come and go daily, cellmates change and your cell can be searched at any time for any reason-or for no reason at all. All of these things contribute to an environment that is abnormal by any standard.

One prisoner once told me "You have to expect the unexpected, and never believe in the carrots they give you!" Lockdowns and delays happen daily and can have far reaching effects, placing prisoners in their cells for days, weeks, and on rare occasion months. One time during a workshop session, prisoners were, without excusing themselves, getting up and going to the canteen. There was rumor of a lock down coming that day, and many prisoners take precautions by always having their cells stocked with goods.

But there are some consequences for which they cannot plan. On one occasion a lockdown was caused by a prisoner's game of Dungeon and Dragons that was mistaken for an attempt to escape. After the lockdown the prisoners found themselves without an evening recreation time in the yard. And as a result those who work and go to school during the day, suddenly had no free time in the yard, instead they had to go straight to their cells. A couple of prisoners in AVP told me that they then had more incentive to not work or go to school during the day as they lose their very valuable privilege of yard time—the only time inmates have for outdoor activities. They might as well join the Class C prisoners, many of whom spend their entire days in the yard.

When our group of advanced AVP participants were finally allowed into the prison that first morning, prisoners described how Plato had "gone ballistic" thinking that the prison was running interference with our workshop. Guards responded by throwing Plato up against his own cage and nearly sent him to the hole. He eventually was allowed to return, but the following day he left in the middle of one of our exercises because he could not tolerate the presence of a prisoner known to be a snitch by the name of Ronnie.

To various degrees, prisoners lose control of their body's input (as has been discussed concerning food) and output. In 2003, the courts ruled that the state of California may by "reasonable" force, extract bodily samples for DNA testing from a prisoner who refuses to cooperate with DNA procedures. In San Quentin, prisoners are deprived of adequate exercise. Sheen spoke to me of how recently the CDC outlawed weight lifting because of the demand by the guards union who reasoned that weight lifting causes a greater violence amongst the prisoners. Sheen stated that in fact the weights were very effective for many prisoners in gaining self-esteem, self-discipline, goals, and physical health—all things that the prison is contrary to in its makeup.

Mark (Germany)

I just don't want to sit in my cell all the time and get stuffy. So I do things. I run five days a week. When I get up in the morning, I do exercises to get my body going. My will pushes me, although my mind doesn't really want to do these things, but somewhere inside

me, I can make myself do these things. I can change bad energy into good…. You have to find your own happiness in your life.

In an AVP exercise I was paired up with Shak to discuss strategies we use to control the uncontrollable aspects of our individual lives. The topic was brought up through a discussion upon the "Plato incident." Shak, another lifer, told me of how he was surprised that Plato had made it through the Basic workshop. Shak has seen some of prisoners really build themselves effectively through the prison's extensive programs. But there are not too many prisoners who have been given the opportunities in life to instill themselves with the self-discipline or social skills to benefit from such rigid yet un-predictable structure. "If you don't have it when you come in, you ain't going to get it by being in!" I reflected to him on how I found myself more effective in life as a student when I am able to allow myself to be open to changes and people with whom I interact. Shak reflected to me how he has learned a more internal strategy in prison by refusing to engage with other prisoners, as he told me: "My whole life is focused on being alone . . . it is the difference between 'hard time' and the time I prefer: 'peace of mind time'. Every prisoner has a program, even those in the hole. For me it's my saxophone, the jazz off the radio, and the fish I care for on my job. Obstacles are things you see when you take your eye off of your path." Shak has traveled through five state prisons to arrive at San Quentin and has now nearly finished his Associates degree.

Alex (Germany)
I become very calm and forget about the outside world. I'll concentrate on whatever picture I'm working on and forget about everything else. I paint to help pass the time . . . if I was deprived of my art, I would find that very stressful. I wouldn't have anything to spend my time doing. Not wasting, my time, but doing something worthwhile. There would be no way to get rid of all my stress, and I would eventually blow up. On the outside, you can walk away from your problems, but in here, you're stuck with them.

Neil (England)
It's all escapism…anything to try to forget about where you are, away from the prison. Through short stories time disappeared. Examining myself through reading gave my day to day life an element of event, because I started taking mental pictures and describing them myself.

6.6 Drugs

Neil (England)
In waking up to the violence of my own, of course I became very sensitive to the violence in prison. The acts of violence in prison really began to freak me out. Anybody who says they are not affected is either on cocaine or crazy. Just coming to terms with the addiction, I was finding myself in this very negative violent

environment, and what I was needing was nurturance. You could fill your days with work or education programs, but my main achievement each day was to stay alive, not getting stabbed!

Because of the war on drugs, drug offenders (for possession and distribution) in the CDC prison populations increased by 25 fold from 1,778 in 1980 to 45,328 in 2000. Between 1990 and 2000, imprisonment for low level drug possession (enough for one's personal consumption) increased by 60% while felony imprisonment for manufacturing and trafficking fell by 10%, indicating that prisons are being filled with addicts more than the dealers (Males, Macalier, and Jamison 2002).

Patrick (Michigan*)*
Drugs numb you to the timeless dead zone of prison. Prison reality is a plane of platitudes where everyday is a Monday and there is no real movement except for lateral side stepping. Drugs and 'meds' provide a superficial means of feeling free of the emptiness of this place."

Mark (Germany)
I try to be optimistic and think about things which are positive. I've got my health, all my limbs are intact, I get food every day. I've really seen suffering in life, especially in India, and I know that I'm not suffering. But then, I wonder why I should feel sad inside if that's not the case.

Abbott: … men who are deprived of the most basic forms of happiness will always find that happiness in other forms. Happiness is a serious need: a need as final, as inevitable, to the support of human life as sleep…I use for emotional reasons, I guess. We all need emotional security. It's the only way I can get it, so I do it. It's practical and most convicts serving long sentences use heroin for that purpose. It is therapeutic. (ibid:107-8)

Neil (England):
I just knew that I had to stop, I had been to the end and did not want to mix the two (heroin and prison). I have to say that hashish helped me with my sanity, it helped with my shift of perspective. I give it credit for saving my life at the time as it gave me the utensil for nurturing feelings, so I could get my soul and mind together, and not be too down on myself. It allowed me to see the destruction that I have done to myself and my family, but still finding myself in this negative environment of prison.

In the CDC, over 75% are said to have an alcohol or drug problem, but just 6% participate in substance abuse programs in a given year (Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy, 2003). At San Quentin, while the Alcoholics

Anonymous, Narcotics Anonymous meetings are available in San Quentin and a drug treatment program is listed, prisoners spoke of how actual treatment outside of psychiatric medications is treated about as importantly as education.

As part of the psychiatric evaluations during the RC period, a prisoner is determined as to be either in need or not of psychiatric medications. There are between 200,000 and 400,000 psychiatrically ill prisoners in U.S. prisons. In San Quentin, I often heard prisoners speak of the ease it takes to be put on psychiatric medications, one barely has to be even examined by a psychiatrists.

Lt. Crittendon

The prison is becoming a huge HMO. More and more the inmates are becoming identified with medical needs and psychiatric needs. And I think it is not because the population is changed from the 1970s, but rather it is because we are doing a better job at accessing individuals to determine the level of medical and psychiatric care is needed.

It is the CDC's response to the courts, who have articulated that we are not responsible for treating an inmate's psychiatric needs, but that it is "cruel and unusual punishment" to allow a person who has a psychiatric need which is not addressed, making that person suffer greater than the other person that has no psychiatric need. We must be able to establish that that person can reach a certain standard to function so that they do not suffer greater. The goal not being to cure, but to stabilize so that they can function and often that has been successful through medications.

Steve (England)

I think I have been ill since about '91 … I was locked in this cell and seeing faces in the wall, voices talking to me. It was a fucking nightmare. I would think things and people would laugh. And I would think that they were laughing at what I am thinking. Like they knew what I was thinking, or they were putting thoughts in my head or their thoughts were in my head. And I use to try and reason with it, but I couldn't. I use to feel, taste, and smell that someone was sexually penetrating me. Whoever was in my cell I use to think that they were sticking me up my ass. It got to the point I was screaming "I'm going to kill someone or someone needs to kill me!" I just wanted to die.

They put me in the hospital wing for 3 weeks, and then they sent me to a secured prison hospital unit. I refused the medication for the 1st week, but they can force you to take the medication, they can hold you down and eject you, and that is what they did to me. Now I am on Paxel, I've been on meds since 1996.

> Abbott: When the captain and the pigs cannot discipline you, cannot intimidate and therefore hurt and punish you, control you, you are handed over to a "psychiatrist," who doesn't even look at you and who orders you placed on one of these drugs. You see, there is something wrong with your mind if you defy the worst "official" punishment a prison regime can legally dish up. That is their logic (Ibid:43).

In 1986 the United States Supreme Court (Ford v. Wainwright) ruled that the Eighth Amendment prevents executing an insane person, somebody who does not understand for why or what one is being punished.

> *Cat J's are the un-bathed, unshaven aggressive panhandlers who ramble about the world, talking and babbling, mostly to themselves. They sleep under bridges or on park benches and use the streets for toilets. Cat J's pretty much wander aimlessly until they get into the face of the wrong taxpayer, the one who runs screaming to the boys in blue. The police snatch the Cat Jaying madmen off the streets and pass them on top San Quentin's boys in green to warehouse them for a while. Just as Cat J's, fail in the society outside the walls, they fail in the general population inside the walls of San Quentin. As you may have guessed, Cat J's have severe psychiatric problems, so the prison stuffs them full of psychotropic drugs. The drugs aren't to help them with their mental illness (San Quentin isn't about helping anyone with anything), they're simply to dope them up, to cut down on the erratic Cat J static. (Michael Wayne Hunter 1996)*

> In 1990 the Supreme Court (Washington v. Harper) ruled that state authorities can forcibly "treat" a prisoner with psychotropic drugs if the state determines it to be in his "medical interest" (if that person is considered a danger to himself or others). On January 6, 2004, against protests by both Amnesty International and the European Union, the state of Arkansas first injected Charles Singleton, who was convicted of murder and diagnosed with schizophrenia, with an "anti-psychotic" drug to induce mental competency, and then gave him a lethal injection to induce death (Randal 2004).5

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5 On June 16, 2003 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against the federal government's desire to forcibly inject with psychotropic drugs, a St. Louis dentist (Sell v. the U.S.) charged with Medicaid fraud, but found to incompetent to stand trial because of paranoid delusions.

CHAPTER 7

PRISON RELATIONSHIPS

Paul

Both the prisoner and the prison staff have "clear" lines that cannot be crossed, as far as friendliness goes. You cannot become too emotionally involved, too friendly with the other. It is a double edge thing, identities are important in prison…there is the constant pressure of needing to remain in your roles as prisoner.

One of the main accomplishments of total institutions is staging a difference between two constructed categories of persons-a difference in social quality and moral character, a difference in perceptions of self and other. Thus, every social arrangement in a prison seems to point to the profound difference between an official and a convict. (Goffman1961, 111)

Guards or Correctional Officers (CO's) also known as "screws," cops, and "pigs," work on the frontlines of control and have the most impact upon the shaping of a prisoner's day to day life. Much of a guard's interaction with prisoners goes unseen and unsupervised and allows for the potential of violence coming from both directions. A prisoner's cell is the only space that a prisoner has that is the closest thing to privacy.

Steve (England)

Six of them came into the cell at me because I asked to go to church. I could call them fucking wankers, and they just left me alone, but when I asked to go to church they came in and smashed me all around the cell…

I think I have been angry, bitter, resentful and basically twisted in my early years in prison. But it's the system that makes you bitter, the way you're treated in the system, the beatings, the mind games. Spitting in my food when I'm down the block . . . I've even been going mad and he's saying, 'Yeah, you're really good with a knife in your hand.' . (Steve was convicted of stabbing a man to death). Besides being away from my family, the worst thing is that I have to do as the guards tell me, and when people try to provoke me, I have to try to stay calm and just tell them that I want to be left alone … Other prisoners would tell me to calm down because I was just doing what the screws wanted, I was biting. Then I would snap at the other inmates for telling me that…

In his study of the violence in California prisons, James Gilligan (2000) writes that an injury or death of a guard is described as an "industrial accident," yet the conditions that induce violence in prison are no accident.

> Lt. Neinhuis
> *We are in the prison environment so much that we start to act like the people we are trying to correct.*
>
> Abbott: Prisoners do not make guards to be what they are. Neither does society in general. The state does. It gives them arbitrary power over prisoners. They embrace it as a way of life. This is the source of their evil. (1982, 71)

In San Quentin a group of short timers once spoke of how guards receive $100 in compensation ("brownie points") for being hit by a prisoner, and that they use "small, petty, senseless, illogical aspects of prison" as weapons to provoke a prisoner into violence. Each guard has the capability to creatively write a prisoner up based upon their own interpretation of prison rules. Some guards do not wish for prisoners to walk in front or behind their line of direction. They cannot stand for prisoners to appear arrogant or defiant and can write a prisoner up for "aggressive eye contact." Guards regularly address prisoners in a very demeaning tone, "as if we cannot think for ourselves." Mohammad spoke of how "The first thing you have to get use to is always being looked up and down, 24/7, and you better not return their stare! Eventually you just get use to it and forget this is even happening." And David Deutsch described how "in prison one assumes, for practical purposes, that you are being observed at all times, even though this is not true it is a necessary adaptation for survival!"

> He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection. (Foucault 1977, 203)

In San Quentin, AVP veteran workshop participants have seen their workshop populations change from being primarily lifers to primarily "short timers," "in and outers," parole violators, prisoners on psychiatric medications, and the mentally challenged. Sheen spoke of how most of these men are controlled by the stressors of prison life caused by the CO's. Whereas, "convict lifers" like him, know how to navigate the system without reacting to the day-to-day frustrations of prison life.

> David Deutsch
> *It is amazing how you accept the lack of dignity in prison and just roll with it any way. But they can only take away from you that which you are willing to give up. Often you, the prisoner, can come across being more dignified than the guards…*

Adam, a lifer, spoke to me of these differences in his job on East Block where he swept the floors of the five tiers. He finds it meditative on the side of the block where some of death row inmates are celled and all he can hear is typewriters working. But he

dreaded the opposite side of the block, where a portion of administrative segregation, the "hole," are kept in 22 hours-a-day lockdown from the general population. These prisoners are mostly short termers locked down for petty disciplinarian infractions. In Tegel prison (Germany) there was chicken wire net hanging above the bottom tier to catch the shoes, clothes and miscellaneous items thrown from the above four tiers in the panopticon houses one through three. But in San Quentin on East Block there is no chicken wire and Adam has to keep an eye above him to watch for the fall of debris being thrown. The sounds are horrific as men are always screaming at each other and to themselves. Both sides live in the same cellblock on the same schedule, but are doing time differently.

After one dinner break during an AVP workshop the prisoners returned from the mess hall ten minutes late due to a recount. As Smith came in as the last prisoner to return from dinner, a guard quickly followed behind him with a very demeaning tone, commanded "You're lucky I am in a good mood, I won't write you up this time!" The guard had not realized the delay that had taken place in the mess hall. Smith turned with an angry glare about to put the guard in his place when Nolte, a 29-year lifer, jumped in with a calm "sorry about that sir, it won't happen again." Smith, a younger prisoner, with a five-year sentence, later told me how "having to constantly submit to guards has eaten away at my soul."

> Abbott: Prison regimes have prisoners making extreme decisions regarding moderate questions, decisions that only fit the logical choice of either-or. No contradiction is allowed openly. You are not allowed to change. You are only allowed to submit; "agreement" does not exist (it implies equality). You are the rebellious adolescent who must obey and submit to the judgment of "grown-ups" (1982, 14).

I once told Nolte how a teacher once challenged me to not say "I am sorry" as a practice of self-confidence. Nolte, an African-American, commenced to tell me of a time one guard came to him for an x-ray (Nolte's prison job was x-ray technician) and in a "slave plantation tone" called him a "boy" and ordered him to hurry up with his work. Nolte merely completed the requested task as usual. Two African-American guards who witnessed this interaction later told Nolte that he should have made that x-ray as uncomfortable as possible. But part of what Nolte learned in San Quentin was to have "I am sorry" or "I am wrong" ready even when he is of the belief that he is in the right. To him, while this can be viewed as a sign of weakness, Nolte views it as a sign of strength in character: humble and able to admit that one's own way of viewing the world is not the only way.

There are various types of guards who come into the system. Many are from the military and are the most successful in adapting to their job duties and work culture. There is the very naïve, poor worker who was drawn to the work because of the salaries a guard can make immediately (over $50,000):

> Scott
> *I began to educate certain rookies that were not already wise to the system. I saved one CO's ass by teaching him how to watch his ass. I told him that though he was wearing the wrong uniform I believe all humans are inherently good and because you are a*

rookie you are not brought up to speed politically and not responsible for what is about to go down.

Then there are the "sadistic racist guards":
Scott
There was always a group of racist redneck guards who would work with the AB's(Aryan Brothers) to stir institutional shit up to create and escalate fights. Guards get stress and hazardous pay, plus their regular and overtime pay, to do less work. The more violence the more they are needed and the less work they have to do because during lockdown guards only have to come by three times a day to hand out bagged lunches. It all links to money and amount of work.

And always there is a small minority of the "good Samaritan guards," believers in rehabilitation, who usually do not last very long in the system. Ben Aronoff (1991) was once a guitar teacher in San Quentin on a grant from the California Department of Corrections. After the grant ended he was so attached to his work and the men he met inside that he went through the process of becoming a guard. He performed the duties of a guard for less than a year before being terminated due to not having the correct politics. Then for 20 years he visited death row prisoners before losing his visitors privileges, again because of his politics.

What is forgotten and lost in this war between prisoner and guard, is that the two groups have more in common than not. Nolte once spoke to me of his earliest days in San Quentin when he first entered prison and was angry at the world. He said that he met a mirror of himself in a guard by the name of JJ who was a loner and outsider amongst the guards as Nolte was amongst the prisoners. They became friends, even close with one another's families. Through their friendship, both Nolte and JJ became different men in how they treated other prisoners and guards. One day JJ was stabbed to death by a group of prisoners, supposedly a case of mistaken identity but possibly set up by other guards. Some guards, knowing Nolte's friendship to JJ, would snicker to Nolte "that inmate-lover got what he had coming to him." Nolte said "I lost my best friend and nearly lost hope. But even afterwards my moral support has always been a few staff and guards who have known me over the years. My parole was denied again last month and a few of the guards I see everyday were more upset than I was, seeing their anger actually got me past a very dark day. Not one prisoner ever said a word."

7.1. The Role of the Inmate

Paul (England)
There were certain aspects of prison that I hated. But you can not avoid it…you have to have a relationship to it, obviously because it is who you are, it is your world, and its about survival . . . people wear masks in prison, but you have a suit of armor to as well. It is not because you want to hide something, it is more for a defense. You don't want to let people in because you don't know who they are.

Scott

The process begins when a guy gets sentenced and he hears all of those stories about rape and murder inside from the guards and prisoners. And of course you get there and you are very apprehensive and afraid but you have to keep the appearance of being a macho man because you don't want nobody fucking with you, or the booty bandits fucking you. But you don't want to act too bad because you don't want the guards fucking with you either.

Neil (England)

Hellhole prisons, where you are in as much danger from the authorities as you are in danger of the other prisoners. Violence is not my first avenue of communication. But there are a lot of those types of guys. You can never 100% relax in day to day life, there is always the threat of violence and it happens when you least expect it: Boom a sudden explosion! I was terrified, from the moment I opened my eyes in the morning to the moment I shut them at night you wait for somebody to come through the door with a knife or a gun.

A common statement that I heard from prisoners: "Rule number one in prison—trust no guard. Rule two, trust no other prisoner." One of the mandates by the prison to volunteers was to not have any physical contact with the men. AVP workshops would sometimes end upon the "trust lift," an exercise that we nervously did knowing that it broke prison rules. Regardless of how certain I was of my co-participants, I always had a knot of fear creep into my stomach as I waited in blindness for their interlinked arms to break my fall, a rush of goose bumps would go up my spine as they lifted me up above their heads, my breath calmed, light appearing in the center, warmth all around me as they rocked me back down to the earth.

