

of a movement in any country. Only when a common vocabulary, a shared framework of ideas and aspirations can be communicated by a specialized press can a true "gay identity" develop. Otherwise the members of the gay subculture are isolated and atomized, thrown back on their own, often limited intellectual and moral resources. It is characteristic of the Communist bloc that even where the sodomy laws tenaciously retained by previous bourgeois regimes have been repealed by fiat, no gay periodicals are allowed, even under strict Party supervision. This prohibition confirms that such regimes are unwilling to grant their homosexual citizens the right to a corporate personality, the status of a legitimate interest group with its own voice in public affairs. The gay press is the collective voice of the homosexual minority in society, and its right to exist should be defended as part of the irreducible minimum of toleration which such a community requires. It has the function of disseminating news of importance to its readers, defending their interests in public debate, and combatting efforts at defamation and persecution on the part of their political and religious foes.

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PRINCE-AND-PAUPER SYNDROME

See Working Class, Eroticization of.

PRISONS, JAILS, AND REFORMATORIES

Incarceration facilities have for some time provided data for those seeking a comprehensive understanding of the full

range and potential of homosexual behavior. These facilities host social worlds in which sexual acts and long-term sexual pairing between people of the same gender, who consider themselves and are generally considered by others both to be heterosexual ("man"/"punk" pairs), are not only common but validated by the norms of the prisoner's subculture.

General Features of Incarceration Facilities. Incarceration centers constitute a subset of the "total institution," a category which includes the several branches of the armed forces and boarding schools. Along with monasteries and nunneries, incarceration facilities are characterized by gender segregation, a limited interface with the outside world, and an official norm of sexual abstinence. Like other total institutions, confinement facilities witness a good deal of resistance on the part of their inmates to the regimentation demanded by the institution; such resistance can take the form of involvement in officially censured sexual activity.

There is a great deal of diversity among institutions holding prisoners sent to them by government as a result of criminal charges. Probably the most salient differences exist between confinement centers for males and for females, at least with regard to the prevalent sexual conditions; unless otherwise noted, the account below pertains to facilities for males, who are still nearly 19 out of every 20 prisoners in the United States, with similar ratios elsewhere. Confinement institutions for the mentally disturbed and for privately-committed juveniles have been omitted from this article for lack of data. For similar reasons, there is a focus on contemporary American institutions, which held nearly three-quarters of a million prisoners in the late 1980s at any one time and saw nearly eight million admissions over the course of a year (mostly short jail lock-ups for minor offenses such as public drunkenness).

Confinement institutions for adults (most commonly 18 or over, though

there is considerable variation in age limits) may be divided into *prisons* and *jails*. Prisons are places of incarceration for persons serving a sentence, usually of a year or longer; they are divided by security level into maximum (long-term), medium, and minimum (short-term) security. A jail, properly speaking, is a place of detention for defendants awaiting trial or sentencing and for convicts serving misdemeanor or very short sentences. This division, which is characteristic of modern penal systems, is replicated at the juvenile level with reformatories (going by a wide variety of names) and juvenile detention centers. Both "prison" and "jail," though especially the latter, are also used as comprehensive terms for all confinement institutions.

The proportion of the general population which is incarcerated varies enormously from jurisdiction to jurisdiction; the countries with the highest rates are said to be South Africa, the Soviet Union, Cuba, and the United States. Demographically, the incarcerated population is overwhelmingly young, with the late teens and twenties predominating, and lower or working class.

Historically, widespread confinement is a relatively recent development, replacing previous criminal sanctions of execution, banishment, and short times in the stocks and pillories. Imprisonment as a punishment for crime is unknown to the Mosaic law, whether for sexual or for non-sexual offenses. The first penitentiaries were built in the United States in the nineteenth century and were soon copied by other countries, although debtor's jails existed for some time previous.

Not all penal systems have sought to banish sex from the prisoners' lives; conjugal visits were common in English jails of the seventeenth century, while in South American countries today conjugal visits are common and in many places the prisoners are allowed visits from female prostitutes. Originally, solitary confinement was the rule in the penitentiaries, but so many of the prisoners became in-

sane as a result that this regime was dropped. Evidence for widespread homosexual activity in confinement is generally lacking until the twentieth century, handicapping attempts to trace its historical development; there are, however, indications that sexual patterns similar to those found today prevailed in the nineteenth century as well.