When I was a 'carrier' of someone else I felt my breath quicken as a rush of self-doubt engulfed my ability to hold my responsibility to the person and group. But soon I was able to maintain my space in the collective strength of the group. While frequently participants passed on being carried, I saw prisoners pass on the carrying of others. On one such occasion, a lifer new to AVP explained "I can't remember the last time I gave trust to anyone, let alone can I handle the trust of someone else."

In an AVP exercise, we were paired up with a partner and asked to meditate upon the faces of him/her for six minutes. I immediately felt vulnerable and had the urge to withdraw and hide from the face of Adam, a lifer whom I had just met. But I stayed, feeling like I was breaking some sort of law, as I allowed my gaze to make its way from his dark brown eyes that seemed to want to run inside his head, to the deep lines of stress forming into his forehead skin, to the resiliency of his high cheek bones . . .when suddenly the hands of Adam replaced his face. And with anguish as if he were being

physically tortured, he told me "I am sorry but I can't take it anymore, the kindness of your eyes . . . that is too much!"

David Deutsch

Learning how "to do time" helps one deal with prison but it also contributes to the process of institutionalization. The suppression of emotions is a huge part of prison life, and is in fact the single leading thing that causes institutionalization. Those first six months you learn to swim inside, to cope, and you think after that things just level off. But the loss of emotions is a gradual effect without realization, you little by little cut different parts of yourself off, you do not let your self feel a lot of stuff that would be normal to feel. Your coping mechanism is to stay level and to not have any ups or downs, absent the normal peaks and valleys that are part of life. It is very rare that you see any real happiness in prison, there is some despair, but pretty much people are just going about their business. Going into a sensitivity to emotions training such as AVP, for many prisoners, is a far reach and you put yourself out on the limb. Some guys can pass it off to their homeboys as being that they are hanging out with the female volunteers, or that they are doing it for the "chronos."[6]

In another challenging task, we practiced using "I statements" in circumstances of conflict. The goal was to speak from one's own place of understanding in stating how one experiences others, such as "I experience pain when I hear you say . . ." Plato spoke in protest of the exercise "Speaking in such a manner is dangerous, just as eye contact can kill inside here!" In prison it is easier to remain remote, there is no need for casual superficial interactions, and language is emotionless, short and direct. Body language tells more than words.

Alex (Germany)

The role of an inmate is quite serious – it involves the building-up of a lot of defenses, developing security . . . It's impossible in prison to appear weak, or to come across as weak. I'm always aware of who is watching me…There are times when being childish can be useful. People tend to see me as a bad guy, but, depending upon how a prisoner approaches me, I can react accordingly.

Abbott: *When you walk across the yard or down the tier to your cell, you stand out like a sore thumb if you do not appear either callously unconcerned or cold and ready to kill…Many times you*

6"Chronos" are credits that go on a prisoner's record demonstrating time served towards self-improvement.

have to "prey" on someone, or you will be "preyed" on yourself. After so many years, you are not bluffing. No one is. (1981, 143-4)

In an AVP exercise we would choose from a pool of past violent situations from the lives of workshop participants in order to recreate that experience with participants playing out the various roles of the incident. In one workshop the prisoners chose a scenario that placed an inmate in the position of walking up to his cell and finding another inmate going through his personal belongings. I gasped as did two other outside participants, as three of our prisoner participants, all of whom happened to be short timers, launched at the intruder, stabbing and kicking with last-second restrained might, and the intruder, immediately covering head and face with hands and arms, folded up into a ball. Another group, led by Nolte, a lifer, enacted the role by locking the intruder inside the cell, leaving the consequences to the prison guards who would discover the intruder's whereabouts during the assigned movement. Nolte later explained that in doing so, he avoided a violent confrontation and let the responsibility fall back on the guards. But even after Nolte explained his reasoning, the first set of actors held firm to their violent reactions as they explained the importance of their cell space and how they would never trust the guards with such an important responsibility.

David Deutsch

Respect is everything in prison and without it a prisoner will have an endless stream of problems coming his way. Respect in prison must be earned, it is not given-even to authority figures. There are many ways to earn respect in prison mostly revolving around keeping your word and being who you say you are. For the first six months you are watched constantly by others to see if you will slip up or try to get away with something. It is only after that period that true respect is accorded to you because lots of people can talk a good game for a short span of time. Authority figures are treated with respect out of necessity, but only some of them actually have the respect of prisoners. If you treat people with respect, they will give you respect back. But so many prisoners do not understand this simple fact, specially the younger men. This may sound funny, but I felt great pride in being told by lifers and guards alike that I acted like a lifer. That was a sign that I was highly respected and accepted by the lifer community.

Much of Theodore Davidson's (1974) ethnography of San Quentin (performed in 1968) has become outdated, but one key ingredient to prison culture then that is still present in today's prison regime is what he identifies as the "Chicano-Black continuum." There are two opposing groups that give definition to the prison sub-culture: "inmate culture" as stereo-typified by the black prisoners, and the "convict culture" as stereo-typified by the Chicano prisoners (traveling in between are the white prisoners). Davidson writes that the "qualities of masculinity, virility, bravery, pride, and dignity" are inherent in what is referred to as machismo in Chicano culture, but also have cross-cultural significance such as with the modern day warrior of the American Marine and in India's mythology of the Mahabharata.

"Convicts" are quiet and reserved, their carefully selected words are chosen because they are true to exactly what they will do. Materialism is secondary to the value of words, actions, and loyalty to their group and their opposition to others. Snitching is not an option.

In contrast, "inmates" speak very expressively, openly, and largely of themselves as "convict-like." But when pushed against a wall or when opportunity arises, the inmate, without an ounce of guilt, will act in total inconsistency with their word. For in the inmate economy there is no higher value than one's own material state of being. Snitching against their fellow prisoner is not below them. In fact pride comes from the art of deception through the use of words. Loyalty to their word and community is secondary, which is why real unity among a population of inmates will never be achieved. Convicts and guards, each true to their own fraternity, tolerate but have very little respect for inmates. That is, until an inmate becomes a snitch.

It was communicated to one group of prisoners in an AVP support group by an outside facilitator that she had heard from a reliable source in Folsom, that the lifers were protesting the parole board by not showing up for their parole dates. Her source told her in the hopes that she might spread the news and create a wave of protests in other California State prisons where lifers await parole dates. Most of the group of prisoners in the support group responded with an enthusiastic applause. But Leonardo, a lifer sitting next to me, whispered jokingly to me "they might talk a big game, but each will do their own thing once their time arrives—it's the inmate way."

7.2. "Unofficial" Segregation and Prisoner Hierarchies

> Inmates must be caused to 'self direct' themselves in a manageable way, and for this to be promoted, both desired and undesired conduct must be defined as springing from the personal will and character of the individual inmate himself, and defined as something he can himself do something about. In short, each institutional perspective contains a personal morality, and in each total institution we can see in miniature the development of something akin to a functionalist version of moral life. (Goffman 1961, 87)

In San Quentin there are 915 guards to over 6000 prisoners, which is a common ratio in the CDC where some 160,000 prisoners are controlled by 31,000 guards. Guards resort to the strategy of "divide and conquer" in allowing the stronger prisoners to inflict violence upon the weaker ones as they battle for power that the guards selectively distribute to prisoners.

Lt. Crittendon:

> *The second layer of organization is the unofficial segregation that the inmates set in place for themselves which is often along racial and geographic lines. So you will have people of the same ethnicity moving together, but then within their group they will then divide themselves along geographic lines…The inmates decide on all areas within our formal classification system to segregate themselves. When we let them into the dinning hall all at the same*

time, the whites sit on that side, the blacks on that side, the Asians over here, the Latinos over there and Native Americans over here. They do that with their recreation yard, and where they shower. THEY do that sub-division within our formal divisions.

At San Quentin 98% of all prisoners are segregated based upon three categories: whites are celled with whites, blacks with blacks, Mexicans with Mexicans. Every aspect of a prisoner's life is based upon race: library cards, movement requests, all identification cards and forms, and even until recently the hair clippers were color-coded (Chow 2003). Lockdowns happen along racial lines so that when a black person or white person is involved in a fight, all whites or all blacks are locked down. In 1945, the CDC ended racial segregation, which immediately produced riots in San Quentin and led to a hunger strike by 900 whites who refused to eat with the 447 African-Americans (Lamott 1961, 249).

Mohammad

Within the system, when you are doing 10, 15, and 20 years with the same people, it is important to belong to something. The white guys gravitate to the whites and the blacks to the blacks. And then you find where the blacks from Oakland hangout and eventually you find a way to relax within the system. Before the gangs it was all about your city and color.

Scott

So you are out there by yourself, so what do you do to negotiate this particular institution? Prison culture is the most segregated institution in America. Every new prisoner has to belong to some group. He has to make a choice and once that choice is made there is no going back in prison. In prison politics, everybody is suppose to take care of their own color-the blacks are suppose to take care of the blacks and the whites take care of the whites.

David Deutsch

San Quentin is less racially divided than any other CDC prison, but the showers and dining hall are quite segregated. Lifers of all races can sit together to eat without much outcry, but that does not apply to non-lifers. Showers are strictly segregated although mainly along black versus non-black lines. Ironically, I bet if you asked the men-80% would say that they didn't care who sat with whom, but to avoid problems with those who make an issue out of it they go along with the status quo. However, if problems come up you will ultimately get needed backing from your group be it racial or geographic.

Lt. Neinhuis told me that in comparison to today's army of volunteers, visitors, and activists, in the earlier days San Quentin was a prison very much out of society's sight, and thus out of mind. Guards carried out discipline in a very physical manner. The

prison was run by the prisoners and controlled by the custody staff. During the 1960s prisoner's rights movement, prisoners were beginning to join united fronts as they became politically conscious. Scott served 21 years, becoming a ranking officer of the Black Gorilla Family and witnessed the shift in paradigm from a prison system that was once primarily two fraternities of coexisting orders: convict and guard.

> Scott
> *We, the top 10% of us prisoners knew what was happening at any given moment. We actually ran the prison, which the guards only supervised. We were organized beginning with the commander, the "C," the minister of propaganda and politics, the minister of justice, the minister of education, and the security chief. Each ranking position had his cadre of individuals who performed specific functions. We would sustain the peace in the yard, I was known as a man of my word, a man of peace. I believed in controlled violence to stop the violence from spreading throughout the whole institution. As soon as something got jumped off from your color, you will get hit. I am not going to hit from the bottom up but from the top down-the leadership.*

> Abbott: There was a line that divided prisoners from the prison staff and it was understood by us all. We were once one. We were united not just in our misery, but as men; as men regardless of our race. There was violence and murder between prisoners who cross that line as informers-not because a man was "black" or "white." The prison regimes use every race against every other race, and that is why they are not tearing down the prisons. (1982, 182-4)

But from the ideal to the real, Abbott writes, the only "camaraderie" or "network of ties between tips" is an illusion that exists among prisoners. According to Patrick (a Caucasian who was a member of a Chicano gang inside Pontiac State prison in Michigan) the Latin Kings' bylaws preached the "fighting of oppression and liberation of third world people to their rightful place." But from theory to practice, the bylaws were primarily hypocritical in providing its members with lives of paranoia, isolation, and separation, and "no true vertical movement, only lateral side stepping." The guards relied upon gang bylaws to enforce prison laws, but often the gang bylaws were more repressive than the actual prison laws.

> Scott
> *Before I use to be brain dead, in fact most of the BGF (Black Gorilla Family) members haven't thought outside of the box yet. They are still thinking through a capitalist construction, it is all about personal gain for these guys. They don't see that it is a socialist organization and have bastardized through interpretation our constitution's bylaws and amendments.*

> For although surveillance rests on individuals, its functioning is that of a network of relations from top to bottom, but also to a certain extent from bottom to top and laterally; this network 'holds' the whole together and traverses it in its entirety with effects of power that derive from one another: supervisors, perpetually supervised. (Michel Foucault 1977, 177)

7.3. The New Regime

When I toured North Block with Neinhuis, there was a group of about six guards sitting around a desk on the bottom tier, joking and leaning back in chairs. Not a one moved to stand when Neinhuis entered the area. Slightly annoyed Neinhuis said that in the old days guards would jump into attention when a lieutenant, such as himself, walked through. He dates this lack of respect to the 1981 birth of the CCPOA.

Since their unionization, guards now are required to have a GED, undergo 12 weeks worth of training at the guard academy, and are required 40 hours of training a year. Neinhuis told me that when he came through (1979) he only had three weeks, and before him a new guard was trained on site. On top of their educational requirements, guards now have to do the clerical and service duties that prisoners use to do when they ran the prison. And now that prisons have become the holding grounds for populations once treated in mental health hospitals, guards have been asked to perform "social work duties," such as looking for red flag behaviors that might require medication.

But despite the fact that a guard's education and training requirements have increased and duties expanded, Neinhuis's opinion is that it is now easier to be a guard because they have more power without having to apply discipline. And while their education has increased, the new guard enters with less consciousness in regard to politics and the larger social systemic dysfunction of prison as its mirror reflection of society. Neinhuis stated that the social unrest of the 1960s and 1970s produced a breakdown in the relationship between guard and convict, and within the ranks of both the guards' and prisoners' fraternities. This breakdown is even greater in San Quentin than in the other CDC prisons as the guards are often more urbanized (another reason that prisoners journey to arrive at San Quentin) given the prison's location in the Bay Area. One prisoner spoke of how the CO boss on his job was allowing him to sit in a restricted area on his breaks due to the fact that it was the only place that had shade and a bench. Neinhuis painfully admits that at times, though infrequently, he hears prisoners refer to a guard by first name.

> David Deutsch
> *Informal relationships make life much more bearable for both prisoners and guards-they promote the feeling that prisoners are still in fact people and guards feel safer knowing that prisoners view them as people too.*

A sign on the East Gate reads "Anyone allowing inmates access to personal information is subject to administrative action and/or criminal prosecution." It is for this reason that guards and prisoners are forced to shift job duties regularly to prevent persons from becoming to intimate with each other (in reality, according to Sheen, job shifts often

lead prisoners back to old bosses and are only effective at inducing stress in the population because it is disruptive to the routine).

This informal dynamic between prisoner and guard has led to a greater freedom of information and the stronger prevalence of the "snitch." While the snitch prevents some violence, the system that supervised prisoner violence has been lost. Now, there is a reliance upon the adjustment center administrative segregation, the SHU's, and such level four, state of the art, maximum-security prisons as the Delano II[7].

The CDC states that the intention is to lock up the system's "trouble makers" to reduce the number of violent incidents within the entire prison system from the few most predatory offenders.

Scott

We had united coalitions, which is why the paradigm shift happened with the building of the first SHU in the early 1990s. They locked up the hierarchy of the various cards in the SHU and super max prisons away from the general population so that there is no longer a political consciousness. All the gang bangers are placed into one space where they are set up to war against each other.

Leaving a culture of "inmates," it is well documented that many politically active "convicts" from the prisoner rights legacy have been sent to SHU's for filing grievances, lawsuits, or for otherwise opposing prison injustices. Due process rights gained for prisoners and parolees during the prisoner's rights movement have been diminished by the current conservative Supreme Court. The prisoner does not have the right to know what they are being accused of, or the identity of their accuser; snitching can now be done in full anonymity. One may be "validated" as a gang member and sent to a SHU by the mere accusation of a single guard or another prisoner, making the SHU a weapon for retaliation and gang recruitment. Prison officials, not the courts, 'sentence' prisoners to indeterminate SHU terms until one "snitches, paroles, or dies" (Grimes 2003, 24). The threat of the SHU has become the ultimate weapon and "story of fear" invoked into every prisoner population, including San Quentin.

Scott

Now there is the populace that has no leadership and do not know how to organize because they cannot get outside their own personal and racial bias amongst each other. So they use the race

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7 Delano II is newest of such prisons that will cost taxpayers $700 million to build and $110 million to run for a system that has recorded a recent record high $500 million over budget. Mark Martin reported for the *San Francisco Chronicle* on January 5, 2003, that this comes at a time in which four older CDC prisons are to be closed. And CDC estimates that the prison population will dip by 15,000 because of the diversion of drug offenders, potential changes to parole and three strikes. The department's claim is that, while drug and nonviolentoffenders may decrease, the need for security for the most violent will increase. There are supposedly 8000 level four offenders being held in overcrowded lower level prisons. Regardless, the building of the level four prison will give the CCPOA 800 new dues paying members.

card like the dominant society and have everybody fighting each other. We are only inmates with a goddamn number, we have no power over each other accept that we can kill each other, We cannot give each other one extra day less inside.

Now it is that the white color's umbrella organization is the AB, the Aryan Brotherhood, tend to be the skinheads, the neo-Nazis, the bikers, or just the average white boy who comes in not knowing anybody and anything. He has to get hooked up with the AB or else risk being jumped by his own people. Under the AB whites are not suppose to give a cigarette or even a light to another color. A white has to become AB or become "black" or become something else. Within the white inmates there is the group that calls themselves the "peckerwoods" coming out of Northern California, Redding, and Yurika. Then there are the CoCo County boys or Contra Costa County. You have the Hispanics and the groups that align themselves with the north and the south of Bakersfield and even among them there are the city Latinos and the rural Latinos who are the illegal immigrant farm workers caught up in the judicial system. The northern and southern Mexicans have been at war with each other over the drug trade for decades. Relationships are based upon money. Then there is the black card which are divided into different gangs, the "crips, the "bloods," the 415, and the Black Gorilla Family (BGF). The BGF is a political organization but is treated as a gang.

Gangs and drug dealers, and their addicted users, are fed into the inmate economy as they provide a source of easy income for the predators and a source of information for the guards.

> The so-called war on drugs has been a disaster for prisons throughout the world. It fills prisons with people who are addicts, sick people; it opens up many opportunities for corruption; it intensifies the subordination of the addicted prisoners to the prisoners who control the supplies and it increases the violence endemic in prison life. It increases the spread of disease through the sharing of needles. The battle to stop the illegal drugs coming in leads the authorities to take measures that greatly worsen the treatment of prisoners. (Vivien Stern: Center for Prison Studies, 22 September 2001.)

Steve (England)

This place is full of it. There is more heroin here than any other drugs…the jail is full of heroin junkies. I don't mind a junkie because they will come in with brand new clothes and sell cheap

just so they can go get a bag. I was making out of it, I was getting nice clothes and whatever. They have nothing in their cells…[8]

Lt. Crittendon:
I believe that the people who cause the most violence inside are the parole violators. "Short termers"—people who know that they only have a short amount of time, based upon the determinate sentencing, and they continue with whatever activities they were involved with in the outside communities. Say you are mad at Crittendon because of some bad drug deal on the outside, you see Crittendon in prison and bam you and a couple of buddies jump Crittendon. It doesn't matter because you are getting out in 8 months anyway. Your gang from Oakland doesn't like my gang from Concord, so "Hey I am getting out in 6 months so why not attack you, out in the community the distance is too far for attack!"

Scott
Convicts today have this grand illusion of acquiring wealth and personal gain for themselves by committing acts of criminality. But when they get busted, they have no politics and no moral substance to address the forces impacting their lives. They are stuck like a fart in the wind! If you don't stand for something you fall for everything. Guards have control instead of the convicts, because they don't have the consciousness to be a fucking convict. These are all inmate-county jail material, they don't have the responsibility for themselves, 90% of those in penitentiary now wouldn't be consider penitentiary material back in my day. Instead they are being criminalized, prisonized, and put in little boxes, commodified for their labor working for these god damn pay numbers. Now it is all about the guards who have total control of prisons. They are the puppet master pulling the strings. Nothing occurs without their knowledge: the drugs and the homosexual activity is underneath their awareness.

In talking to Nolte one day about prison rape (yet another "story of fear"), he said that it is true that when a fish is "very young, small, clean cut and almost cute like a girl,"

[8] In Europe, I was told, racial and ethnic divisions are not a major cause of prison violence. Whereas drugs have become a great source of violence, that the cell blocks in Tegel (Germany) and Wellingburough (England) are divided according to drug non-use and use. Random drug tests in UK prisons, have provided another reason for prisoners to use the very addictive and harmful drug heroin instead of the less harmful and non-addictive hashish that has a longer detectable life span.

if he does not become part of a clique, he is very vulnerable to being sexually approached. One of the greatest secrets maintained behind the prison curtain is that of prison rape. In the public consciousness it is part of the mythology of prison life that is often treated as a joke. But inside, Gilligan (2000) estimates that there are 18 rapes per minute in prisons and 9 million assaults per year in the prison system. Human Rights Watch (2001) reports that the most conservative findings of three recent studies, is that one in every ten imprisoned has been raped. While prisoners are physically brutalized and raped, in many cases a prisoner yields to the threat of violence, and becomes "turned out" and enslaved to a stronger more aggressive prisoner, who "rents out" his slave to others within the prisoner economy.

> Through the act of rape, the victim is redefined as an object of sexual abuse. He has been proven weak, vulnerable, "female," in the eyes of other inmates . . .His victimization is likely to be public knowledge, and his reputation will follow him to other housing areas, if he is moved, even to other prisons. (Human Rights Watch 2001)

Prisoners are controlled by the shame and humiliation in admitting that they have been on the losing end of a physical or sexual violent incident.

> Abbott: To be a punk is surpassed in contempt only by being a snitch. What is clear is that when a man sodomizes another to express his contempt, it demonstrates only his contempt for women, not man. The normal attitude among men in society is that it is a great shame and dishonor to have experienced what it feels like to be a woman. (1982, 93)

In San Quentin Adam, an African-American, angrily told me that if two prisoners of different races are sexual partners the prison makes an exception in allowing them to live together. Abbott writes, "Prison regimes respect these relationships. In reality they encourage them" (1982, 95). Prison officials are "deliberately indifferent" to the issue, claiming that the problem is exceptional and not systemic. In a court of law, officials have more reason to not know than to know and be responsible for it. There is no federal or state sanctioned agency responsible for investigating or accounting for the number of sexual assaults in prisons (Human Rights Watch 2001).

The effects of the two SHU's (which holds over 2500 prisoners) and the level four maximum secured prisons (which hold 20% of the CDC's 160,000 prisoners), ripples its way through the entire system. Inmates leave the SHU without transition, dumped either back into society or a prison's main population, often with severe emotional damage. I asked Lt. Crittendon if the CDC has ever isolated San Quentin to study the prison's stated mission to return "a better human being to society." He said one of the major problems with such research is the transient nature of the CDC system, as prisoners are sent from facility to facility as a security measure ("bussing").

In an AVP workshop, a prisoner by the name of Dustin was openly mocked by prisoners for the effects of a head injury that he suffered earlier in life. Amongst his mental challenges was dramatically impeded speech. Plato informed me that he and other lifers attempted to protect Dustin from the sick games of both the guards and prisoners

but were not always able to do so. Dustin's very honest and simple way of looking at the world filled the workshop at times with both humor and wisdom. But at the end of the three days, he revealed to our group that he was not attending AVP to learn to deal with his own violence, but because he wanted to learn how to handle the violence that was being directed towards him.

> It is no accident that convicts speak of penal institutions for young men as gladiator schools . . . circumstances teach men how to kill one another. They are taught the way a bull is taught-through torment. (Abbott 1982, 86)

> Carried to extremes, stress and abuse can shift the brain's emotional thermostat to anti-social behavior, explosive anger, and violent crime. If the input is abusive enough, even the healthiest of brains may be damaged. (Verny and Weintraub 2002, 193)

The Criminal Justice Institute (CJI) ranks California as the deadliest state prison system in the U.S. And instead of minimizing violence in the larger CDC system, since the building of the first SHU's in 1988 and 1989, the system has seen the opposite. From 1992 to 2001, assault and batteries in CDC prisons have risen from 2,821 to 6896 (2768 on staff, 4091 on inmates, 310 were in San Quentin) peaking in 2000 with 7248. San Quentin accounted for 3 of the 114 inmates fatally injured during assault/battery from 1992 to 2001 (for an average of 11.4 per year) (California Department of Corrections 2004). In comparison to other states, in 1997 there were 16 deaths in California prisons, while there were 9 in Texas, and 10 in the federal prison system. In the first five years of the SHU's existence between 1989 and 1994 there were 27 prisoner deaths in the CDC (Weinstein 2000, 122).

From 1985 to 2001 there were 48 prisoners shot to death by guards; during the prior 15 years from 1970-85 there were 9 prisoners shot dead by guards (CDC 2004). Between 1994 and 1998 twelve CDC prisoners were shot dead and 32 wounded (of which only 1 was armed) by guards (none of whom were facing peril). During the same time period in the rest of American prisons a total of 6 escaping prisoners were shot dead (Gilligan 2000).

> David Deutsch
> *All tours are orchestrated by for the media showing the prison's strengths. And any interview will be monitored, guided, and censored for "security reasons." Most prisoners will not allow themselves to be interviewed on sensitive topics for fear of retaliation by CDC officials. Usually they will end up talking to lifers, which is good because for so many that is the only way they interact with the outside while also it provides a way for them to look good before the board.*

While the power of the guard and the use of the SHU have forcefully emerged in the last two decades, avenues for the prisoner's voice to be heard have diminished, thus limiting a prisoner's ability to respond nonviolently against inhumane treatment. Congress passed legislation that puts strict limitations on prisoners' ability to file class

action lawsuits. And in 1994, California Governor Pete Wilson signed into law legislation that strips California prisoners of many civil rights won during the 1960s and 1970s. This legislation allowed the CDC to pass new regulations preventing media from face to face interviews with specific prisoner and preventing the use of camera, tape recorders, and, for a while, pencil and paper (Sussman 2002, 262). The law, which met much opposition from the media, public officials, and prisoner rights organizations, reinstated a former 1974 Supreme Court upheld law that restricts interviews with prisoners to those arranged by prison officials. The department's director James H. Gomez (2003) wrote a letter of response to the criticism on the CDC:

> The regulation was in place 20 years ago for good reason, and in my opinion, it should have never been removed . . . The media was interested in doing personality stories on them…Sadly, the media often shows little restraint in glamorizing crime and criminals. They virtually make stars of these violent offenders, many of who have left string of victims in the wake of their lawlessness.
>
> CDC provides media with privileges not given the general public. Media can interview inmates at random while visiting prisons. These random face to face interviews can be recorded for use on television, radio, or by print publications. (Gomez, CDC 2004)

The California prisoner's union has become an outside support and advocacy group, and there is no longer a prisoner-run newspaper at San Quentin, under or above ground. And guards have again resumed the authority to censor all prisoner written correspondence to and from outside relations (Cummins 1995, 270).

> The media interviews have never been private or confidential, and except for a limited period of time, neither was written correspondence between inmates and media. While mail, phone calls, and visits are monitored the communication is not censored. Absolute privacy is one of the rights people lose when they come to California prisons … We believe in operating the prison system as openly as possible so taxpayers can see how their money is being spent. There is nothing in this policy that will stop, in anyway, the information flowing from the institutions, including from the inmates. (Gomez, CDC 2004).

According to this logic by former (1990's) director of the CDC—what happens in the past makes it reasonable in the present without further explanation. Sussman writes that it is ironic that prison officials accuse the media of prisoner celebrity production when Corcoran officials purposefully tour media representatives by the cells of Charlie Manson and Sihran Sihran (2002, 264). In California, in 1998, along with their $2 million

contribution to Gray Davis's campaign, the CCPOA gave $763,000 to the media[9] (MaCallair and Shiraldi 2000).

With the rise of the SHU and the advent of "three strikes" there was no other time more important for the public to become informed about who was going into prison and what was happening to them. For prisoners in the SHU and in every prison's administrative segregation units, there is far less access to visitation and phone privileges. But despite the attempts of the CDC to stifle the media's access to the SHU, as the death toll accumulated stories began to filter through the walls of the CDC. Guards double cell enemies, "cock fights," or "hog-tie" two prisoners with handcuffs and ankle-cuffs. Two years after the opening of the Pelican Bay SHU, prisoners filed 250 grievances declaring cruel and unusual punishment. And in 1995 a Federal District Court declared Pelican Bay's SHU unconstitutional. On January 16, 2003, the *San Francisco Chronicle's* Mark Martin reported that the CDC remained defiant until only recently when John Hagar, a federal court appointed special master assigned to investigate the reforms mandated in 1995, concluded in his 71-page report that the director of the CDC, Edward Alameida (who resigned one month earlier) and his deputy "quashed a perjury investigation of guards at Pelican Bay Prison and then misled a federal inquiry of the case." Hagar has recommended criminal investigations and blames the pressure of the CCPOA, which he states disrupted investigations over the last 10 years by creating a "systematic code of silence among guards wherein 'good guards turn bad'" and "guards form gangs, align with (prisoner) gangs, and spread the code of silence" (*San Francisco Chronicle* January 16, 2003).

At Folsom State Prison, the Associate Warden Mike Bunnell was fired from the department in 1992 for his close links to the Mexican Mafia (he was rehired due to a court ruling that the department used incorrect procedures). But on April 8, 2002 he was the overseeing officer that simultaneously released into the yard the two warring gangs of the Mexican Mafia and the Nuestra Familia, both had been on lockdown status for months. It became apparent that Bunnell was using the Mafia to punish la Familia. Captain Douglas Pieper had attempted to stop the fight before being quieted by Bunnell. Afterwards there was a cover-up and Pieper, who started to raise questions and become a whistle blower, was forced to transfer by the prison's warden to a different position, while receiving death threats from his colleagues. The harassment was unrelenting until eight months later he turned a gun to his head leaving a suicide note "My job has killed me." (Mark Martin, *San Francisco Chronicle* 1/17/04)

7.4. Suicide

> Abbott: The only way a man can live with himself in hell is to abandon hope—because prison in Christian society is nothing more than the expression of Christian hell after death. (1981, 135)

[9] In England Paul told me "in prison the tabloid rags pay retainers to the prison officers on a yearly basis, that if there is any story they get first swipe at it."

Today over 90% of all judicial cases are decided by plea bargaining, which translates into prisoners informing on others to achieve lesser sentences. Inside San Quentin, illegal hotplates are taken from prisoners and given to snitches, whom are known to create lies to receive such items.

> Abbott: If we betray our poor comrades, we are rewarded. If we compete for the good graces of our jailers, we are rewarded. If we refuse to defend ourselves, we are rewarded. If a man lets himself be used by prison staff to catch another prisoner, he is rewarded (1982, 100)…prisons do not merely try to reform thieves-their goal, conscious or unconscious, is to make policemen out of prisoners. The same way government makes policemen out of criminals and drug addicts, who are turned into informers outside of prison. (1982, 181)

In one SQ-AVP workshop, a prisoner by the name of Ronnie was the regular object of many of the other prisoner's ridicule. The jokes were usually directed at him and he normally joined in on the humor directing his own jokes at himself. On two occasions during the workshop, prisoners refused to participate in exercises due to having to pair up with Ronnie. Plato left the workshop without return. Three of my co-facilitators, who were lifers, informed me that Ronnie had to worry about the safety of his life when out in the main population, and has frequently been placed in protective custody to insure his safety. Ronnie was despised by many for his snitching to get out of prison which he had done over five times. Such "in and outers" are despised by some lifers for their apparent disregard for the freedom for which lifers so yearned.

On the last of the three-day workshop, Ronnie's humor could no longer provide the buffer. He went storming out of the room and into an uncontrollable crying rage. I followed him into the hallway to try and console him, but his crying only deepened and entered into a stream of insults directed at himself. Another prisoner came out into the hallway and pulled me to the side, telling me that Ronnie did not deserve the attention I was giving him, and later another facilitator told me that she would have left him alone as he had enough pity for himself. It had been a long three days with Ronnie and it had become very difficult to remain sympathetic to him, but I could not overlook the pain I heard and saw in his crying, which sounded to me to be a desperate cry for help.

> Scott
> *Self-alienation is when prisoners are exiled from their own self. Powerless and your existence means nothing, you are no longer human because you have no control over when you shit, shower, shave and eat.*

Growing up in the Christian church I used to believe that after every "sin" I committed, I could expect something bad to happen to me and very rarely was I disappointed. Abbott writes that, prisoners are so "inculcated by acts of violence so constant and detailed, so thorough and relentless" they come to the "indoctrinated belief" that the violence that is done to them is brought upon by their own "free will" (1982, 65).

Nolte once said to me that many prisoners confront suicide daily, some attempt to do it suddenly and some are doing it slowly, mentally and physically. In the CDC, from 1992 to 2001, successful suicides have fluctuated from 14 to 30, while attempts have steadily risen from 163 to 459. In San Quentin, 2001, there were 2 successful and 59 attempts (CDC 2004). Nolte stated further that many cannot find it in themselves to carry out the self imposed violence. Instead, they lead violent lives in prison, expressing their frustrations indiscriminately upon others, without concern whether their violence upon others leads to their own deaths. Nolte stated it is "as if they want other prisoners to do the suicide for them." While David Deutsch spoke of how some men refuse to consider suicide because they see it as a sign that the "system" has beaten them.

Alex (Germany)

Everybody in here suffers some kind of prison damage. I don't really know where they stand or where they're coming from, so I tend to avoid them. Sometimes, I will make a remark and I'll wonder what level I've sunk to now. I am aware that there's some kind of damage, but, in my case, it's not too bad. Some people simply can't deal with the system here anymore, but with me, I'll be running and I'll suddenly let out a whoop and wonder where the hell it came from. Sometimes, I'll just scream and shout, to let the pressure out . . . if someone keeps annoying me, I'll take so much, and then I'll lose my temper. I'll hit them, and that sorts things out. That's happened a few times.

Mark (Germany)

I mean, I'm a guy who has done a lot of meditation, but to find yourself in a room like that, a cell, which is against your will, it doesn't work. Meditation for me was always just sitting in my bathrobe humming. I would do that in here, trying to focus on peace, love, happiness. Then the door opens and you realize that there are none of those things here. Every time I came out of my cell, I faced conflict. I would look at the prison officers and know that I didn't want to talk to them, because they wouldn't want to listen. They'd rather just kick me in the ass and put me back in my cell. I looked about me at the other inmates, but if you want to know someone's name, they want tobacco, everything is a trade, there are always conditions.

So I just locked myself away 23 hours a day sitting in my cell, reading a lot of books, and withdrawing deeper and deeper into myself. I started to become self-absorbed. Feeling sorry for myself, hating myself. And you'd need better food than they serve in here to feel happy about yourself. I had a skin problem with my hands and feet which no-one was helping me with, and once they tried to poison me that sent me to the hospital for two weeks. So there was just all this stress building up inside of me. I would just look at everyone around me and think that they were all a bunch of mother fuckers…when I first came into this hell hole I use

to weep at my mother's letters, but I knew that I would have to change my ways to survive in here, it was war. I became hard, but I just ended up knocking my head on prison walls for two years . . . I can still feel, inside myself, that there's a bit of darkness, like a swamp. I'll look at that and recognize it as the bad bit which wants to just take the other person and blow his head off.

CHAPTER 8

FAMILY

In a disciplinary regime…individualization is 'descending': as power becomes more anonymous and more functional, those on whom it is exercised tend to be more strongly individualized.
(Foucault: 1977, 193)

8.1. Spirituality and Freedom

In San Quentin, Nolte informed me that the power hierarchy "pecking order" of prison life is nothing more than a myth. He said that the real powerful in prison are those individuals who stand-alone.

Patrick
I knew that too often I was like a blade of grass that could be too easily blown by the wind. Everybody wants to be independent and not effected by every little thing, but too often I would let my emotions control me…Fear is a basic part of human existence, but in prison you are suppose to invent strength and show no fear. Courage is having fear and still doing what you have to do to stay on one's true path.

In San Quentin's poetry reading night one prisoner read a poem that described how prison has taught him to only rely and focus upon the one thing that he can

absolutely control—his breath. In an AVP exercise we were given the task of defining "my spirituality and how it is in relation to others." This subject matter brought immediate heated argument amongst the prisoners, particularly amongst the lifers in our group. What was agreed upon by the larger group was that spirituality is, in prison, the one aspect of a person's "program" that a prisoner is left to one's full dominion.

Venus, a lifer with ancestry from the Mexican Aztec Native Americans, shared with me how his spiritual practice frees him of the violence of prison. He can astro-travel to locations outside of the prison. He has the wisdom to decipher the good from evil because he has experienced good's opposite evil, and now can live the path of righteousness beyond the imprisoned world of dualities.

Prior to prison Dale described himself as a "raging drunk on a path of violence and self-destruction." He was ready to commit suicide over a murder he had committed while heavily under the influence of alcohol. But instead he chose to turn himself into the police, despite the fact that he was not in danger of being prosecuted. He was able to find stability inside of prison that he would have never been able to find in the chaos of the outside world. He is now living a life sentence but no longer sees himself as a "prisoner" and credits his Christian faith as what saved him.

A former chapel clerk, David Deutsch spoke of how he was fortunate to have the job he did as he found that the chapel provided opportunities for men to escape from daily prison life. Similarly, having escaped drug addiction while inside, David also spoke of how NA and AA are often instrumental in helping men into recovery and out of the revolving door of prison.

Gregor (Germany)

I'm grateful that prison exists and that I'm in here. I have had the opportunity to reflect. For me, the walls aren't walls and time is just time. My trainer wrote me this letter when I first came into prison, and in it he says that calm and patience are the worst enemies of a fighter, but later on, they become his strongest powers and weapons. Now prison is my monastery.

Scott

When I first came into the prison system, an older brother taught me how to do time, he said walk slow and drink a lot of water. It took me some time before I got it but when I did, I said—"that is so true-what is the hurry? The time is here, do the time DO me? or do I do something with the time? Do I count the days or do I make the days count?" I spent 6 months in the hole without a shower or a trip to the commissary. But I came to understand the human condition, the mind can adapt to any situation if you internalize the fact that a 'feeling' has never killed anybody, it takes an action or inaction. One is powerless unless you're able to use your brain. You can be very free if you gain a body of knowledge. Knowledge will give you self-discipline to circumvent the bullshit. George Jackson was perceived as a threat because nothing they could do would break him because he knew the art of meditation. The mind can overcome all the noise if one is able to get in touch with the

inner being. I have no fear of death, I love being alone, darkness is fantastic, I can just be there in the blackness and get caught up in the rapture. My god is a great god. I can talk with my god and do so quite frequently. Who said that I can't talk to my god when I want to talk to him? Who said that I have to pray in silence? I can talk to my god and when I get tired of talking I meditate and when I meditate I gain clarity upon what I just talked about, the broader issues that comes up. Through this I realized I had to come up to date politically and consciously. Through days of meditation the inequality of our society became transparent: spatial segregation, the inequality in the school system, the lack of access to higher learner. I was meditating on the prison industrial complex everyday from living in the system long before Angela Davis called it by its name.

I stood one day with Nolte, looking over the lower yard behind the education building where I counted a total of five gun towers that overlooked a baseball field, basketball courts, and a wide open field of asphalt and grass. And there, alone, in the corner throwing a tennis ball against the wall with all his focus, an elderly man beyond his 80th year of life and into his fourth decade of imprisonment. "He often has to be told where he is and the date of the year" said Nolte, "and most likely this man will die inside prison without that knowledge."[10]

I, like many of volunteers, became enamored over the soft spoken and heart warming smile and hugs of Larry Stiner who goes by his adopted Swahili name of Watani. In meeting Watani through AVP and then the college program, he immediately began to tell me about his family in Suriname. And in our next meeting he handed me a whole stack of research documents that told of his life. When I told him of my intentions to not use his name in research, he quickly said, "Please do!"