Sexual Roles in Confinement. The inmate **subculture** has its own norms and definitions of homosexual experience, which are to some extent archaic: they derive from the period before the modern industrialized-world concept of homosexuality had become even imperfectly known to the educated public, much less to the criminal underworld. In general, they seem to reflect a model of homosexuality found in ancient Rome, medieval Scandinavia and the Viking realms, and in Mediterranean countries into modern times: any man can be active in the sexually penetrating role without stigma, and does not thereby compromise either his masculinity or his heterosexuality. A male, on the other hand, who submits to penetration has forfeited his claim on "manhood" and is viewed with contempt *unless* he is too young to make the claim, is a powerless slave, or has become sufficiently feminine so as to never raise the claim. A salient difference from the Greek model is that the sexually passive youths are not being trained to become men, but are expected instead to become increasingly effeminate.

That this model is not limited to jails, prisons, and reformatories, but is also widespread (if not so sharply drawn or so clearly legitimized and institutionalized) in the lower class of the general population from which prisoners are drawn, is clear to students of sexual patterns.

Discussion of conditions in confinement, including sexual mores, is common among outlaws, so that even a juvenile delinquent who has never been locked up has some idea of the sexual system prevalent among prisoners. The model is introduced in the reform schools

and reinforced in the local jails, so that by the time a convict reaches a prison, he has already been saturated with it and considers it "normal" for such institutions.

The Role of the "Man." The prison subculture is characterized by a rigid class system based on sexual roles. The majority of prisoners are "men" (used in quotation marks as a term of jail slang, not as a reflection on the masculinity of such individuals), also known as "jockers," "studs," "wolves," "pitchers," and the like. These prisoners are considered to be heterosexual, and most of them exhibit heterosexual patterns before and after incarceration, though a small number of macho homosexuals blend with this group by "passing." The "men" rule the roost and establish the values and behavioral norms for the entire prisoner population; convict leaders, gang members, and the organizers of such activities as the smuggling of contraband, protection rackets, and prostitution rings must be "men."

Sexually, the "men" are penetrators only; a single incident of being penetrated is sufficient for lifelong expulsion from this class. The sexual penetration of another prisoner by a "man" is sanctioned by the subculture and considered to validate the "man's" masculinity. "Manhood," however, is a tenuous condition as it is always subject to being "lost" to another, more powerful or aggressive "man"; hence a "man" is expected to "fight for his manhood."

Middle-aged and older "men" are most likely to abstain from sexual activity while incarcerated. A minority of the younger "men" also abstain, but most of the young "men" who have been incarcerated for a significant amount of time will take advantage of any opportunity for sexual relief, despite its necessarily homosexual nature. The latter, however, is not recognized by the prisoner subculture, which insists that aggressive-penetrative activity is *not* homosexual, while receptive-submissive activity is.

Some of the reasons for such involvement go beyond the necessity of relieving the sex/intimacy drive. One is that aggressive sexual activity, especially rape and possession of a known sexual receptive, are considered to validate masculine status and hence tend to protect the "man" from attempts to deprive him of that status. There is considerable peer pressure in many institutions to engage in "masculine" sexual activity because it validates such activity on the part of other "men" already engaged.

Other motivations are not as directly sexual: deprived of almost all areas of power over his own life by the regime of incarceration, a "man" often seeks to stake out a small arena of power by exerting control over another prisoner. The existence of such an island of power helps the "man" retain a sense of his own masculinity—the one social asset which he feels the administration cannot take from him—because of his identification of power and control with the masculine role or nature. For an adolescent prisoner, this motivation is often even stronger, as he has few other means of acquiring "manhood" stature. Furthermore, involvement in prohibited homosexual activity is an act of rebellion against the total institution, hence a demonstration that the institution's control over that person is less than complete.

Prisoners serving long terms are often looking for a companion to "do time" with; such "men" tend to rely less on aggression and more on persuasion in their search for someone to "settle down" with, but they are not above arranging for a confederate to supply the coercion needed to "turn out" someone for this purpose.

As the demand for sexual partners always far exceeds the supply, however, only a minority of the "men" succeed in obtaining possession of a partner; these tend to be the highest-ranking "men" in the prisoner power structure. The remainder, including some "men" who would be able to claim and retain a sexual

partner but who choose not to do so for various reasons, make use of prostitution, join in gang-rapes, borrow sexual submissions from friends who control them, or do without. "Men" who are without sexual outlet altogether may be considered marginal in their claim to "man" status, and targeted for violent demotion.

The Role of the "Queen." A second class consists of the "queens," also known as "bitches," "ladies," and so forth. These are effeminate homosexuals whose sexual behavior behind bars is not markedly different from their patterns "on the street." They are strictly receptive (penetrated) and are generally as feminine in appearance and dress as the local administration will allow. By prison convention, these prisoners are considered to be females in every possible way, e.g., their anus is termed "pussy," they take female names, and are referred to using female pronouns. The queens are submissive to the "men" and may not hold positions of overt power in the inmate social structure.

Known or discovered homosexuals who enter confinement without a feminine identity are relentlessly pressured to assume one; the idea of a homosexual who is not a substitute female is too threatening to be tolerated. The more extreme the contrast between the effeminized homosexual and the super-macho "men," the more psychologically safe distance is placed between the "men's" behavior and the notion of homosexuality.

In some prisons and many jails and reformatories, queens are segregated from the general population and placed in special units, referred to by the prisoners as "queens' tanks." There they are often denied privileges given to the general population such as attendance at the recreation hall, yard exercise, library call, hot food, and the like. The rationale given for such units is to protect the homosexuals (who generally would prefer to pair off with the "men" instead) and reduce homosexuality, though in practice it simply

increases the frequency of rape among the remaining population.

The actual life of prison homosexuals, it should be clear, has little or nothing to do with the ideals propagated by the gay movement, which have barely affected prison life. There is little room for the independent, self-affirming homosexual, who upon entering confinement faces the choice of "passing" as a heterosexual "man," submitting to the subservient role of the "queen," or risking his life in combat time after time. Only the toughest of homosexuals can even seriously consider the third option.

The Role of the "Punk." The lowest class (though the difference between the two non-"men" classes is often minimal) consists of those males who are forced into the sexually receptive role; they are called "punks," "fuck-boys," "sweet kids," and other terms. The overwhelming majority of these punks are heterosexual in orientation; they are "turned out" (a phrase suggesting an inversion of their gender) by rape, usually gang rape, convincing threat of rape, or intimidation. Punks retain some vestiges of their male identity and tend to resist the feminizing process promoted both by the "men" and by the queens; upon release they usually revert to heterosexual patterns, though often with disruptions associated with severe male rape trauma syndrome.

Punks often try to escape their role by transferring to another cell block or institution, but almost always their reputation follows them: "once a punk, always a punk."

Punks tend to be younger than the average inmate, smaller, and less experienced in personal combat or confinement situations; they are more likely to have been arrested for non-violent or victimless offenses, to be middle class, and to belong to ethnic groups which are in the minority in the institution.

Relations between queens and punks are often tense, as the former tend to look down on the latter while trying to recruit them into their ranks, a process which the latter resent, though some may succumb to it over the years.

In subsequent usage, when both queens and punks are meant, the American prison slang word "catcher," which includes both (as the opposite of "pitcher," both terms derived from the sport of baseball) will be used here.

The percentage of queens in an incarcerated population is usually very small, from none to a few percent. The number of punks is usually much larger, given the unrelenting demand on the part of the "men" for sexual catchers; nevertheless, the supply of punks never approaches the demand, so that the majority of the population is always "men." The number of punks tends to rise with the security level of the institution, as the longer the prison term, the more risks will be taken by an aggressive "man" to "turn out" a punk for his own use. Big-city jails and reform schools are also considered to have relatively high populations of punks.

Relationships. In ongoing sexual relationships, a "man" is paired ("hooked up") with a catcher; no other possibilities, such as a pair of homosexuals, are tolerated, but this one is not only tolerated but sanctioned by the prisoner subculture. These relationships are taken very seriously, as they involve an obligation on the part of the "man" to defend his partner, violently if necessary, and on the part of the catcher to obey his "man." Catchers are required to engage in "wifely" chores such as doing laundry, making the bunk, keeping the cell clean, and making coffee. Owing to the shortage of catchers, only a minority of "men" succeed in entering into such a relationship, and the competition for available catchers is intense, sometimes violent.

The impetus manifested by the "men" to form pairs is remarkable in light of the many disadvantages in doing so, for

the "man" not only risks having to engage in lethal combat on behalf of someone else and hence suffer for his catcher's blunders, seductiveness, or good looks, but he also greatly increases his vulnerability to administrative discipline by increasing his profile and the predictability of his prohibited sexual activities. The fact that so many "men" seek to form pairs rather than find sexual release through rape, prostitution, etc. is strong testimony for the thesis that such relationships meet basic human needs which are related to, but not identical with, the sexual one, such as a need for affection or bonding.