Watani was part of the 1960s black revolutionary group "United Slaves" (US), which became enmeshed in a rivalry with the Black Panthers manipulated by the Federal government's Cointelpro. In 1969, on the campus of UCLA where Watani was a student, a shooting occurred between the opposing factions in which two Black Panthers were killed. Despite witness accounts of Watani's innocence, Watani and his brother were charged with the murders and sentenced to life in prison.

After five years of serving with an exemplary clean record and a very good chance to parole in less than two years, Watani and his brother escaped with the help of a guard who believed in their innocence and knew of the imminent threat to their lives. Watani went into exile for five years in Guyana and then for 15 years in Suriname. Gone was the rebellious fiery of his youth, present was a dedicated family man with wife and seven children, a contributing and law abiding member to a very troubled society.

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[10] In 1997, the Compassionate Release law was passed mandating the release of terminally ill prisoners with six months to live and deemed no longer "a threat to society." Between 2000 and 2002, fewer than one-third of the prisoners who applied for compassionate release to the director of the CDC were allowed to die at home.

His family became stricken with poverty and Wantani was in fear for their well being in the politically hostile environment of Suriname. In 1994, he made a deal with the U.S. embassy authorized by the State Department to voluntarily return to the U.S. and serve out his sentence, in exchange for giving his family citizenship and help to immigrate to the U.S. After returning to custody he was told that because he was in prison and no longer a full citizen, his family would not be given the financial help promised.

In Watani's re-sentencing hearing, 1994, a probation officer prepared a report for Marin County Superior Court, describing Watani as being "a soft spoken, humble intelligent, and articulate and reasonable middle aged man who is, in fact, genuinely concerned about the well being of his family-more than his concern about his own well being." But in his first parole hearing in 1996 the district attorney described Watani as being "exactly about hate . . . the biggest racist I have ever been around . . . He wants now to bring back a wife and seven children to the very country he did every thing he knew how to do to tear down and destroy and he wants it to give him shelter and funds and money and insurance and take care of the family. It's a great example of hypocrisy. I don't believe this board should find this man suitable now or at any other time in the future."

Today, Watani spends a good deal of his time counseling young "short timers" and continuing forth as a peaceful contributing member of his community at San Quentin. He still wants no more than the safe return of his family. At the time of Watani's original sentence, lifers were being released fairly early on in their sentences. Today, the changed political climate offers not much hope for Watani or any of the 26,469 lifers with the possibility of parole in the CDC.

A lifer approaches time and the potential of freedom with the truth of his spirituality. In my conversations with the lifers, I discovered a number of different approaches that the men had to their parole dates. Each one spoke with great dignity of how they manage a positive perspective of their reality. For example, Gates has served six more years than his original sentence of 15 due to changes in the law since his original sentence began. He believes that he will be released but the decision is beyond his control. He refuses to blame society or get upset while in prison, in doing so, he would only make his imprisonment that much more painful. Adam has come to the conclusion that regardless of what the parole board tells him, he believes he has no chance for parole. But he sees it somewhat empowering, as he is only answerable to himself and not the expectations of an outside source-that being the parole board and governor. Leonardo also does not believe that he will ever be released and enters each parole hearing by stating his honest opinion in denouncing "the money being wasted on this mock board and the fat salaries its members receive that should go towards bettering the environment and society!" Leonardo explains that he can never separate himself from this "truth of my existence." Whereas Nolte, recognizes the pawn he has to play in the game of politics, the un-likelihood of his release, and will speak his truth to the board when he is asked. However, his truth is based upon an honest belief that he will be free one day, and approaches each day with this certainty.

> Simply behaving behind bars and doing what your suppose to do shouldn't be the basis for deciding that you're now fit to reenter

society. Daniel Felizzatto, Board member of Crime Victims United of California (Chang 2003)

Lt Crittendon
My point is that there is a crime period during our lives and when one gets 40 or 45 years old, you are no longer in that crime element, you "age out"! Now somebody might get three strikes before they are 30 years old and for the rest of their lives they are in prison! I believe as human beings we change, develop and mature, and as we do we may now become a productive member of society. They need to be given a chance to do that.

I came to know Eddie through both AVP and the college program. He was one of the first to graduate with an Associates degree from the college program and has established himself as a model prisoner according to the opinions of clergy, professors, counselors, and psychiatrist. At the age of 16, he was convicted of his first felony for robbery and kidnapping, sentenced to seven years to life. Eddie was granted parole by the parole board in 1998, only to have it stripped away six months later by the newly elected Governor Davis. Now at the age of 33, Eddy has been denied parole eight times. In his most recent parole hearing in November, 2001 the commissioners returned after 15 minutes of discussion to inform Eddie that his parole was denied, again based upon their feeling that he still posed a threat to society and that he had not participated in enough self-help programs. *San Francisco Weekly's* Bernice Yeung on June 5, 2002 reported the exchange between Eddy and the commissioner. Eddie asked the question: "when does the forgiveness begin?" He pleaded that prior boards felt that he was ready to be given another chance, but now he is being painted as a criminal for which Eddie stated "I am no longer a criminal. I was a criminal." The following was the commissioner's response:

Commissioner: First and foremost, you are a criminal, that's why you are here. You will always be a criminal; there's nothing that says a criminal can't change . . . I do believe that you have made changes, but not enough to be a regular citizen. Society will forgive you one day. We can't tell you when, but they will forgive you one day.

When the board denies a prisoner parole the prisoner is informed that if s/he does x, y, and z for the next time period, one can possibly expect release. The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported on November 22, 2003, that since 1998 when Governor Gray Davis took office in California, there have been 267 convicted murderers granted parole by the parole board. But only 8 have been released as all 259 others have been denied by the vast authority the governor has over his parole board's recommendations[11].

Lt. Crittendon:

[11] In his first week in office Governor Schwarzenegger denied one and followed the Parole Board's suggestion to release a lifer.

Lifers with the possibility of parole are going to be on their best because every two years they are going before the board to see if they can get a date to be released. So it would not behoove them to get caught up in a drug deal, or these petty things that occur such as fighting over territory in the yard. Those kind of things will keep them in prison for the rest of their lives. To the contrary I don't believe that they get frustrated, they are instilled with hope that if I do A,B,C and then D and E, then I am out. That is why they are going to be in the religious and college programs, anger management because they are going to want to go back later and demonstrate to the board "I recognize that what I have done is wrong and look at what I have done to change my life."

During our brown card training, Neinhuis once said that he credits the rise of violence in San Quentin prisons to the number of lifers who sit with virtually no chance of parole. But three years later on my tour of San Quentin, Neinhuis spoke to me of how he has become amazed at the resiliency of lifers who virtually have no chance at parole as they are time and time again denied by the politics of California. While he does not believe that certain lifers, like Eddie, has actually "learned his place."

The *Asian Weekly* reported on March 27, 2003, that shortly after Eddie's last parole denial, he and three other Asian Americans signed a petition requesting to the academic committee that they be allowed an Asian American studies. He had written an article for a UC Berkeley newspaper, *Hardboiled,* criticizing the prison for the same reason. The four men's cells were searched and afterwards Eddie was accused of plotting an escape. Two of the men were transferred to more secured prisons and Eddie has been in solitary confinement since then (June 2002) with recommendations for transfer to Corcoran. In another CDC facility near San Diego, two prisoners—Shearwood Fleming and Charles Ervin were sent to 45 days of solitary confinement for the charge of "impugning the credibility" of a prison work program known as Joint Ventures. The prisoners had anonymously called a radio station and reported that they were being paid sub-minimum wages to take the "made in Honduras" labels off of blue jeans and replacing them with "Made in USA" phony tags (Sussman 2002, 260).

Neinhuis stated that considering how nobly most lifers handle their hopeless reality: "There are many of lifers that I would feel better as my neighbor than the actual neighbors I have." One such lifer, Sheen, would speak to me of his wife and two boys, how he will always love them and can feel them to the end of his stolen time. They are his hope and spirit. Yet with the symbolic blood that will always be on his hands, from the human life that he, with jealous passion, mistakenly took decades ago, he has many regrets at the age of 45. But now he is wise beyond his years and has poetry emanating from his life.

The Squires originated in 1964 inside San Quentin, and was the program modeled after "Scared Straight." However, where "Scared Straight" uses fear tactics, Sheen states that Squires uses love and education with a Christian undertone. Once a month, Sheen and other lifers have conversations and give tours to a group of "high risk" kids. Their goal is not only to meet the young people, but also, and most importantly, meet the parents who are invited to the meeting. For Sheen, his involvement with Squires is only

one way Sheen is attempting to replenish the life he took and the void that has been left by his absence at home where his two boys will be raised without him.

A prison activist once told me that "many sent to prison have had their worse moments in life frozen in time." A person's past does define one's present moment, but our past is always growing and what we do with our moments passing should have the power to redefine our future being.

Leonardo

It is difficult for me to practice forgiveness for others when we live in a society that will not forgive you and does not give a damn about forgiving you. When will I have proven myself truly sorry and changed? When will society see me as a man and not a guilty prisoner? I know why I am in prison, do you know why you are in yours?

8.2. The Power of Family

San Quentin is unique, because of the special visitation needs of death row and the newly committed reception center prisoners, there are four days (instead of the usual three), Thursday through Sunday, for personal visits, while Monday through Wednesday are for legal visitation.

Lt. Crittendon

Tracing back to the 1950s family visitation has been our attempt to maintain inmates family ties, as we in corrections believe that the family is the basic support system that a human needs to make the transition from confinement back to society. The inmate can be assigned a 19 hour or 30 hour visit, the family unit can be together in an apartment-the mother, father, and children, set up so that they can have a semblance of a family setting. They can cook their own food and sit at the same table and eat together, sleeping in a residential type setting. It use to be all inmates, except for those on lock up, who had access to this, but since 1987 only level one inmates are allowed family visits.

David Deutsch

There are many exclusionary rules for family visits-no lifers, violent offenders, or anyone who has been involved with drugs in prison. Only a few dozen men in San Quentin have family visits. They helped me and my family stay close and I believe helped ease my transition back to family life when I came home."

In a much-cited 1972 study by Norman Holt and Donald Miller, the researchers discovered that 70% of the prisoners who consistently received at least three regular visitors were arrest free during their first year of parole. They found that prisoners who received no visits were six times more likely than those who received three regular visitors to return to prison in their first year of parole (1972).

Kevin (Northern Ireland)

When you are on remand if you see a republican you are suppose to fight and you are suppose to go for him. When you are doing your time. Inside that stops because you won't get any visits from your family. Nobody would fight because their visits would stop there.

Paul (England)
I was very fortunate in that my family and friends totally stood by me . . . People that don't have that family support might not have the impetus to feel the pain to resolve the internal conflict.

Mark (Germany)
I get little bits of love from my kids. My ex-girlfriend has a daughter who adores me . . . So I have all these little bits of happiness which helps to keep me sane.

Romeo (Italy) stated that "the strength that sustains me is through my wife who waited for me for 16 years." At one point Kevin (Northern Ireland) told his wife to leave and make a new life for herself and their kids. She refused to do so, and as a result, David stated, "I've always believed that she had in her a power that I didn't . . . She made me step back and think of the things that I have done."

Holt and Miller also found that upon release from prison, a parolee had a better chance to not return to crime because of having a home to return upon release, more so than one's gate money or job upon leaving the gate. In 1988 Congress passed the "one strike law" implemented by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) in 1991. The law allows the eviction of all members of a government-funded household if a member or guest is found guilty of a drug offense. *San Francisco Chronicle's* Carol Lloyd reported on April 9, 2002, that the law was upheld 8-0 by the Supreme Court over the circumstances in which a woman was evicted from her public-housing apartment after her mentally disabled daughter was caught with crack cocaine three blocks away.

Steve (England)
My family has had death threats. My sisters got death threats in schools and had to change their names. My mum had to move because she was getting her windows smashed, people were taking the wheel-nuts off her car. I totally ruined my family's lives. They've had to move to a different area.. So they've had to come out of school and change their names, because of what I did. They don't deserve that, they've never done anything wrong.

Kevin (Northern Ireland)
She had made friends over the years that didn't know that I was a paramilitary involved, and she didn't want them to know. I had explained to her a week latter on another visit that the Sunday Morning Newspaper had taken photographs of me performing while I was in prison. And so the following week my son came up to visit me and he says "you won't believe what Mom did. She

actually stole all of the Sunday Morning News from all of the newspaper shops, so nobody in the area could see your photographs.

According to the Washington D.C. Prisoners' Legal Services Project: "inmates are immediately isolated from outside society . . . not only are inmates locked in, but also family and friends are locked out." And "for many families . . . inconsistent, variable, and seemingly inexplicable regulations may serve to undermine attempts to see a prisoner" (Coles, 2001). In one AVP workshop, a group of prisoners once stated that in SQ violence is most likely to occur in areas of a prisoner's life in which they communicate with their families: the visiting room, the mailroom, and concerning phone use. Each time a prisoner goes to the visiting room for a visit from the outside it is required for the prisoner to have a total body strip search. Volunteers who have resigned their status to become visitors, report that as a visitor their treatment by guards immediately shifts, they are treated "as one of them (prisoners)." Visiting family and friends always undergo a series of delays, dehumanizing searches and dress codes. Within the visit, prisoners and their visitors have to struggle through the over bearing noise of other visits. And while under supervision of the guards prisoner have to play out the role of prisoner in front of the visitor. There is an allowance for one closely monitored physical contact in the form of an embrace or kiss at both the beginning and the end of the visit.

Mail is searched and has delays of sometimes over a month in receiving and sending. Phone calls are monitored by prison guards and can often be suddenly cut off. Phone calls can last only 15 minutes and can be made only by reversing the charges to family and friends. When I was going into San Quentin (1999-2000), a phone call by a prisoner would cost an outside receiver on the average 50 cents a minute plus an automatic surcharge of $3 (another $3-$4.85 charge if prisoners and their families would like to extend that conversation). *San Francisco Chronicle's* Deborah Soloman (June 14, 1999) wrote that the phone companies blamed this on technical problems stemming from the prison's monitoring of phone calls. After some media attention the costs have now been lowered to 15 to 89 cents per minute plus a $1.50-$3.95 surcharge per call (*San Francisco Chronicle* June 2, 2002). But even with the lowered rates, for a prisoner to remain in touch with family and supportive friends phone bills often rise to unaffordable costs.

Hans (Germany):
It is strange. My main problem is that I am in here . . . I could ring my family every day, but I don't want to burden them with all my problems because they have their own.

Mohammad:
The first thing you lose is your family. The last time I saw my family before going into prison was when the guards and the bailiff

were having to hold my 8 and 12 year old boys back in the courtroom, screaming 'Daddy didn't do it! Daddy didn't do it!'"

Mohammad was the sole provider for his family that included his wife and four children. Economically they could not survive without him and had to move to Chicago where his wife had family. And as he stated, "the real pain of prison was none other than the separation from my loved ones."

David Deutsch:

If you go into the visiting room you see the same people week in and week out. It is a relatively small number of prisoners who receive regular visits. Lots of guys live for their next visit and after each visit they would be all depressed and live only for the next visit. The visiting room is like its own little world, you are there having a good time with your friends and family for a few hours and then the visit ends and walk out of the door and bam you are right back in prison.

Another large factor that hampers a prisoner's relationship to his or her family is the geographic location of a prison. Unlike San Quentin's close proximity to San Francisco and the Bay Area, most prisons are located in isolated and remote areas making families having to drive hundreds of miles to see their loved ones. Such a trip would require an occupational and financial freedom that most imprisoned families do not have.

So the problem is two fold: inside of prison where prison conditions work to maintain a separation from the outside, and outside of prison where poverty, geography, and social shame/blame often facilitates a disconnection and alienation between a prisoner and his/her family members. Such conditions make impossible, or very difficult, that which often provides a means to heal and prevent further problems. In a time in which family and community relations are needing repair, prisons act to destroy such relationships.

In AVP, I witnessed throughout each workshop racial divisions fade between blacks, yellows, and whites. In one workshop a white man by the name of Ed was not shy of his racist ideology, and as one African-American told me, "only a uniform separates Ed from the white racist pigs." Yet he came to AVP, like many of the short termed prisoners, because of a desire to quicken his parole date and return to his family. Throughout the three-day workshop Ed remained withdrawn and distant from the larger group. But on the final day in an exercise in which each participant picks two personally relevant pictures from a pile of magazine cut outs, Ed picked a picture with two boys. When he began to explain how it reminded him of his own boys which he so dearly missed, Ed began to cry and so did some of the other men, black and white. Suddenly a shift occurred in which the group of men, who had largely been very quiet with each other throughout the weekend, began to finally open up to each other and talk about their lives and understandings.

8.3. Locking Out a Family: The Demise of AVP in SQ

Prisoners sometimes use the term "givers" to describe volunteers who come into the prison to work, talk, teach, preach, and listen to them. For many prisoners who do not

have family visiting them, volunteers and support staff create their family. They bring in windows and memories to the outside world, something many prisoners spend much of their time trying to imagine. Venus once grabbed my arm as I was attempting to write down some notes "Don't disappear, I want you here! So tell me about your day from the time you woke up." In one AVP exercise I was told by a tearful prisoner "You don't know how grateful I am—you being a white man and choosing on a Saturday night to be with us nothing prisoners. For whatever reason you people do it, thank you for making me feel human."

To the men and women of Patten University at San Quentin,

How can I begin to find the words to tell you how special and wonderful you all are for giving of your time and yourselves so generously and unselfishly? I want to thank you for myself and on behalf of all the men of San Quentin whom you have helped over the years. You are a shining light in a place where there is often so much darkness. The importance of the work you all do cannot be overstated.

The appreciation and respect that the men there have for you is tremendous. When someone from the outside chooses to volunteer their time to help educate prisoners when they could be doing any number of "fun" activities instead it engenders a sense on the part of those men that they are cared about and are still worthy of consideration. As a student in Spanish 101, 102, and 103 I often found myself completely forgetting that I was incarcerated as I became wrapped up in our class sessions and studies. Any activity that makes one forget he is in prison (even if only for a brief period of time) is the greatest gift that can be given to that person, and in that sense you provide those wonderful gifts on a daily basis.

I know that it is your hope and desire that the men of San Quentin will parole and do worthwhile things with their education. While that is surely true in many cases there are also situations in which some men may never leave the institution. Do not let that fact discourage you in any way; what you do to help those men increases their quality of life dramatically and they in turn will help others to see the value of education. Always keep the big picture in mind and know that there can be a large "ripple effect" because of the work you are doing.

My personal contact with all of you was rewarding and very special to me. You are educators for whom I have the greatest respect and who I hold in the highest regard. I will always remember you as being kind, caring people who reached out to encourage me in the most positive way. When my article on prison education is published I will send you a copy of it to read, hopefully you will find it interesting. I will also keep in touch to let

you know what I am doing with my life. Again, thank you so very much for everything.

David Deutsch

I took part in a brown card volunteer training session with a group of AVP facilitators, conducted by Lieutenant Neinhuis. Neinhuis informed us of how the majority of San Quentin's administration and guards are not supportive of volunteers. Neinhuis stated that it was the "curse of having a prison in the Bay Area" where there was an army of some 2000 volunteers and 300 brown cards. Brown cardholders are able to enter the prison unescorted by guard or staff and are responsible for other volunteers knowledge of prison rules. At the time the prison was trying to reduce the number brown cards to 100.

Neinhuis stepped our group of brown cardholders through the California Department of Correction Rules and Regulations Handbook. As volunteers, we were subject to the same conduct rules that are expected of all prison employees. For example, on a number of occasions prisoners wrote to me, like this letter from Eric:

Dear Mike . . .I find myself sitting in administration segregation due to some dumb shit. This inconvenience was unexpected and a set back. Tell AVP I send my love and to keep manifesting that love and open mindedness that make them all special. To my tutors in the college program, tell them I send my love and thoughts. I'd like to express my thanks to them but don't know how to get in touch with them, but here is my address: (address withheld)
Thanks

I was not able to respond to such letters, as volunteers are not to write prisoners. In our meeting, Neinhuis spent the most time speaking to the expected relationships between employee and prisoner. In Subchapter 5, Article 2, Section 3400, entitled "Familiarity":

> Employees must not engage in undue familiarity with inmates, parolees, or the family and friends of inmates or parolees. Whenever there is reason for an employee to have personal contact or discussions with an inmate or parolee or the family and friends of the inmates and parolees, the employee must maintain a helpful but professional attitude and demeanor. Employees must not discuss their personal affairs with any inmate or parolee.

In the "Volunteer Handbook" that was separately issued to us, it was written in a section on "Working with Offenders":

> <u>Don't Over Identify</u>—Don't take the inmate's problems upon yourself. They are not your problems. Over identifying with the inmates can bring about the we/they syndrome:
> "they are wrong about you"; "they treat you like they treat us";
> "I'm okay, you're okay-they are not okay."

Lt. Neinhuis advised us that if any of our volunteers were "rebels" and "wanted to partake in the world of duality that creates this 'Nazi vs. political prisoner' mentality, then you can just head straight for the visitor room." We did not know it but during our training with Neinhuis AVP was being investigated for "over-familiarity" issues centering upon an incident that had happened in a workshop a few months earlier.

In the workshop, a prisoner and outside participant had fallen in love. The woman immediately decided to drop out of AVP and resume her relations with him in the visiting room. Two lifers who had participated in the same workshop expressed their anger in the following month's AVP support group. They felt that the AVP space was used as a dating connection. Other participants were disappointed, suspicious but not as angry. The woman was white and the prisoner was black. Rumors were spreading among the prison population about AVP and the happenings in the workshops. This crossed the lines of confidentiality that were set by the AVP community at each workshop. Prisoners were heard to say that AVP's sacred space had been violated.

Citing this incident amongst others from years prior in which AVP women had carried relations with prisoners after their parole, Lt. Neinhuis informed the AVP community that our services were no longer needed after nearly a decade of volunteer work. David Deutsch spoke of how AVP was referred to by guards as the "dating game" and that it sent anger into certain guards because they saw women who looked to the prisoners as special people making the guards to be the "bad guy".

We were to be replaced by a for profit organization that had actually received their initial non-violence/conflict resolution training through AVP. But as of January 2004 these services have yet to be installed.

8.4. Pre-Release and Parole

> Neil (England):
> *Prisons are universities of crime. The hardest thing about this dehumanizing experience for me was to see this never ending stream of very young men, 20, 21, 22, years old getting caught doing stupid bits of criminal activity, which young people do any way, these were the ones that just got caught and sent to jail. But one by one I saw them become criminalized, beyond the point of redemption in their stay in prison.*

> One should speak of an ensemble whose three terms (police-prison-delinquency) support one another and form a circuit that is never interrupted. Police surveillance provides the prison with offenders, while the prison transforms into delinquents, the targets and auxiliaries of police supervisions, which regularly send back a certain number of them to prison. (Michel Foucault 1977, 282)

While I was going into San Quentin with AVP, I had a countless number of prisoners that asked me how they might find AVP after getting out. On each occasion I could since their anxiety and need for support in their nearing predicament. I always

cringed when I had to tell them the cold truth—that prison regulations prevented AVP volunteers from having any correspondence with inmates while they were on parole.

Marcus was a prisoner I knew through an AVP workshop, he spoke to me of his drug addiction and fear of relapse after prison. On the outside he only had an ex-girlfriend to which he could return, and she was a former drug-using partner. He was interested in getting into a drug treatment program and asked if I could help through my employment with a community based treatment agency. I told him I would try. Marcus called me when he was first released. I debated to myself about what I should do knowing the prison's rules . . . but I told him I would help, so I started to call him back leaving messages on a number of occasions. He finally answered, and I can still hear his words: "Don't call here ever again!" He sounded so differently that I wondered if it was actually Marcus. A month later when I was going back into San Quentin I was speaking with a prisoner that also knew Marcus. He grimly told me the news: "Marcus is dead, overdose."

David Deutsch
There is a tendency to feel like it's all one can do to get through their sentence such that it is hard to focus on the future even though that is precisely what one must do to maximize their chances of success.

Patrick (Michigan)
In prison everything is simple, consequences were black and white, while on the outside there is far more consequences that are more impacting and one can find movement in all directions.

Paul (England)
… there are people who believe it is their life. They find it safer inside, and will feel out of their comfort zone when they are out.

Hans (Germany)
I'm just a convict and I'll always stay a convict.

Ninety-five percent of the prisoners who are subjected to prison are going to return to society (Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy, 2003 [See Appendix C]).

Lt. Crittendon:
Our transition to prepare inmates' return back to society, the CDC says we must begin that process some 30 days before release, we traditionally began it 8 weeks prior requiring 8 hours a week of training. Due to budget cuts we have reduced it to 6 weeks, while the CDC standard is just 2 weeks.

The "pre-release program" begins with an individual's completion of documents that indicate what their parole plans, as they see it, will be: Where will you live? How will you earn money in order to support yourself? How will you get to that place where you will earn money, will you drive? If so, how will you pay for

insurance? That is to help that person to begin formulating in his mind realistic goal setting.

Then we begin to familiarize that person with the processes that are available: DMV, social security. We expose them to how to complete a resume, how to approach a job interview. We have speakers that come in from the different parts of the community: Business men and women to talk to inmates about what the business community is looking in for a workforce that is returning back into a community. They are informed of health services in the community … one of the most contributing factors that bring them to prison is health issues stemming from a poor diet. So we talk to them about diet, and when we talk about poor diets we have to approach depression and all of those symptoms that a person is prone to when depressed. We talk to them about infectious diseases such as HIV and Hepatitis C, B, and A. We arm them with this information so that they return to communities less inclined to engage in those high-risk behaviors.

Scott

More than the prison has ever tried to do, we, the BGF, helped support organization members as they would reenter back into society. And in return members would help sustain the organization.

Lifers such as Sheen, Nolte, Scott, and Watani who actually attempt to mentor young prisoners, chuckled at my question to them of San Quentin's "pre-release program," which they described as being "too little too late, considering where they are coming from." Re-entry programs are voluntary and only serve about 30% of all CDC prisoners (Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy 2003 [See Appendix C]).

Mark (Germany)

I got out of prison before, with all these little ideas in my head about what I was going to do. I bought myself some new clothes, but I thought that everyone was looking at me. It felt like I had the word, 'prison,' written on my head. I was feeling all these emotions, a thousand different ones in a second. Then I was with friends, and everyone was expressing themselves and their emotions, but I was just sitting, feeling really scared. I felt lost and didn't know what to say to people.

Steve (England)

When I go to Cat D (open prison), the temptation to fuck up is there. I am not just talking about drugs, but if you come back smelling of drink you can be back in a Cat C. There is 8 or 12 in a dorm with no screw. I'm use to being one man in a cell banged up with my privacy, and I like that. I use to like being around people

all of the time, but now I need my privacy to think or whatever . . . Now I know that I can't afford to fuck up. I mean why go and do 13 or 14 years and do that. I am not an idiot. I know I won't fuck up, but I will have to see when I get there. I know of others who fucked up.

The closer one comes to release the more many prisoners are confronted with a fear of not knowing what lies ahead. Often this leads many into self-destructive patterns either before release or after. When paroled in California, 10% become homeless, 50% are illiterate, and an estimated 70 to 80% abuse drugs (Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy 2003 [See Appendix C]).

Steve (England)

We need better training, education. Give us something that will really help us on release, no one wants to give a job to an ex-prisoner. Who will trust us? It's a catch 22 situation, they want us to live a law-abiding life, but they won't help us to do that and society doesn't want to help us do that . . . I'll try to get into drama school, although I don't really know how to go about it or whether you've got to be up to a certain standard.

Lt. Crittendon:

It is not merely that I expose you to certain standards and elevate your standard of living in your own mind, in how you see yourself, how you view the world. But it also has to get back to materialistic issues, the support system out there in your community. Once you have completed the first phase here at San Quentin and you go into the community a person can no longer afford the travel to AA meetings, and with a college degree an employer asks you where you have been for the past four years and you say San Quentin. Automatically you are viewed as less competitive.

Mark (Germany)

Like a robot . . . 30% of the people are doing the other 70% out of a fair deal. Basically, I may have lost everything, but I'll never lose the wisdom and knowledge I have. It doesn't take much to open a shop, or get containers loaded with gear from other countries. It doesn't really take a lot of money to get things started up. In here they can keep you in one place, but freedom is in the brain. I know that I have to get out sometime, and when I do, I don't have to suffer so much. It just takes a few phone calls.

Lt. Neinhuis opined to me that the recidivism will continue to remain high as long as there is no bridge for prisoners as they return back to society. He does not believe that one can blame the failure of the system upon the lack of prison programming, but it is the inability of society to invest in the infrastructure that would provide this bridge. He spoke

of how prisoners still leave with the same gate money of $200 like they did when he began 23 years ago, and the bureaucracy of getting a prisoner into a half way house or treatment program takes so long that by the time prisoners are given a placement many will have violated parole.

In San Quentin, a prisoner who was coming to the end of his two-year sentence told me of how he had two offenses from his juvenile record and his current sentence was for a drug charge. The DA tried to include his two prior offenses as a juvenile to try and place him within the three strikes-life sentence law as an adult. But the judge gave him a "break," allowing only two strikes to be on his adult record. Now he was terrified of returning to the drug and gang-infested environment of his home in Oakland where it is very easy to be caught unknowingly at the wrong place at the wrong time.

Paul (England)
I am under a license for the rest of my life which basically means that, if we go out today for a drink in a pub, and there was a fight in the pub, which I was somehow involved, and not actually committing a crime in anyway, but maybe trying to break it up. If the police came and I was questioned and discovered to be a life license then I could be called to prison, even though I had not committed a crime. It is quite likely I could be called to prison and it could take a process of two years before I got out again. That is a pressure that you can be under.

One third of parole violators return because of drug violations, as the state sends 70% of parolees back to prison within 18 months of their release at an annual cost of $900 million for incarceration alone. Missing are alternative sanctions other than a return to prison. Most parolees are violated for acts that do not break an actual law. However, Jerry Brown and Oakland officials blame 50% of their city's crimes on parolees. This is a hard statistic to prove, multi-state studies indicate that only 3-5% of crime can be attributed to parolees (Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy, 2003 [See Appendix C]).

Lt. Crittendon:
Here at San Quentin, our staff's role has changed beginning from 1978 when our then Governor Jerry Brown was able to dismantle our prison system's indeterminate sentencing[12] system program and introduced determinate sentencing program. So we have now fixed into place certain crimes for certain amount of time. What that has done is removed any expectations that the community can set for an individual to address those issues that have brought him

12 In Italy during the 1990s, the severity of punishment became determined by the prison warden and the "scientific observation" of prison guards. Thus, prisoners had no reference in regards to their sentence time or the constantly changing prison rules. Under such an indeterminate regime, suicides tripled amongst Italian prisoners (Ruggiero 1995).

into the system—thus, returning to their same communities and re-offending. Now that he is mayor of Oakland, Jerry Brown is now saying that it is all of the parolees who are the problem in his city, but he is the one that dismantled our ability to say: "If you come in here with anger management problems, you will have to go to X number of anger management training hours. You don't have a high school education, you have to get your GED and then we are going to enroll you into a college or vocational program before we let you out of prison." So yes, the guard's role has changed because we have gone from rehabilitation to punishment as the department's goal. But here at San Quentin we still embrace the philosophy of returning a better person to society.

In California, 80% percent of all parolees are supervised on a regular parole officer's caseload which mandates fewer than two 15-minute face-to-face contacts each month. There are very little available resources beyond these two visits, even for the higher risk parolees. In the year 2000, over 47,000 were released after serving out revocation sentences. Seventy-eight of these paroles were revoked for the alleged crime of homicide, 524 for robberies, and 384 for rape and sexual assault. On the average the violators served just over three months more in prison than those parolees revoked for "technical" violations. Parole violation is a cheaper and easier way than through the criminal justice court system (Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy, 2003).

Lt. Crittendon:

There are many contributing factors to our recidivism problem, beginning with a need to overhaul completely our system of parole. Right now we have some 120,000 on parole in California and that number could drop to some 30,000 if we just kept on parole sex offenders and gang members. Which would ease a great deal of the budget restraints that we have and channel those funds into more productive areas that would help all of us.

The average yearly cost to the California taxpayer for monitoring of one parolee is $2,882. One prisoner is $28,502 a year.

Lt. Crittendon:

In my opinion, I believe the only people who need to be on parole are the sex offenders and the active gang members, because they are the only ones who can be proven to be predators on our society. Everybody else, you do and serve your time, you go back to you community and try to become a productive member of society. And when we release that person, that person does not have to be released to the same community from which one has come. One should be allowed to live in one of the 58 counties of California for a five year parole period, and I say this because often you come from Los Angeles with gang issues, but you have an aunt who lives in Santa Clara, well why don't you go and live

with that aunt and get out of that environment and start your life new. They don't have those kind of options now.

SQ Prisoner
The first time I got out they didn't let me go home. Instead they gave me a hotel miles away from my hometown and with a black box on my ankle I was told to find a job. I was a former heroin addict and my roomy used to be hooked on crack, what kind of a chance do you think I had?

SQ Prisoner
I violated my parole because I was traveling to another county to work a second job for cash. Hell I had to feed my family! It seems to always happen to me when I am trying to do what is right.

Delinquency, with the secret agents that it procures, but also with the generalized policing that it authorizes, constitutes a means of perpetual surveillance of the population: an apparatus that makes it possible to supervise, through the delinquents themselves, the whole social field. (Foucault 1977, 280)

8.5. Histories of Violence

Instead of confronting and resolving past hurts and traumas, acknowledging their own shortcomings, and working to improve family life and social conditions, people pop more pills, develop more depressive illnesses, and commit more crimes.
(Verny and Weintraub, 2002)

"I wish you were never born!"; "Why are you so stupid?"; "You are fat, ugly, and lazy!"; "Your life is not worth shit!"; "You mean nothing to me!"; "Why did you make me hit your sister?"; "It is your fault that we are broke!"; "You will never see me again!"; "I am going to send you to juvenile!"; "You are always bad!" There was no end to the stream of recollected childhood violence which were angrily and painfully regurgitated from a group of San Quentin AVP participants.

The California Youth Authority has the mission to rehabilitate 4600 "young wards." Don Thompson, (AP Press Writer) reported on January 28, 2004 that the CYA has a higher rate of recidivism than the men's system approaching over 90%. Two outside experts were called in after two boys hung themselves within the same youth facility. Along with an overriding emphasis upon punishment through "wired isolation cages," the inspectors found a youth system that relies upon "chemical restraints" to medicate a population that has a majority of youth who are drug addicted and mentally ill.

Recent neuro-scientific and developmental psychological research has revealed the intergenerational transmission of violence and abuse. Everything a child experiences has an impact upon the formation of the human brain and how a person experiences and

acts in relation to the world. The only reliable marker for violence in an adult is early exposure to violent conditions (Verny and Weintraub 2002, 191,196).

Steve (England)

My dad gave me a black eye and I went for him with a bottle, but I sliced my hand open. He beat the shit out of me, basically. The money I'd wanted wasn't for drugs. My dad had thought that it was, but it wasn't. So I ran into my mother and she gave me the money. I was changing from a boy to a man. But my dad taught me a lesson . . . My dad loves us all dearly.

I remember arguing with my mum one time, she hit me and I just laughed at her. She slapped me with a slipper, then she started crying. I was horrible, I didn't know one kid who was worse than me. And my mum didn't deserve it. I don't know why I was like that but it was definitely when my parents split up that I went off the rails.

Alex:

My relationship with my family is quite disturbed. I have no contact with my older sisters. My parents could never really tell me what to do. My father used to warn me that I would end up in prison if I carried on doing the things I was involved with. I only ever went to my parents when I wanted something: a computer, furniture, a car. I always got what I wanted. Sometimes, my father would refuse me, but my mother always gave me what I wanted.

This contradicts explanations for violent behavior that rely upon genetic explanations which blame "chemical imbalances" despite the fact there has never been consistency in research that links genetic abnormalities with future violent behavior. In doing so "we absolve from any responsibility not only the afflicted individual but also the family of origin and society at large" (Verny and Weintraub 2002, 191,196).

Gregor (Germany)

When I was a child of about 6, I over heard my grandmother talking to my mother on the phone. She basically raised me, and she was telling my mother to stop treating me the way she was doing, or she might as well kill me. I went crazy. I just started screaming and couldn't stop. My mother didn't know what to do, so I was sent to a psychiatric hospital. But I was the only boy there, the only child. There were lots of adults walking around like robots, because they'd been drugged, but I didn't know that at the time. I was kept in a room which was surrounded by safety glass, screaming for my grandmother and mother. The staff there took me and strapped me to a bed, restrained me with leather straps.

And I can still remember that very clearly. What else would have to be done to a child to start some kind of strange development?

Research indicates that the key existing factor for many of the children who do not reproduce the violence they are exposed to in earlier years, is the existence of some form of positive relationship with a relative, teacher, friend, that offers them a relationship of nourishment and acceptance. (Verny and Weintraub 2002, 201)

Neil

So I guess my parent's divorce had a strong impact on me. I didn't know it at the time but I must have been kind of desperate for attention. So at 16 when I flunked out of school, my dad helped me get a job as quick as possible. So I started working for this big contracting firm. It was great money for me at the time. On that job, I worked with these mad Irish men. The job taught me how to drink, and totally not have any respect for authorities.

Steve

I was never a racist. Factions in the gang were my friends. A lot of my friends were skinheads, some were but some weren't. My next door neighbors were black and I use to get along very well with them. The skinheads were just people in one space that I knew and that I was friendly with. A lot of people my age had brothers that were skin heads and so they went into being skin heads afterwards. And I, well, just to fit in basically…

Alex

I just wanted to be part of a group. I didn't care about their politics or morals, I didn't realize that they were totally stupid. It was just important to me that I had people who were there for me. Basically, I needed the skinheads for protection.

For nearly two years I worked as an in home intensive case manager with a state funded prevention program known as "Wraparound" in Tennessee, where I was referred to work with families by the juvenile courts and Department of Human Services. I worked with families that had histories of abuse, neglect, alcohol/drug addictions, and gang affiliation. Most of the families were with single parent mothers who were overextended and faced seemingly impossible economic tasks. In trying to build a support system with the family I found most every family was alienated from an extended family or community to provide the needed support for the children. The goal of the program was to prevent state custody by working with the family, school system, the courts, doctors, and therapists to build and link a network of community resources around the child and family according to their needs by working. It was my goal to plug in the missing gaps of these children's lives, such as: male mentor, counseling, psychiatric care, transportation, tutoring, financial assistance for clothes, home and school supplies. The Wraparound program boasted a 76.13% success rate at preventing "high risk" children from escalating into state custody (McCamish 1996).

Scott

I grew up poor with nine brothers and sisters in Oakland, running the streets and with a gang. We came to realize the difference between rich and poor and we felt justified in our crimes considering the crimes of the government. When I was 14, I was caught breaking and entering and sent to the juvenile court where I was found "incorrigible." Without no father, my mom thought it would be a good lesson for him to be locked up for a few days which ended up for a few years.

The usual tactics to provide "support" for both "at risk" and state custody youth is the use of fear through threats of being moved to juvenile detention facilities once they have been proven "unable to adjust to foster care homes." In the early 90s I naively use to take a group of foster care and "at risk" adolescents to the nearest juvenile prison. As a legacy of the popular "Scared Straight" program from the 1980s, the young people were given a tour of the horrid caged facility, along with a face-to-face confrontation with some of the prisons most hardened "students." As successfully planned our youth were harassed, insulted, physically pushed, and violently threatened throughout the day. The traumatic event forced many to tears, some even urinated on them selves, while others froze in fear and silence. The message was clear—this is you if you do not become somebody different than you are now!