Sometimes the "man" part of the relationship is actually a collective, so that a catcher may belong to a group of "men" or to a whole gang. Ownership of a catcher tends to give high status to the "man" and is often a source of revenue since the "man," who is often without substantial income, can then establish himself in the prostitution business. These relationships are usually but not always exploitive and they often result from aggression on the part of the "man"; the catcher may or may not have consented before the "man" "puts a claim" on him.

The relationship of involuntary to voluntary sexual activity inside prison is a complex one. Many continuing and isolated liaisons originate in gang rape, or in the ever present threat of gang rape. Prison officials can label such behavior as "consensual," but fear on the part of the passive partner is certainly a prime stimulus.

"Free-lance" or unpaired catchers are not very common, since they are usually unable to protect themselves and are considered to be fair game for any aggressive "man." Usually, a gang-rape or two is sufficient to persuade an unattached catcher to pair off as soon as possible. A catcher who breaks free from an unwanted pairing is called a "renegade."

Pair relationships are based on an adaptation of the heterosexual model which the prisoners bring with them from

the street; the use of this model also validates the jail relationship while confirming the sense of masculinity of the "man." The "men" tend to treat their catchers much as they habitually did their female companions, so a wide range of relationships ranging from ruthless exploitation to love are encountered.

Emotional involvement by the "men" is less common than "on the street," but not rare; long-term prisoners may even "get married" in an imitation ceremony to which the whole cell block may be invited. A little-noted emotional significance of the relationship for almost all the "men," however, is that it becomes an island of relaxation away from the constantly competitive jungle, with its continual dangers and fear of exposing anything which might be considered a "weakness," that mark social relations between the "man" and other "men." Confident in his male role, the "man" can allow himself to drop the hard mask which he wears outside the relationship and express with his catcher the otherwise-suppressed aspects of his humanity, such as caring, tenderness, anxiety, and loneliness.

Sexual reciprocation is rare, and when it does occur, is almost always kept highly secret.

Another noteworthy alteration from the heterosexual model is that the "men" tend to be considerably more casual about allowing other men sexual access to their catchers than they would with regard to their females. The catchers are frequently loaned to other "men" out of friendship or to repay favors or establish leadership in a clique, and are commonly prostituted. Unlike their females, the jail catchers will not get pregnant by another man. It is very important, however, for a "man" to retain control over such access to his catcher.

The punks, who retain a desire for an insertive role which they cannot find in sex with their "men," sometimes reciprocate with one another, giving each a tem-

porary chance to play the "male" role which is otherwise denied them.

As queens are highly valued, being both scarce and feminine-appearing, they tend to have a little more autonomy than the punks, who are for all practical purposes slaves and can be sold, traded, and rented at the whim of their "man." The most extreme forms of such slavery, which can also apply to queens, are found in the maximum-security institutions and some jails.

Rape. Perhaps the most dreaded of all jailhouse experiences is forcible rape. This phenomenon, while it has much in common with rape of males in the community, is distinguished by its institutionalization as an accepted part of the prisoner subculture. Most common in urban jails and in reformatories, gang rape (and the common threat of it) is the principal device used to convert "men" into punks.

In the subculture of the prison those with greater strength and knowledge of inmate lore prey on the weaker and less knowledgeable. Virtually every young male entering a confinement institution will be tested to see whether he is capable of maintaining his "manhood"; if a deficiency is spotted, he will be targeted. Sometimes an aggressive "man" will seek to "turn" the youngster using non-violent techniques such as psychological dependence, seduction, contraband goods, drugs, or offers of protection. There is a great variety of "turning out" games in use, and with little else to do, much time can be spent on them.

If these techniques fail, or if the patience or desire to use them is absent, or if a rival's game is to be pre-empted, violent rape may be plotted. Usually this is a carefully planned operation involving more than one rapist ("booty bandit," "asshole bandit"). The other participants in a gang rape may sometimes have little sexual interest in the proceedings, but need to reaffirm that they are one of the "men," to

retain membership in the group led by militant aggressors. In the absence of such positive identification, they would expose themselves to becoming victims.

The aggressor selects the arena for the contest, initiates the conflict, and deliberately makes the victim look as helpless, weak, and inferior as possible. The usual response is a violent defense which, if successful, will discourage further attempts. Frequently the target is seized by a number of rapists under circumstances which do not even allow a defense. Sometimes the attack will be discontinued even when the attacker (or attackers) has the advantage, so long as the victim puts up a vigorous fight and thereby demonstrates his "manhood." In other cases, especially with particularly young and attractive newcomers, the assault will be pressed with whatever force and numbers it takes to subdue the victim. If the victim forcibly resists, he is liable to be wounded or mutilated, in no small part because he has no experience or skill in the use of knives and the like.

Defenses used to preempt a rape by knowledgeable but vulnerable newcomers include paying for protection, joining a gang, and being sponsored by relatives or friends already locked up.

Rape in prisons is less frequent than in jails and reform schools because most prisoners who are vulnerable to rape will have already learned to accommodate themselves to the punk role in jail or reform school and will "hook up" with a protector shortly after arrival. Nevertheless, rape remains a feature of prison life since the testing process is never really concluded and the demand for punks is always high. In a minimum-security prison, rape is uncommon because few "men" want to assume the risks involved and the separation from females tends to be short or release imminent; in a maximum-security prison rape is far more prevalent because the prisoners are more violent to begin with, are more willing to take the

risks involved, and feel a more intense need for sexual partners.

The psychological roots of jail rape are complex, but it is clear that the primary motivation for the rapist lies more in the area of power deprivation than sexual deprivation, though the role of the latter should not be underestimated. In the eyes of the perpetrator the victim is less a sexual object than a means of exhibiting male dominance and superiority of the rapist. That physical qualities are significant, however, is shown by the fact that obese or older inmates are rarely selected as victims.

From a sociological perspective, rape functions as a violent *rite de passage* to convert "men" into punks in order to meet part of the demand for sexual partners. Most jail rape victims quickly "hook up" with a "man" (not necessarily the lead rapist) in order to avoid repetitive gang-rapes; some enter "protective custody" (often called "punk city") but usually find it impossible to remain there indefinitely, or find the promised protection to be illusory; some take violent revenge on their assailant(s) at a later date, risking both death and a new prison term; others commit suicide.

The rape of an "attached" catcher is also a direct challenge to his "man," who must retaliate violently, according to the prison code, or give up his claim on the catcher and be targeted for rape himself.

It should also be mentioned that when the combination of easy victims and administrative pressure against pair-bonding arises, as it often does, it becomes less risky to commit rapes than to commit oneself to an ongoing consensual relationship.

The rape problem has class aspects as well: the middle-class white who finds himself in an institution where he is a total stranger to its subculture, its language, even the tricks and stratagems played on unwary newcomers, simply lacks the survival skills requisite for the prison

milieu, while the repeated offender of lower-class or delinquent background has mastered all of them, even if he is not adroit enough in his calling to escape the clutches of the law.

A further dimension of prison rape is the racial issue. In the United States, rape often takes on a racial dynamic as a means by which the dominant ethnic group (usually but not always black) in the institution intimidates the others. Whether or not blacks constitute a majority or plurality of the prison population, the aggressor in rape tends to be black, the victim to be white or Puerto Rican. A study by Alan J. Davis of 129 separate incidents in the Philadelphia prison system showed that:

13 percent involved white aggressors and white victims

29 percent involved black aggressors and black victims

56 percent involved black aggressors and white victims

Hence 85 percent of the aggressors were black, 69 percent of the victims were white. The motivation for the crime is not primarily sexual; it is conceived as an act of revenge against a member of white society collectively regarded as exploiting and oppressing the black race. Among older boys in a reform school, the white victim was often forced to submit to a black in full view of others so that they could witness the humiliation of the white and the domination by the black. Gang rapes are typically perpetrated by black inmates from urban areas serving sentences for major crimes such as armed robbery and assault with a deadly weapon. The white inmates are often disadvantaged in the prison setting if they have not been part of a delinquent subculture in the outside world, and they lack the sense of racial solidarity that furnishes the blacks with a group ethos and the collective will to oppose the official norms of the prison and to risk the penalties attached to fighting, even in self-defense.