There is both society and the individual's responsibility to consider. The philosophy behind well-intended interventions to divert criminal paths such as was demonstrated in the "Scared Straight" program, has been predominately driven by the Strict Father Model that focuses upon individual responsibility, deterrence, fear, and prisons. What is produced in prisons are negative images of the self.

Steve

Society doesn't let you down . . . I know people say that everything is their parents' fault, but I believe that, whatever the methods, parents do teach right from wrong. So you get a smack when you do something wrong. Society doesn't make people "wrong", that is their own choice. No one made me do anything what I did. I made all the decisions. Whether my parents had split up or not is irrelevant; I would still have gotten into drugs.

Scott

In the 90s when I was in San Quentin I was sitting in a cell playing a tape back of my life in my head. And there was a CO that I had broken in when he was a rookie in the 70s. He was retiring and I had just got a new number (sentence). He had a life, all of his kids had gone to college, and now all he has to do is go to the mailbox for the rest of his life to pick up a check from the government. As I was looking at this tape of my life in my head, I am so angry and hurt that I didn't even know that there were tears in my eyes. Another prisoner walks by and says to me "What is wrong with you blood, you ain't new to this, you are true to this life." And I

said, "that is the problem, I've been true to this institution and not my own self. I have been caught up in this prison mentality and everything I have done has gotten me back here. And when I have this 'freedom issue', saying 'why am I here?' and the answer comes that I put me here. Then when I look beyond the box that I placed myself in—the conditions that led me here to make the choices in my life were already preconditioned by somebody else. And he (the other prisoner) said to me "You need to do something about that, get out and go to school, get educated so that you can share some of that knowledge and wisdom with some of your other folks. And I said "get the fuck out of here, somebody finally telling me the truth."

Scott recently graduated with a Bachelor's Degree from the University of California and has returned to his community in Oakland to start a community center for youth and families.

Scott: A lot of the times I was counseling the guards. They would ask me 'why are you happy?' Well I am happy because I have a body of knowledge that you guys can't take from me. The mind is mightier than the flesh. I found my freedom in prison because that is where I found the power of the mind. But if I want something different I have to do something different. I have to become a hero and get outside of my own cultural and racial bias to engage these people in a non-confrontational manner. That is what makes someone a hero. My hero's are those unseen entities that effect changes, but do not want the limelight.

CHAPTER 9

PRISON THEATER

Paul (England)
I believe that human beings need a creative outlet, they need, through whatever form, to express their innate creative, artistic drive. Art is not a luxury, access to the arts should be ours by birthright. It is a fundamental feature of what it is to be human. Access to the arts is especially important in prison, an environment which is predominantly negative barren, ugly brutal; materially, aesthetically, morally.

Mike Maloney (NI Director of Prison Arts Foundation)
There is a man inside, who is wonderful but quite mentally unstable, he made out of bread some of the most beautiful roses. The same man could be out on the street wondering around. There are some of these talented people who are on the inside that have done some of the most violent things. If somebody with that much talent could have redirected himself before prison towards art instead of crime?

9.1. Sowing a Seed

In Belfast-Northern Ireland, there is a cycle of violence between the warring factions of the republican Catholic (IRA) community, whose goal is independence from England and re-unification with Ireland, and the loyalist Protestant Community, whose goal is to remain part of the United Kingdom. At the height of the conflict in the 1970s and 1980s, the economically impoverished youth were educated in paramilitary tactics to protect their families' interests.

Kevin:
I'm not saying that I am educated by no means. I left school when I was 15 because you have to get money for the family to keep the family going. I self educated myself over the years, basically. But the amount of people in prison coming to me to write a letter for them, grown men, amazed me. Education for them was the last thing.

Kevin was raised and lives in Ulster, Belfast as a part of the loyalist Protestant community. At 14 he and a group of 16 other "boys", "acquired guns with cob webs on them and no bullets":

Kevin (Northern Ireland)
We were told that the Irish Republican Army was coming up to put us all out of our houses in their black taxis and into locked homes

and so we formed a loyalist group in defense of our own street. It wasn't so much that we were politically motivated, but we were more on the defensive.

Kevin's neighborhood gang grew in reputation and were specially selected by the UFF for a lead role in the war against the enemy:

Kevin

The people we ended up fighting with through the troubles are people I actually played football with, who I went to school with, was very good friends. But they ended up republicans and I ended up on the loyalist side. I've actually cousins who are republicans and we don't really see each other now.

Before, as a younger man in my early 20s, I wasn't that smart to realizing that I was stepping on people. If we were doing an operation I would have used you if you were my friend as I would have my wife or anybody else, simply to get the operation done … and for Ulster.

In 1974, at the age of 20, David was arrested for attempted murder of an IRA member. He was held for 6 months on remand in the notorious Crumblin Road Jail. In 1974 he disappeared to England to wait out the aftermath of his arrest to cool down with the IRA. But upon his return

Kevin

I sort of took up the gun again. Right back in, it's a thing you can't really ever get away from. I always said that it's not what people want to do, but pure circumstance in the public … and just in a few we've gone back to the same thing.

Eventually, the "loyalist gun mark" landed in Maghaberry prison with three children and a wife at home:

Kevin

When I went into Maghaberry, the funniest thing, I knew a lot of guys and a lot of guys knew my history. So I didn't have to prove myself. I was already proved. The younger guys that didn't know me they found out from the older ones.

One day Kevin was approached by a republican leader, Jimmy, who asked him to join the prison's theatre company with Mike Maloney as director. When Kevin decided to become involved in the theatre project other loyalist inmates reacted with disbelief:

Kevin

These are guys, lifers who I knew what they had done, shot people dead, or whatever. And they had seen me in a different context, a different character, all of a sudden a so called "writer." At first it was "you're not going to write, are ya? You're not going to do drama?"

In Germany 1997, to bring attention to their newly arrived theatre work the outside theatre company AufBruch was given permission by Tegel prison to go to each one of the prison's cell blocks and perform a short play based upon the life of working and living on an oilrig: "Oil Rig/Tegel Lake." Dressed up in plastic coats and boots, the oil rig inspectors went to the cells informing the prisoners that improvements were going to be made to the standards of the rig. And in order to make these changes the inspectors would need to live in their cells in order to inspect the entire drilling operation. It played on the isolation and alienation that is created in living on an oilrig, working with the dreams and fantasies of the sea-men by projecting enlarged photo images on the wall. Afterwards the prisoners responded by sharing their own stories, dreams, and life inside Tegel and the next day men were lined up to join AufBruch to begin work on their first production.

Franco (Italy)

It does not matter whether it be young or adult offenders, when people are outside of prison, there is no need to communicate, but as soon as they get locked up they come up with these amazing poems and writings.

In Maghaberry prison, Kevin and Jimmy's presence and identities as leaders of the loyalist and republican factions drew many prisoners into the theatre.

Kevin (Northern Ireland)

A lot of guys had never acted before, but the main thing was that there was nobody pulling their strings in drama. A lot of guys sort of gave it to the prison system.

9.2. Escape and Change

Paul (England)

One person could destroy the whole thing so we interviewed any new comers to our group. To produce theatre in prison requires a balancing act between the prison staff and inmates. The balancing act requires a tight core. With a tight core we created an environment that was very positive, focused, constructed, and towards creating quality work. And anybody new would have to have these things as important to them also. If anybody came in with negativity they got dealt with because of the tight core.

Kevin and his writing partner Jimmy, demanded that the Maghaberry theatre projects be a free zone away from the politics of the Catholics and Protestants factions. In the production of "An Act of Fear" which was filmed and televised by the BBC, Kevin tells of how one of the prisoner actors was being interviewed by the BBC while wearing a Scottish football team hat which carries definite associations with political factions. Kevin spotted the hat being worn and interrupted the interview as he yanked the hat off of the actor.

Alex (Germany)

Theatre is a place which is outside of the everyday life in prison, a break from planet Tegel and the frustration brought about by everyday life in here, an escape from that reality. It breaks down the barriers and you forget about prison, and be someone else!

Mike Maloney (Northern Ireland) spoke once of how there "was no methadone clinic for the rush of violence on the streets of Belfast," the event of the theatre became that which the routine of prison cannot.

Prisoner performer

Before any performance we all hang out of the windows of our cells to see whether the people we have invited are coming. Before I went out there yesterday to perform, I was just waiting in my cell with the music on. I saw kids coming in and realized that it was really going to happen. I got nervous, afraid I am going to lose my lines, and then I threw up. I've done that a couple of times before performances. It's a laugh I always get a real buzz! When the actual performance starts, I am very calm. So calm and relaxed that I could lie down and sleep. At the end of the performance, the applause doesn't mean a great deal to me. But I feel happy when I see how it pleases my fellow performers. After that, what I tend to feel is an overwhelming sense of relief. Then I would go back to my cell feeling really happy. The next day, I would be back to the regular prison routine but I also can't wait for the next time. Time became event based. There is a process, a beginning, a development, the work and then fulfillment. Which is hard to come by in prison.

In 1992, the theatre group in Maghaberry (Northern Ireland) began to work on Frank McGuiness's "Somebody to Watch Over Me." The director Mike Maloney, had tons of sand hauled into the prison for use as a desert. He described the effect it had on three of the prisoner actors as they first explored the sand in a rehearsal:

Mike Maloney

Automatically there was this emotional recall, this memory of past summers, they were walking on beaches, walking on the sand with the sand going in between their toes. They just kept looking at each other, they actually played, they actually played! It was an incredible experience. I just sat there and watched them go at for seven minutes…And these three men, from three different backgrounds, sat down and there was an unspoken…something between them that they each could relate to. By talking to them I could tell how there are so many common shared experiences in prison and when we are locked up and deprived, where do we go? Memory.

Paul began his theatre career inside of HMP Wormwood Scrubs, a level B prison where he was being engaged and challenged for the first time in his prison sentence through a theatre group.

Paul (England)

I found it a contradiction that I had very close friends on the outside that I had wanted to stay in close contact with, but the people I lived with everyday in prison I didn't have that. I thought there has to be some form of relationship in prison, and of course in theatre I found it. Theatre was about conquering fear, beyond the masks of prison, beyond the posturing that everybody affected and prevented any forming of meaningful relationships and contact. All we were doing was relating to stereotypes and masks, and not the person inside. We could tuck the tough-guy image away and be ourselves, really face and exercise some of the emotions one is feeling. Which is why I believe many guys came to theatre.

Paul was cast as the lead in his first play and just prior to the first show he was suddenly transferred, against his will, to a lesser-secured on level C prison, HMP Wayland. It was there that he joined a theatre group lead by a director doing very patronizing and "anodyne stuff." Paul said "the thought is that 'it is done by prisoners, so how can you expect any better.'" Despite the existence of the token teacher, Paul and the other members of the group became the organizing force behind the group and went on produce the group's successful first play, Dario Fo's *An Accidental Death of an Anarchist.* Paul directed, adapted, and played the lead role.

Paul (England)

There was a bond there that was quite unique. There was a great amount of teamwork involved in our theatre productions. In our group there was a collective in creativity and care for each other. There was no star everybody's contribution was vital from the lights and stage-hands. Even the person who made the tea, and everybody wanted tea. It became like a surrogate family, people working together.

Kevin (Northern Ireland)

The amazing thing, me and Jimmy sit beside each other on my bed, and this young loyalist turns around and says, "you two are getting along with each other quite well, what would you two do if a war broke out in the prison?" And I look at Jimmy and says "I'm going to have to shoot Jimmy" and Jimmy says "I'm going to have to shoot Kevin." And the young fellow sat there and says " crap that's nuts!" he looks me up and says "you would have to do that wouldn't you?" He stops bringing it up. We were totally serious. If Jimmy were sitting here, I would probably say the same thing again.

But we stayed in drama, me and Jimmy—a republican and loyalist. So we sat and looked at each other, and we started to click with each other. He lived in West Belfast and I lived in East Belfast, but we were amazed at the things that we were talking about, they were so similar. When you are brought up over here, its like "he's a republican and so he is different than me." But they are no different, they're brought up doing the same things as I was when I was a kid. This is what we sat and talked about, what we wrote about. He'd go into his cell and I into mine and start writing. We found out the next day that it was very similar in what we were writing. So we were jelling in what we were doing. We even started to criticize each other. We got confident with each other in prison because he use to tell me things about his family and problems. In prison you go to your closest alley and tell them if you are having problems. I would do the same with him. In a few years we went through a hell of a lot together … The common ground was the writing.

Paul (England)
It goes back to that fundamental issue of whether people are sent to prison to be punished or be rehabilitated. A key aspect of rehabilitating somebody is for them to be able to go in and find themselves, to become more fulfilled people, which is the arts. To give a prisoner the opportunity to create art may allow him a chance to realize something in themselves of their own. One such positive experience can sow a seed.

In a study that followed the lives of prisoners for 13 years after participating in the California's Arts In Corrections (AIC) program. The study revealed that the inmates involved with AIC had 75% to 81% reduction in rule-breaking activities. Six months after parole 88% had not returned to prison compared to a 72% rate for parolees at the time. And two years after release, 69% had not recidivated compared to 42% of all parolees (Brewster 1983).

Prisoner Performer
Prison so often destroys the inside of people as it gives them only a negative point of view of themselves by breaking their exterior. Theatre is not something that you do like a drug and you are well, it takes time. But if I were to meet myself right now I probably would not recognize me from the beginning of my prison sentence when I was very violent and rebellious. I was only inventing myself in that manner. And at the time if you had of called me to a room and said "lets talk about you" I would have really felt self-conscious and not been present. But because it was in the activity of creativity, I got all the personal growth. I didn't go out and seek this it just so happens that what I am doing is therapeutic. The process of being somebody else, or pretending to be somebody else

makes you look at your own behavior. 'Who is this guy I am leaving behind? I find myself being able to lie at night in my cell, smiling and laughing to myself about myself. And it is the roles which are closest to me, those of the bad guy that I enjoy the most. I came to see the darkness as my own so that I could see the light of my own. I was provided a strong will, a strength in character that became my weakness as it did when I went to prison, but now it is what will keep me from going back to prison, because of theatre.

Tegel's theatre company was allowed to perform inside of a prison for women, which is where Matthias met a woman with whom he began a pen pal relationship:

Matthias (Germany)

So over the course of the next year and a half, I was building great confidence in myself through theatre and my relationship to her, I decided to take a chance and tell her why I was in prison. I knew that I was taking a risk, and was expecting her to break off all contact with me. I phoned her, as well as telling her in a letter. She said that she already knew that as everything is known in prison, and that she loved me because I had told her the truth myself. That was the turning-point in our relationship. Her children and mother came to visit me at Christmas, and, because she addressed me on informal, friendly terms, I began to cry. I was so touched. These emotions were alien to me, such joy and tears. On the other hand, my family have no contact with me. Occasionally I will send a birthday-card, or the like, but there is never any response. This saddens me but even that is new to me, in the past, those feelings were something that I always tried to push away.

Paul (England)

In theatre I felt I had found myself in some way. Some people sing, some people dance, and some people play music, the talent I have is to act . . . it is actually accurate to say that I re-found myself . . . I had found the thread that took me back to my earlier acting experiences in school. This first involvement in prison theatre, when I was first related to on a level that was beyond that of 'prisoner', it provided me with the awareness that I did have a talent, an ability. It provided me with positive affirmation from my peers and friends. I discovered that indeed I am a person that could be accepted, admired, applauded and, indeed, loved.

I was seeing myself develop as a person, growing and going through a rebirth though times were horrible, there were times that I would think "this is the best thing that has ever happened to me." Though I was developing as a person and understanding myself more, at the same time I realized that the

reason all these great things are happening was that somebody is dead, and I had killed him, an ironic juxtaposition of things. I had to resolve this dilemma as best as I could.

9.3. The Ripple Effect

Roland Brus (Director, AufBruch)
All of a sudden, the ice melts, and the human being can be seen again. And it affects members of the audience when they are confronted by that transformation as there is a direct confrontation with realness. Between all the disparate groups–prisoners, staff, guards, the audience there are walls, but our actions cause ripples which spread out to affect them all in different ways . . .

Paul and his theatre company once went to the governor with the desire to perform Harold Pinter's "The Homecoming." The governor did not believe that a group of inmates could understand or relate to such a work. Paul said "I told her to not underestimate the audience, they will never understand it if they are not exposed to it." After a number of performances for outside audiences, the group performed for the prisoners.

Paul
All the cast agreed they got an incredible energy from that audience that they did not get from the outside audience. While some, possibly, did not grasp all the complexities of the piece, the response was much more engaged. I'm quite sure that Pinter himself would have regarded them as his best audience. The next day the aforementioned governor could barely look me in the eye, it was a supremely satisfying moment, a victory.

Neil (England)
First I went as an audience member. Theatre was out of my experience, I didn't know anything about it so I didn't attend with expectations. By about an hour and a half into that evening, the magic of total suspension of belief worked and I wasn't there, they were doing a play about people being transported from London's slums at the turn of the eighteenth century when the transportees were taken to Australia, and I was totally enthralled by it. It was good theatre, I was totally there in the show, and taken out of myself.

Paul
Before attending a performance, the inmates would get together in their cells and have a drink, smoke, hashish, which was not out of the ordinary. But the fact that inmates were going to theatre

together was like sticking two fingers up the system. The communal act of belief was a collective way of rebelling in itself.

In Maghaberry, Kevin and Jimmy were once performing a scene when an unplanned theatrical accident occurred in which it appeared to the audience that Jimmy had actually hit Kevin in the head. In reality, with a camera filming and a house full of prisoners in the audience, Kevin had passed out from the stress of going on stage. He hit the floor and received 12 stitches:

Kevin

And when I came back from the hospital guys I knew, lifers, came up and asked me if I was okay. They thought that a republican prisoner had scalped me, it came real close to being an outright war inside of the Maghaberry jail because of that.

Paul

People recognized us as the drama group. The majority of the prisoners respected the theatre and encouraged the talent and work. They knew us as prisoners in our roles as prisoners and then they saw us in our roles on stage, they never could separate the two. In one production there was a small part of a police officer played by an actor who was very popular in the prison. He was a bit mad, a big partier. He came out in the middle of the scene with his police costume on and the audience went into an up roar of laughter. The audience was losing it, their laughter did not seem to end. They could not get over the fact that this guy had on a cop uniform, he was not a person in prison they could associate with being a cop. The whole cast was on stage in this scene and I had to deliver the next line. I waited for the audience reaction to subside but they got louder and louder. I could see that some of my fellow cast members were trying desperately, and not too successfully, to stay in character. So eventually I had to bellow the line in order that we could continue. Voice projection didn't come into it!

Kevin (Northern Ireland)

When you say that it can take the stigma away form being a Loyalist from East Belfast, it did in a way, but never totally.

Paul (England)

But it was a positive thing that spread to the rest of the prison in terms of the ways in which the prisoners relate to each other. Playing a wide range of roles it challenged me as an actor. It broadened my world and was a voyage without travel. And the other prisoners too could live a different experience, prisoners seeing us as prisoners act a different role, they actually saw themselves in us. They could identify with us in a strong enough way that it could be empowering. It became all right for them to

act in different ways not normal for a prisoner. There became a genuine responsiveness to each other.

For example, Billie, who was a professional criminal, part of the criminal subculture, very much near the top of the criminal hierarchy and criminal fraternity. So he would conform to the norms of what was expected: cocky, aggressive, and smart off to the "screws." I would take him to the side and say "Billie stop it you don't need to do that. Think." And for a little while he did. Which was great! He started to reading, I introduced him to Dickens and we would have some great conversations about it. That was a positive thing that happened, it went beyond the group, it went into his everyday life. Something was produced in Billie that opened Billie's eyes and broadened his horizons. And he actually started to see through what he had been himself and what other people saw in him. He was quite disparaging about the people he use to look up to, that there was not much to value in these people. And this is not to totally dismiss these people. But he started to see the flaws and negativity in that life.