Further, in some institutions blacks commit acts of sexual aggression to let the white inmates collectively know that the black inmates are the dominant element, even if they are involuntarily behind bars. It is essential to their concept of manhood to make white prisoners the victims of their assaults, and they resent the black homosexuals in the prison, whom they identify as weak and effeminate. This whole pattern of symbolic acts is first inculcated in reform schools and then carried over into the penitentiaries where the offenders are sent for the offenses of their mature years. As the black population of the United States has ceased to be concentrated almost entirely in the states of the historic Confederacy, as it was before World War I, and is now spread more evenly over the territory of the Union, the share of blacks in the prison population of other states has risen, so that a more homogeneous institutional subculture now exists in which whites are the dominated and exploited class.

Thus far the white prisoners have generally not developed their own sense of solidarity in order to cope with the threats inherent in the situation.

Prevalence. As noted above, reliable statistics on the extent of homosexuality in confinement are notably lacking. However, some figures are worth citing from a study by Wayne Wooden and Jay Parker. It must be kept in mind that these figures derive from a low-medium-security prison, that they apply only to incidents affecting the prisoners while in that particular prison (thus omitting previous "turn-outs" by rape), that the percentages apply to prisoners of all age groups and races taken together, and that the authors themselves emphasized that "our study is likely *underreporting* certain types of sexual behavior (i.e., sexual coercion and assault)."

This study found that 55 percent of all (self-designated) heterosexuals reported being involved in sexual activity while in that prison, this figure breaking

down into 38 percent of whites, 55 percent of Hispanics, and 81 percent of blacks; that 14 percent of all the prisoners (9 percent of heterosexuals and 41 percent of homosexuals) had been sexually assaulted there; that 19 percent of all the prisoners (100 percent of homosexuals and 10 percent of heterosexuals) were currently "hooked up."

Looking at the (self-designated) homosexuals alone, 64 percent reported receiving some type of pressure to engage in sex (82 percent of whites, 71 percent of Hispanics, 49 percent of blacks) and 41 percent had been forced into it. Disciplinary action for sex had been taken against 71 percent, while 35 percent were engaged in prostitution. An eye-opener for some gay consumers of pornography featuring jailhouse sex may be the report by 77 percent of the homosexuals that they had better sex "on the street" and by 78 percent that they were "looked down upon and treated with disrespect by other inmates."

The Davis study of the Philadelphia jail system, based upon interviews with 3,304 prisoners, estimated that the number of sexual assaults in the 26 months of the study was about 2000; during this period some 60,000 men passed through the system. Of these assaults, only 96 were reported to prison authorities, only 64 were mentioned in prison records, only 40 resulted in disciplinary action, and only 26 were reported to the police for prosecution.

Jailhouse Sexual Mores. Sexual activity in confinement may take place nearly anywhere; the expectation of privacy which prevails in other circumstances often gives way to necessity. Furthermore, it is often to a "man's" advantage to be seen engaging in "masculine" sexual activity by other prisoners, enhancing his reputation as a "man." For these reasons, sex is often a group activity with some participants taking turns standing "look-out" for guards or shooing away uninvolved prisoners from the area being used.

While disciplinary codes in confinement institutions are nearly unanimous in outlawing all sexual activity, these codes usually have little more effect than to ensure that sex takes place outside the view of the guards. They do, however, inhibit catchers from enlisting the aid of administrators in avoiding rape situations, given the fact that such avoidance usually requires pairing off with a protector. The furtive nature of consensual activities and pairings necessitated by the disciplinary codes also works to dehumanize them and favor the quick mechanical relief as distinguished from an affectionate relationship.

The severe sanctions provided by the prisoner code against informers protect even rapists from being reported to the administration by their victims. These fear retaliation from the perpetrators, who can be well placed in terms of the inmate power structure—and famed for their criminal ruthlessness and daring. The aggressor is usually guilty of the far more serious crime, while the victim may have committed only a trivial one. Officials usually have a general idea of what is going on, based on reports from informers, but these reports cannot be made openly enough to provide a basis for disciplinary action.

The openness of jailhouse sexuality, in spite of disciplinary codes, is one of its most remarkable features. The institution of "hooking up" that is the heart of the system, and that specifies that any catcher who is "hooked up" may be "disrespected" only at the risk of violent retaliation from his "man," is dependent on general knowledge of the specifics of such pairings among the entire incarcerated population. Virtually the first result of a claim being laid on a catcher is its announcement to the prisoner population at large; sex is the number one topic of conversation, and the news that a new punk has been "turned out" spreads like wildfire throughout an institution.

Under such circumstances, guards and administrators with their eyes open can hardly fail to be aware of pairings.