In Germany, two prisoners who had become best friends, Uwe and Don, fell in love with the same woman, Tanya. Don and Tanya were engaged to be married, but through Don's friendship with Uwe, Tanya and Uwe fell in love over a phone conversation. The rest of the theatre group angst as they watched the woman manipulate and divide the two men who were once cellmates and now had to be moved to different cell blocks. She married Don, but immediately turned around and filed for divorce to marry Uwe. Both men suffered from the situation: Don, after threatening to kill Tanya upon his nearing release, lost his parole date. And Uwe suffered a heart attack from the stress. What surprised many during this conflict between the two men, was that both men continued with the rehearsals and productions of "Endgame" in which the two men played opposite of each other: Uwe played the part of Clove, who was responsible for pushing Hamm, played by Don, around in a wheel chair. There is immense amount of tension between Hamm and Clov as they struggle over how to use their time to prove their own existences. The two are trapped inside of a building while on the outside there has been an apocalyptic, catastrophic event that may be the end of civilization. The climax came in the group's second performance of "Endgame," when on the same day Uwe and Tanya were getting married. The performance was at its best and somehow their friendship came out on the other end recovered.

9.3.1. Enter the Mirror

Eugenio Barba
In the end, theatre is the possibility of shaping your own small revolt leaving imperceptible traces for those who, by uncovering them, transform them into seeds of life. (1999, 91)

Donatella Massimilla (Director of Ticvin, Italy)

The entrance is striking and wounding, but I think that beyond the characteristics of the place what creates an impression is the sense of unease that is caused by going amongst those people whom we are socially afraid of and whom are locked up for this social fear . . . the strong presence of the actors, the urgency of the things to be said, the need, the strength, the capacity of communicating emotions, transforms the theatrical event into a ritual of collective participation where in all the elements of prison, like in a mirror, we observe and recognize ourselves.

Paul (Quoting from a theatre program for a performance in Wayland, written by Matthew Taylor):
"Some of you will have come due to the novelty of entering a prison but we hope, because of the quality of the theatre that you will return again and again, long after the novelty value has worn off."

Volker (Germany)
In performing for outside audiences, I have the chance to prove that in spite of the terrible crime that I committed, I am not all that bad…by looking at my file you would think that is all I am."

Paul (England)
When I performed to an audience from the outside I found that through my performance, what I did, I said to the audience, "Look at me I am a human being, I am capable of this, I am not just a prisoner. Don't try to stereotype me. Look beyond the stereo type." All of the roles I played were a wide range of different characters going through different experiences and emotion. Being able to perform them before an audience, and they see prisoners in different roles, perhaps it can help them understand that prisoners are multifaceted human beings like everybody else.

In a play entitled "Our Country's Good" that was set in 1917 during World War I, Paul and the theatre company in Wayland HMP performed a story of a young soldier who was off to fight in the trenches and found he could not take the horrendous conditions. He was arrested and sentenced to be short for attempting to desert.

Paul (England)
The play was all about the question of responsibility, but we didn't realize this at the time. But it was this one woman from the outside who was crying at the end of the play, and she came up to us and said that she saw how it was all about education wasn't it? She saw how it is to be caught up in this system, in this madness of a war. And how far is the individual responsible for his actions and how far is the pressure of society responsible?

In Calabria the southern tip of Italy, notorious for its war among police and Mafioso families as we were told by one passenger on our train ride down from Rome, "I hope you packed your gun for Calabria, you will need it. " Another passenger happened to be an official administrator at the prison to which we were heading, he spoke of the war between the police and Mafia and how two judges had recently been assassinated: "we treat them as they deserve, once family members enter, they go north and don't come back." We entered Locri prison where 160 men and 8 women were guarded by100 guards. After having our bags turned inside out we were escorted to the performance space by eight guards where we joined a large group of well-dressed politicians, prison staff, media, and clergy. The performance was in the Chapel/Library that maintained a few rows of books that we learned were useless being that prisoners are mostly illiterate. And even if they could read education was nearly impossible given the rigid isolation for each prisoner. The prisoners who came as audience entered the performance space in street clothes, groups of five walking in line with hands behind their back, as they approached each opened their hands exposing their palms to the guards at the door. The prisoners sat in the rear and we were told not to take pictures in their direction. The performance was ready to begin, our own translator was quieted down for the ceremony:

Priest: We are all the same suffering human beings for whom dance and sing as ways to express our feelings. Inside and outside the heart of each individual, there is a journey based on hope. Without hope we lose ourselves.

Prison Warden: We want to make a connection through theatre to the community of Europe. We want to destroy the barriers that are not only inside the prison, but outside, in the hopes of making the outside culture and prison one."

There was a strong applause amongst only one sector of the audience while another sector remained quiet. It was the first ever Locri prisoner theatre performance and the group had been rehearsing four weeks for this one day. The director, Fernando, had once worked in Locri as a teacher, but had been banned after prisoners saw him on TV protesting against the Mafia. Years later he was asked back by prisoners to them with this very theatre project. He was honored to be able to do the impossible and communicate with the other side of his society.

In the performance, the group of about 20 men wore traditional Italian comedia delle arte masks sitting in a circle on a floor level stage, beyond the vision of the audience. A camera received the images of the performers and projected a larger than life image upon a screen that hung above the men's heads in view of the spectators. The men took turns with the camera following speaking self-written monologues, poems, and songs.

Locri Prisoners:

The freedom, solitude and the journey of each man is unique, important, and cannot be repeated, but the real importance is the journey of the collective as each experience is the accumulation of every relationship in each of our lives.

The crowd journeyed me home to an African-American southern Baptist church I would attend with my girlfriend—singing, swaying, clapping, and nearly dancing in place. The men took off their masks to finish the performance by asking us to join them in a traditional Italian song and dance. Donatella Massimilla without hesitation joined the men in a dance that by Italian tradition was only for a man's participation.

After the performance the prisoners, hands behind their backs, were escorted out of the room first and as they walked by us one of the prisoners broke the line and went to speak to a guard. The prisoner headed towards Vincent, an actor and playwright from Belfast who had spoken to the audience before the performance of how the violent struggle for freedom in Northern Ireland paralleled the universal struggle for freedom in all imprisoned places. The prisoner looked Vincent in the eyes and extending his hand out which Vincent graciously received to give a handshake of peace.

9.4. Power through Theater

In Maghaberry, Kevin and Jimmy wrote a pantomime with the intention of seeing their children at Christmas, something that lifers were allowed but not those with shorter sentences like Kevin and Jimmy.

Mike Maloney

This was really great! We used the theatre in itself as a vehicle for improving not only their relations in prison, but also improving their family links to the outside, and on the inside they were getting a respect, a new corner inside.

Kevin

The pantomime we wrote was called "The Enchanted Forest," based on a local character who use to come in and speak in schools when we were kids. Crazy stuff, we had the Oz characters actually coming back from Oz and going through the enchanted forest. So Jimmy and I got our daughters to act in it. Credit needs to be given to the prison authority. Sadly enough I use to imagine my kids watching CNN American TV programs of prison. But I got my daughter into my cell and showed her that I wasn't being tortured, there were no dogs snapping at me and I didn't have handcuffs on. A lot of guys, single guys had no kids to bring in, they enjoyed the fact of seeing us with our kids.

Prison Administrator (Tegel-Germany)

The theatre work is very important for the inmates, because, basically, they are better in touch with people from the outside, which helps their social-interaction skills. Those involved with the theatre are the only prisoners who participate in any form of group-work, because of this the theatre work is quite special and it is supported by the prison. We try to make possible whatever can be made possible.

These groups (see Appendix E for websites) forming the Travel Diary, the Escape Artists (England out of Wayland), AufBruch (Germany into Tegel), Ticvin (Italy into San Victorre), and the Prison Arts Network (Northern Ireland into Maghaberry), have in common a belief that all prisoners should have access to the arts from which point each group had their own ideas of transforming society as proven by each of the group's different ways of working. They also have in common their greatest obstacle to their work with the prisoners: their success.

Neil

I use to think: 'when are they going to catch on and stop me from doing this'? I was getting too much good out of it. Any situation that is advantageous at all is often fought over in prison. Nobody saw it like that at all. They just let us get on with it.

Paul

There is that argument of—people are sent to prison to be punished and they should be only there to suffer. So for a lot of people who work in prison they see prisoners enjoying themselves in art or theatre and having a pleasurable experience, that shouldn't be allowed in their eyes. Theatre is definitely the antithesis of prison in their view. But here you have something very very positive and you have a continuous resistance towards it. And I asked "what is wrong with this"? We had people in the group leaving the prison and not coming back, and Wayland Prison is like a revolving door. Yet every time we finished a production we had to return back to square one with the same obstacles and petty mindedness by several individuals. These individuals produced a similar conscious awareness that wanted us to fail and be stopped. In a way that spurred us on, against and through the odds we had to achieve this again.

The reason why there was a strong movement against it was because it was seen as an act of rebellion that was impossible to stop. We discovered this guy who had never acted before. He got the lines down and was actually excellent. After three productions this new actor said "we have power." I had never thought of it in that way before . . . So we did have some power, very little, but a little is enormous for a prisoner.

The spotlight and hoopla came upon our group because I could ask for something in a production and usually I got it. We were telling governors what to do, that was extraordinary for prisoners. Prisoners do not make demands….but the lines would become blurred between prisoner and prison staff. On the one hand you are antagonizing certain elements in the prison authorities, and on the other hand you can be antagonizing other prisoners. Theatre revealed a chink in their armor.

> ‘identity scandal’—identity concerns point to the difficulty of sustaining a drama of difference between persons who could in many cases reverse roles and play on the other side. It is not clear what problems these ceremonies solve, but it is clear what problems they point to. (Goffman 1961, 112)

Paul (England)

There were times in which relationships emerged between myself and prison staff, that could not be exposed too often. I think it became difficult for some members of staff to relate to us, especially to those who had many years of prison ahead of us. They saw the work we did, the talent involved, the discipline and responsibility and I believe they recognized the futility of keeping us in prison, which in turn possibly led some of them to question their role. I had five years left and I was ready to live in society and develop relationships in a natural way. But to admit or reveal this would condemn the system that constantly punishes someone for the same crime, the long prison sentences, and the jobs of probation and prison officers.

Maghaberry’s theatre group had been working upon a first run play they were to perform for the Belfast leg of the Travel Diary (see Methodology). But one week before the event with an international crowd ready to converge upon their stage to become their audience, Mike received the news:

Mike Maloney

The prison thought that it was getting too big, each prisoner wanted to invite 6 people from the outside per prisoner involved with the productions. The prison said that it was too big because now we have an ownership of about 50 or 60 people from set designers and builders. So they said we have to go down to something ludicrous like two people for every prisoner. It was a “Mexican Standoff” at that point, all of the students and actors were in, and the prisoners said we are not going on unless you give us the six. The prison kept on with meetings and were embarrassed quite a bit because they realized that this pressure group had “waged the dog” so to speak. So they agreed to 4 visitors per prisoner who was involved. But that broke the back, the governor wrote a report and said this is getting un-wielding, and we have to take a re-look at it. That brought an end to it.

9.5. The Return Home of a Hero

Kevin (Northern Ireland)

I found a great achievement. I actually had done a thing called “Act of Fear” with the BBC. A guy who had always done Shakespeare came in from the outside of prison as the director. It

was basically improvisation with the drama group in prison, it was based on how we use to wrong each other in prison. They asked us at the end what we got out of it the most. For me it was not being seen on TV. For me it was one of the only great achievements that my family would appreciate, that I've ever done. I felt it was an achievement for my family and for my children.

Paul (England)
Coming out of prison and having done twelve and a half years of a life sentence, if it were not for prison theatre I would have not had any concrete positive growing experience while I had been in prison. Escape Artist immediately gave me direction and focus on the outside for my life which I may not have had. My friends and family saw me coming out to something very positive, saw that I had changed as a person and that I had been involved in this creation. I had a sense of pride. I was proud that it was something that I had done that was positive and that I could talk to them about. Many people don't come out with anything to show for their sentence, no family, no money, no support, no job.

The reality of an actor's life, unless you are incredibly successful, is that you just don't work. Actors and artists are often chaotic people. Then you add on the baggage of just coming out of prison and being on parole. There are just so many things to juggle. And to be an artist on top of that . . . you are placed in front of rejection all of the time.

Billie had never done theatre before prison, did about five productions with us. He was a natural great actor with raw talent. After he was released from prison he was invited to come into Escape Artists, but he had come from a family and environment that was very suspicious of theatre and the people who work in theatre. And he had a wife and two children. He could not become involved on a material level, and because theatre is not considered a positive thing for where he is from. He is now drinking himself to death. There are so many who would like to, but can't because of the material needs in life, the house and job is always the problem.

Kevin:
Our writing became blocked after prison. It's okay when you have the time and the money, but not when you are trying to put the food on the table and keep the family warm.

Claudio La Camera (Director of Proskenion: Scilla, Italy)
It is times like these that society no longer sponsors the actor, but it is the actor that has to come to the aide of society.

Romeo (Italy)

When I was still in prison my family was impacted by the changes they saw in me. I changed first, then they changed. I think that change can happen depending on you and how you see society, what can you do for society. I have learned that I can do something to help using my experience in prison and society that I can communicate with people in prison and not in prison, through theatre.

Kevin (Northern Ireland)

When I came out a group of kids asked me to do something for the public forum. So I contacted Jimmy in Maghaberry through his wife to ask him if we could do the play that he and I had written inside. And he sent the word of yes. I got "problem kids" who've never acted in their life before with the oldest being 16 or 17, mostly girls. We did two months of rehearsals and three shows I wanted them to do it right. They were kids of Belfast that knew who I was. I said: "I'm not here to fucking piss off! We will get this play done right and you are going to hate and detest me for the next couple of months, but when we do the play you will thank me for it." And sure enough after the play was done the kids were begging me to write another play for them to go on stage. That was four years ago and the kids are still thanking me on the street.

I got Jimmy's wife to come over and present her with a certificate of appreciation for Jimmy being the writer of it. It was an odd thing when I stood up on stage, and they heard me say Jimmy's name, they went "Jimmy, he's talking about Jimmy?" And I just went "Jimmy was the greatest partner in writing this pantomime and I want his wife to take this certificate in appreciation for his writing." She was very courageous to come over to East Belfast and watch a play of kids.

I've been asked to do workshops in West Belfast areas, but I still don't feel comfortable. I would love to do workshops in this day in age simply because I know how to talk to young people. I know the impact that it can have on the youth when they hear it from somebody that's been there and done it and gotten the t-shirt for it. They listen and when they hear it from somebody from the backstage who has done the business that they are trying to do or that they want to do, it hits them strait.

Matthew Taylor (Director of Escape Artists)

I don't think it is possible to underestimate the effect Escape Artists has when we take our work inside. Prisoners see Paul acting, they see good theatre. In the post-performance discussion they learn that Paul, an ex-prisoner, now has a career as an actor. Furthermore they discover that Escape Artists began life as a prison drama group. It offers hope and inspires, we have seen this,

witnessed it and surely "hope and inspiration" should be vital ingredients in a positive penal system.
(Escape Artists 2001)

In Tegel prison, we witnessed Paul perform before a group his one act play "Monster" written by Dominic Wallis. The story is of Alfred, a homeless alcoholic that everyday watches the children play from his park bench. Alfred revels in the newspaper article that details the murder of a child "under his watch," and he revels in his own history as a soldier in World War II where he is still confronted with the duty he once had to kill a child himself. Paul's performance was translated into German as the play proceeded. At the end, the men stood to give Paul a thunderous standing ovation. Afterwards, Paul took questions from the group of prisoners. Many of the prisoners were in disbelief at Paul's performance and they questioned him about how he got his skills? What methods did he use? How did he become and what was it like to be a "working actor"? They questioned him about his own criminal and prison record, and why he chooses not to reveal his crime.

Paul (England)
If I become successful, I wouldn't want my name to show up in the paper and cause the victims more pain. But at the end of the day, if it were to happen, in one respect I would like to keep it quiet. On the other hand, the other people who have achieved success, I can only think of two people who have killed someone and gone on to be high profile actors. They did have their lives exposed out in the public and in a way they turned their backs to their prison past. In a way I would like to turn that around and be able to say "yea that's right that's my background that's what I did and I'm still hear and doing okay. I'm leading what I consider a productive life like anybody else, and what's wrong with that? And also to say, if I can do it, then somebody else can do it. I mean what would you rather have—people coming out prison, robbing and raping because of having been beaten and twisted by the system. Or people coming out making positive contributions to society and the system. Also, by becoming successful as an actor, it can become a platform for prison theatre and its benefits as well.

Later that night Paul's prisoner audience of Tegel would perform their production of "The Gladgow Gang" before a crammed gymnasium of prisoners, guards, and outside audience members. The performance is based upon the criminal legend of Walter Gladgow who was a mere teenager when he started his own gang to become East Berlin's Al Capone. He set out to perform the "perfect crime" burglarizing without the intention of killing. Gladgow and his gang became a source of comedy for the newly divided city of Berlin. But when the first death happened in the late 1940s the comedy turned to tragedy as the Gladgow gang was caught, put on trial, and sentenced to death. The prisoners of Tegel act as members of the gang and experts in their specialized fields of

crime. They interacted with the audience in small groups giving workshops on the school of crime, pointing out how a defective childhood is important and the essential training techniques of delinquency.

The free people of the audience had entered the space initially very quiet, seemingly fearful. But as the performance progressed the buzz of the audience grew in laughter and intrigue as they were swooped into the land of imagination. In the end they gave the performers a thunderous standing ovation. Their fears seemed to have subsided as they excitedly took turns shaking the hands and having their pictures taken with the celebrated artists. Finally, a guard demanded: THE SHOW IS OVER! The men went to their cells and we returned home.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

David Deutsch
Everyone in the prison system has their own view and the truth probably lies somewhere in the middle of all that. I believe that some prisoners have as skewed a perspective on prison as the prison officials. However, for the most part, a number of prisoners and guards see it fairly accurately. In prison one frequently hears only a fraction of the truth as it applies to the person telling their story. Interviewing staff, guards, volunteers, prisoners, administrators, and ex-prisoners is a necessity if one is to sort out the "truth" on a meaningful level.

This final chapter first summarizes this research project and then puts forth questions for future research in regards to prisons and the practice of anthropology. Again this research does not aim to replace the dominant view of prison and prisoners, but instead wishes to add complexity through multiplicity to the experience of prison life.

Over the last two centuries the prison has been the location where power and truth have culminated into one point. The power to punish is the power to determine what is criminal, and therefore what is human. The punished have been the poor vagabond, the immigrant, the female, the homeless and mentally ill, the drug addict, the people of color, and the politically dangerous. Fear and the moralization of behavior have been effective tools to evoke division and control of the larger populations from which the criminal has emerged.

The prisoner rights movement was led by an informed black revolutionary in solidarity from the inside of prison with a young white middle class population on the outside. Their often controversial efforts of resistance began to change the story being told about the truth of criminality. After the rebellion was quelled, a new surplus population of blacks, the poor, and the drug addicted emerged in the 1970s and 1980s. The political right and its moralized "war on drugs" and "three strikes" sent masses of the population into the newly built prisons. Ronald Reagan's dream of a new modernized dungeon in the form of Security Housing Units (SHU) was constructed to punish the most "dangerous." Rehabilitation and education were discarded for a regime based only upon punishment and labor, while punishment became intimate partners with corporate profits through construction, management, supplies, and labor. Avenues for the voice of the prisoner were closed and the guards' union became the most powerful political force in the state of California. Guard corruption, abuse, and gang warfare has been documented inside of prisons, but driven by the media and politicians, the criminal truth and moral framework of the Strict Father Model has naturalized and rationalized the brutality of prisons in social consciousness.

With a focus on San Quentin and the California Department of Corrections, I have situated my research inquiry with Angela Davis's call to dismantle this "prison industrial complex" through the building of a "continuum of alternatives." My methodology is based on the principles of participatory research and participant observation. My theoretical orientation is feminist and emancipatory anthropology, which has an objective of providing a platform for the complexity and multiplicity of prison voices to invoke in the reader a new image of society's constructed prisoner. The intent is to create a larger, more open space for our interactions, and to inspire creativity in the exploration of alternative ways of being with one another.

My research efforts included: a) my work as a volunteer going inside of San Quentin with the Alternative to Violence Project and as a tutor for one semester with the college program; b) my participation with the European Prison Theatre Travel Diary, going into imprisoned sights of England, Northern Ireland, Italy, and Germany where prisoner theatre projects attempt to survive. In San Quentin, the information I collected was based upon informal conversations and experiences with participants of both the college program and the Alternative to Violence Project. In Europe and in the Bay Area, I collected 19 formal interviews with prisoners and ex-prisoners. My research also was informed by a number of eyewitness accounts, interviews, and conversations with prison guards, officials, teachers, support staff, volunteers, activists, and prior research. The foundation for my theoretical understanding of the prison system is based upon my reading and application of Michel Foucault's analysis of power and the carceral system. My writing is centered upon the experience of the prison by participants, but with a focus upon the prisoner through my understanding of this as a participant observer. The prison being experienced at the forefront of this writing is San Quentin and the California Department of Corrections. But to give both local and universal relevance, this prison experience writing is carried also by experiences of prisons in parts of Europe and the United States.

For a newly arrived prisoner, the experience of the CDC begins at San Quentin or another of three reception centers with an evaluation period in which a prisoner's work skills, psychiatric, health and security needs is assessed. Based upon this information, a prisoner is then sent to one of thirty-two CDC prisons, which are rated according to their security levels 1- 4, with the SHU serving as the system's disciplinarian "hole." San Quentin, which once segregated the most dangerous, has now three missions: a reception center, a main population of level one and two prisoners, and death row.

To the public, San Quentin presents itself as being one of the most progressive regimes of the CDC with over 3000 volunteers and an extensive education and religious programs. But its history and aging facility, the presence of death row, and relationship to the larger CDC prison regime, makes it still a very violent place to live and work.

Prisoners are doubled celled inside of a bathroom-size concrete cellblocks that are under-ventilated and either too cold or hot. The food is "three notches below vending machine" and routines are monotonous and centered upon exploitative work. "Official" segregation is according to race and gang affiliation and they kill each other within the same construct, though the prison refers to it as "unofficial" segregation. Guards are given total power and depend upon fear and division to control the larger prisoner populations. Prisoners are expected to submit to the guards' degradation, illogical rules, counts and lockdowns. To attend education and vocational programs requires a strong

self-discipline and self-sacrifice that conflicts with the realities of prison life. Despite the fact that active family relationships are known to decrease recidivism among prison populations, family relations are hampered more than they are enhanced by conditions both inside and outside of prison. Volunteers going into the prison in relation to prisoners and parolees, are expected to adapt to the prison object culture of disconnection. After prison they are to have no contact with parolees despite the lack of outside support for them.

In San Quentin there are two distinctly different sub-cultures. First, there is the "inmate culture," "in and outers," "short timers,"; they are often crazed by stress-induced by the screws and illogical rules of the daily routine and often are numbed by drug addiction and psychiatric medications. They are driven into fear through the threat of violence, isolation, and more time on their sentence, often becoming hardened and self-destructive. They remained divided and alienated from one another. If given the opportunity, some will snitch upon their fellow prisoners to improve their material condition. Their political consciousness and moral fiber is locked away with their fears in administrative segregation and the SHU's. The secret society that is ruled by gangs of guards is more powerful, corrupt, and threatening than ever. At the end of their sentences, prisoners are provided a pre-release program that is to prepare them for the outside in a matter of weeks. There is no bridge back into the community, instead there is shame, civil death, and a complexity of illogical ways to violate parole. While 95% will return to society from prison, over 70% return back to prison from society.

> One should not see in delinquency the most intense, most harmful form of illegality, the form that the penal apparatus must try to eliminate through imprisonment because of the danger it represents; it is rather an effect of penality (and of the quality of detention) that makes it possible to differentiate, accommodate and supervise illegalities. No doubt delinquency is a form of illegality; certainly it has its roots in illegality, but it is an illegality that the 'carceral system', with all its ramifications, has invested, segmented, isolated, penetrated, organized, enclosed in a definite milieu, and to which it has given an instrumental role in relation to the other illegalities. In short, although the juridical opposition is between legality and illegal practice, the strategic opposition is between illegalities and delinquency. (Foucault 1977, 277)

Then there is the "lifer convict" that has learned the ropes and developed personalized "programs": strategies to cope with the stressors of prison life. Religion/spirituality, teaching, learning, and communicating with outside community and family are the foundations to their time. In Foucault's terms these are some of the dangerous "illegalities" whose stories and knowledge has the potential to mobilize the masses and subvert the dominant hierarchy. They speak philosophically and poetically the truth of their existence. Most are even known by staff to be ready for freedom, yet there is very little chance for them considering the political and moral climate of our time.

As I have critiqued, according to Foucault, the Western prison, which he refers to as the "carceral system", has always been critiqued for the same shortcomings:

1) prison's primary purpose and effect should be to reform behavior
2) there needs to be an accurate method of classifying prisoners
3) punishment should be individualized
4) meaningful work is needed
5) educational components should be incorporated into the process of reformation
6) prison staff should be skillfully trained in the technique of imprisonment
7) prison needs to support the inmate's reentry into society to insure a successful social reintegration (1977, 264-70).

Foucault defines the carceral system as a cyclical mechanism of power and knowledge that seeks reform but always ends up with "prison as its own remedy."

How this cycle has been perpetuated is through a limited access of information. Even now, at its height of dysfunction, the prison produces through information manipulation the illusion that "they," the prisoners, are their own demise. Prison officials state that they restrict media access because of the media's desire to make a hero out of the criminal. The prison relies upon the stereotyped "black angry violent beast" from which they protect us. The secret society of prison negates

> the public's ability to shape government policy, to correct abuses, to understand crime, to evaluate prison programs and practices, and generally to reassess our costly and ineffectual system of criminal justice . . . It is far easier to barricade one's fears behind walls of concrete, rolls of razor wire, and reams of clichés than to deal with the realities of the criminal justice experience in our troubled society. But the people society has put out of sight and out of mind, continue to exist, and they are shaped—or warped—by the conditions to which we have relegated them. (Sussman 2002, 275)

Every time I went into a prison, I found a little bit of myself hiding in the shadows behind the walls. No more so than the time that I was tutoring Rick in the college program of San Quentin. We were nearly mirror images of one another: white, upper-middle class families, privileged with an abundance of opportunities. He was a former academic standout and I a standout athlete for our private high schools. But we both felt while growing up somewhat outside of ourselves, and the social circle we inherited by our privilege. We both took steps into the "wrong crowd," but Rick ended up with a life in prison and I in anthropology and theatre. And while Rick is a unique example, the simple truth is that there is a social overlap we have with every imprisoned human being. By the simple act of listening to the differences and similarities of those imprisoned, one can quickly realize the very blurry line that separates the in and out sides.

Prison theatre is not only about the creative being that is often hidden away in each of us, and the human right to have access to explore the avenue of art and other self-empowering avenues of knowledge production. Prison theatre is about the resiliency of the human spirit to creatively resist and offers a model that condemns a system's inhumanity. It is what people are capable of when they are treated as creative human beings: enemies becoming friends through a creative partnership; learning how to be committed to working, playing, and trusting one another; learning to think and act

collectively, beyond the individual and into the family collective. Prison theatre is also about sowing a seed of change. It is about prisoners seeing other prisoners act differently, about prisoners thinking and acting differently; the outside coming to the inside to see prisoners in a different light, and returning to the outside to think and act differently. Prison theatre is about prisoners becoming their own media. The prisoner leaves prison to become a role model, a hero for social peace and justice, contributing to a less violent society. According to Paul "prison theatre is about hope!" And I must add "for the walls of ignorance to fall crumbling down!"

As Angela Davis writes, we should "strive to disarticulate crime and punishment, race and punishment, class and punishment, and gender and punishment" (2003, 112-13). In California, there is a current initiative to change the "three strikes" law, by making the third strike only applicable toward a violent third offense. And we are steps away from the decriminalization of the drug abuser through California's Proposition 36, the Substance Abuse and Crime Prevention Act of 2000. From 2000 to 2001 there was a reduction of 3539 low-level drug possession offenses sent to prison. Considering the costs of imprisonment ($26,894 per person/year) and the estimated costs of one treatment cycle ($3177), a net savings of up to $83.5 million is possible (Males, Macalier, and Jamison 2002). And according to the Little Hoover (2003) institute, there is a possibility that California can save up to $50.4 million in 2003-4 and 100.8 million in 2004-5 through alternative sanctions for non-criminal and low-level drug related parole violations.

How such money is spent depends upon the values of society and our ability to make informed decisions as a collective body of people capable of thinking outside of the box. We first must address the values and practices that cause entire communities and populations to be criminalized. I agree with Angela Davis (2003) when she declares that not one person should feel excluded or need to steal. Our schools should be both demilitarized and revitalized; everyone who wishes to should be able to go to college; everyone who needs it should have mental and physical healthcare, free and equitably for all!

We should not imprison women who have found violence as their only self-defense out of an abusive relationship. Instead of punishing such a person, society should help her heal and then empower her with knowledge and tools to prevent the cycle from repeating. Men who do and do not have violence in their pasts, should not be given violence in their future. Prisons impose upon prisoners a "humiliation, degradation, brutalization, terrorization, deprivation, and despair, intentionally or not, could hardly be better designed to stimulate the maximal amount of violent behavior." Gilligan writes, "Prisons are punishment; they are not for punishment." To allow a prisoner to be raped, injured, and killed through imprisonment is to subject a person to a form of capital punishment that is cruel and unusual and beyond the legally sanctioned sentence of imprisonment (Gilligan, 2000).

> The correctional system's focus on punishment alone is not adequately protecting Californians from the 125,000 inmates released from prison each year. (Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy 2003)

There have been signs of progress. In March 2003, $13 million was approved by the federal government to implement research on a study of prison rape with the aim to prevent and prosecute (Stop Prisoner Rape). Models of reparation and reconciliation rather than retribution and vengeance, have emerged and been given notice. In San Francisco's county jail, 64 male violent offenders participated in 12 hours, 6 days a week of group therapy, theatrical, artistic, and verbal avenues of self-expression, substance abuse treatment, education, medical care, vocational and religious counseling, with additional follow-up activities after release. Underlying the experiment is a model of reparative/restorative justice to replace the retribution model. Offenders are allowed to make amends with their victim, while being exposed to conversations with victims of violent crime. The immediate result was only one fight in the first 13 months of its existence in the same dormitory that saw three-dozen violent incidents in the prior year.

Some very small changes within the system as it is can be made to greatly reduce the harm of prisons and cycle of recidivism among non-violent "criminals" immediately (See Appendix D). This kind of change is not about forgetting the victim it is about repairing those who have been the victim and preventing more from becoming the victim. George Lakoff writes that the rise of the conservative and their Strict Family Model has occurred because they have learned that politics is about family and morality, about myth and metaphor and emotional identification. They have over twenty-five years, managed to forge conceptual links in the voters' minds between morality and public policy. They have done this by carefully working out their values, comprehending their myths, and designing a language to support those values and myths so that they can evoke them with powerful slogans, repeated over and over again. This language of slogans reinforces the family-morality-policy links, until the connections have come to seem natural to many Americans, including many in the media. As long as liberals ignore the moral, mythic, and emotional dimension of politics, as long as they stick to policy and interest groups and issue-by-issue debate, they will have no hope of understanding the nature of the political transformation that has overtaken this country and they will have no hope of changing it. (1996, 19)

But by living in a mode of assessment, that is, by constantly assessing these familiar cultural practices of punishment that we consider to be logical truths, we are able to provide spaces for an acceptance of differences, and allow ourselves to live in relation to and in use of a multiplicity of practices. That is by not having a foundation, one way of understanding, one set of truths, one way to deal with what a culture defines as criminal, we find stability through a "foundationless" reality. We become more diverse in our strategies, practices, and forms of living in relation to others (Shapiro 1999). Discipline and prison culture undermines this multiplicity in producing a foundation of truth and norm for conformity, not only for the prisoner, but the society at large.

We have to transform the mythology of family into our own dialogue and conception. To do this we need to be the producers and disseminators of our own knowledge. Future research is needed into such practical matters as to how we can initiate programs within the prison system based upon inclusive family values inside and outside of prisons.

Scott

Life is a learning experience and it does not have to happen within institutionalized education. All bureaucracies are ran the same, be

it the prison, school, industry. You the individual: What is your primary objective? Do you want to bring that hierarchy down? How are you going to do it on the outside trying to oppose it? You get more from a bear with some honey than with some shit. You have to learn the dialects of politics to get ahead of the game. I know that I am not going to get all the demands that I am asking for, but then I am not going to settle for less than a certain amount. Prison is the central institution of our society, as it has been for so many years. That is where you effect change!"

Devah Pager, a University of Wisconsin graduate student, recently completed a dissertation that demonstrated how white men leaving prison have a better chance in getting a job than black men without a criminal record. Her research stirred debate amongst the 2004 Democratic Party candidates, and caused President Bush in his State of the Union address to announce a $300 million post-release program to help build a bridge back into the community for parolees.

I am reminded of Marcus (see 8.4) in San Quentin who was sent to his death as he left the prison's gates because he had no such help in his transition. He was somebody that I could have helped if I did not succumb to the illogical rules of the system. How many men, women, and youth have fallen victim because of this dysfunction?

How do we engage in an emancipatory anthropology that seeks reparation of human lives and social justice against such an inhumane system? Anthropological research is needed to help redefine the "family values." Already existing models in reparative/restorative justice that exist locally and internationally, need to be investigated and voiced. Practical questions of how to give life to such alternative practices and how they interweave with the multiplicity of our society need to be investigated.

The fact that my research lacked a "formal" sponsorship by the California Department of Corrections was both a limitation and strength to the findings. Because I did not represent the prison regime, prisoners felt safer talking with me. But I believe that to change the beast, we must become part of it. After all, how can the system argue with findings authorized by itself? But how does anthropology engage in emancipatory research inside of an institution where equality in human relationships is inherently unequal and power over knowledge is so profound? How do we bring to center the individuals who experience the margins of the margins in such a way that all their difference and similarities are brought forth equally? The operatives of the carceral system negates the multiplicity of its subjects, but the power of such an alternative body of knowledge that I am suggesting relies upon its validation by those who live the experience of prison in all of their multiplicity. The decolonization of anthropology is mandated if it is to become a strategic tool in the decolonization of such an imprisoned society.

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APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM

Michael McCamish, a doctoral student in the Social and Culture Anthropology Program at the California Institute of Integral Studies in San Francisco, is conducting a study researching the culture of prison and theatre, of which you may or may not be associated. The study also will address your experience of life before you became involve with the prison and theatre, your experience of prison and theatre, and how the prison/theatre has effected you as a person.

Your participation involves an interview that is completely voluntary. The interview will last around 60 to 120 minutes. The interview is subject to being published.
In the interview you will be asked to describe your experiences before, after, and during your prison experience in relation to the other prisoners, prison resources, programs, and prison staff, along with relationships outside of prison.

The interview may lead to subject matter that is sensitive to you and upon your request Michael McCamish will terminate the interview or refer you to a counseling resource. You are free to refuse answering any question or end the interview at any point of time that you feel is necessary. Michael McCamish will be available before, during, and after the interviewing process to answer or address any of your concerns, and to facilitate referrals to a counselor if the need should arise. He can be contacted at (415)-921-4571, at 1140 Sutter St #408, SF,CA.94109.

All information you contribute will be held in the strictest of confidence within the limits of the law (see the attached statement). The interview will be tape recorded upon your consent. The audio tapes and transcripts will be kept locked in a box to which only Michael McCamish has a key. The tapes and transcripts will be identified only by number. All tapes will be destroyed after the research is complete. Michael McCamish will be the only individual with access to their contents. If you choose to not be recorded, Michael McCamish will limit the interview to notes taken during and after the course of the interview.

Whether you choose to be recorded or not, the use of your information in the published results will be referred to by a pseudonym only (unless you give special consent at the bottom). Neither your name and any identifying information will be included in the dissertation or the written notes of the researcher.

Prior to the finishing of the study, a copy of Michael McCamish's interpretation of his interview with you will be provided to you to insure a more accurate telling of your information. Your request to have excluded any details of the researcher's interpretations

of your interview from the dissertation will be honored. Michael McCamish will also accommodate any other requests of yours to further safeguard your confidentiality, or make your interview more accurate in his representing of it.

No direct benefit, either financial or from the experience of the interview itself, is offered or guaranteed. However, you may find the process interesting and thought provoking. The information you provide may contribute to changes that benefit future prisoners and the administration of prison and theatre inside of prison.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a participant in this research, or if you feel that you have been placed at risk, you may report them-anonymously if you wish-to Sean Kelley, Human Research Review Committee, California Institute of Integral Studies, 1453 Mission St., SF,CA. 94103, telephone 415-575-6100.

I,_____, consent to participate in the study on the relationships of prison and prison theatre, conducted by Michael McCamish of the California Institute of Integral Studies. I have received a copy of this consent form and the Confidentiality Statement, and I understand that my confidentiality will be protected within the limits of the law.

Check the circle appropriate to you:
0- I give permission to use my name in the writing and eventual publishing of this dissertation
0- I do not give permission to the use of my name, but do give consent to the use of my story for this dissertation and future publication.
0- I agree to have the interview recorded
0- I do not agree to have the interview recorded but will still participate.

_____ _____
Signature Date Signature Date
Of Participant Witness

_____
Signature of Date
Researcher

Check the circle that is appropriate to you.

0 Yes I would like to read and provide feedback to the written summary of my interview with Michael McCamish.

0 No I would not like to read and provide feedback to the written summary of my interview with Michael McCamish.

APPENDIX B: STATEMENT OF CONFIDENTIALITY

Your privacy with respect to information you disclose during participation in this study will be protected within the limits of the law. However, there are circumstances where a researcher is required by law to reveal information, usually for the protection of the research participant. A report to the appropriate authorities is required in the following cases:

-if, in the judgement of the researcher, a participant becomes dangerous to himself or herself or others (or their property), and revealing the information is necessary to prevent the danger;
-if there is suspected child abuse, in other words if a child under 16 has been victim of a crime or neglect;
-if there is suspected elder abuse, in other words if a woman or man age 60 or older has been victim of a crime or neglect.

Outside of these circumstances your identity will be completely protected through the use of an identified pseudonym (see consent form) in the use of your information in the researcher's published dissertation. Your name will be withheld from all of the researcher's written notes and reports required during the process of writing this dissertation.

*If this interview is being recorded, the tape will be kept at the home of the researcher locked away in a safe. After your information is transferred onto written form, the recording will be destroyed.

APPENDIX C- CHART: *THOUSANDS OF INMATES CYCLE THROUGH THE SYSTEM*[13]

[13] Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy 2003

APPENDIX D-CHART: *HOW PUBLIC SAFETY COULD BE IMPROVED*[14]

[14] Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy 2003

APPENDIX E: WEBSITES

The Prison Arts Foundation-Northern Ireland
http://www.prisonartsfoundation.com/html/linkshome.htm

European Travel Diary from Imprisoned Places-Milan Italy
http://utenti.lycos.it/Paolino_Paperino/carcere/Index.htm

Escape Artists-Cambridge, England
http://www.esc-arts.dircon.co.uk/

Prison Arts Network (International location)
http://groups.msn.com/PrisonArtsNetwork/_homepage.msnw?pgmarket=en-gb

AufBruch-Germany
http://www.planet-tegel.de/portal_dt/htm/home/home1.shtml