Often, in fact, housing moves are made to facilitate keeping the pair together; practical experience has shown that this tends to minimize fights and therefore keeps the general peace, which is the first priority of all officials. Thus when a "man" in a double cell acquires a catcher, he "persuades" his current cellmate to request a move out, the new catcher requests a move in, the catcher's current cellmate is prompted to request that he be moved out, and the administration approves it to keep the peace among all concerned. A particularly dangerous situation is one in which a catcher is bunked with a "man" other than the one he is hooked up with. For this reason punks are often celled together, as are queens.

Female Institutions. It is not known whether the incidence of homosexuality in prison is higher in male or female populations. One survey that used the same criterion for male and female inmates reported the same incidence in both.

The role of the female inmate in lesbian activity is precisely defined by the prison subculture. The "penitentiary turn-out" is the woman who resorts to lesbian relations because the opposite sex is unavailable; in contrast, the "lesbian" prefers homosexual gratification even in the outside world, and thus is equated with the queen in the men's prison. The lesbian is labeled as sick by some of the other inmates because the preference in a situation of choice is deemed a perversion. The participant in lesbian relations who does so for lack of choice is not so stigmatized.

The "femme" or "mommy" is the inmate who takes the female role in a lesbian relationship, a role highly prized because most of the inmates still wish to play the feminine role in a significant way in prison. In the context of a pseudo-marital bond, the femme continues to act out many of the functions allotted to the wife in civil society. The complement is the "stud broad" or "daddy" who assumes the

male role, which in its turn is accorded much prestige for three reasons: (1) the stud invests the prison with the male image; (2) the role is considered more difficult to sustain over a period of time because it goes against the female grain; (3) the stud is expected not just to assume certain symbols of maleness, but also to personify the social norms of male behavior.

In sharp contrast with the men's prison, homosexual relations are established voluntarily and with the consent of the partners; no physical coercion is applied to the weaker or feminine partner. Interpersonal relations linked with homosexuality play a major role in the lives of the female prisoners. Cast as a quasi-marital union, the homosexual pair is viewed by the inmates as a meaningful personal and social relationship. Even though for previously heterosexual women this mode of adjustment is difficult, the uniqueness of the prison situation obliges the inmate to attach new meaning to her behavior.

When a stud and a femme have established their union, they are said to be "making it" or to "be tight," which is to say that other inmates recognize them socially as a "married" pair. Since the prisoners attach a positive value to sincerity, the "trick"—one who is simply exploited sexually or economically—is held in low esteem by the inmate subculture. Tricks are also regarded as "suckers" and "fools" because their lovers dangle unkept promises in front of them. The "commisary hustler" is the woman who establishes more than one relationship; besides an alliance with an inmate in the same housing unit, she also maintains relations with one or more inmates in other housing units for economic advantage. The other women, labeled tricks in the prison argot, supply her with coveted material items which she shares only with the "wife" in her own unit. The femme may even encourage and guide the stud in finding and exploiting the tricks. The legitimacy of the primary pseudo-marriage is not con-

tested, though the tricks may anticipate replacing the femme when a suitable opportunity arises.

Writers on female institutions agree that, apart from sexual relationships, such institutions are marked by quasi-family social units which provide emotional support to their members, in sharp contrast to the ever-competitive male environments.

Administrative Attitudes. There is, as may be expected, a wide range of administrative attitudes toward both violent and consensual homosexuality in their confinement institutions. Consensual activities are accepted as inevitable by some, hunted out and seriously punished when discovered by others, while most tend to look the other way so long as the behavior does not become disruptive or too open.

Convicts have charged that administrators too often exploit rape as a tool to divide and control the inmate population, particularly in connection with racial tensions. A state commission investigating the unusually violent New Mexico prison riot (1980) found that officials used the threat of placement of new inmates in cells with known rapists to recruit informers. Other administrations have been charged with setting vulnerable prisoners up for gang rape in order to discharge tensions within a housing unit or reward it for keeping quiet. Administrators are aware that a difficult or disliked prisoner can be maneuvered into a position where he will be sexually victimized by his fellow inmates. In other cases the staff is simply resigned to what is happening inside the institution and turns a blind eye to the sexual violence. Administrators themselves deny such actions and universally proclaim their opposition to rape, while often saying that it is no problem in their own institution.

The uniformed guards often have a different set of attitudes. Some of them consider all participants in homosexual activity to be homosexuals; some display

considerable homophobia and engage in private witch-hunts. Others, especially those with long experience as guards, may encourage a "man" whom they consider to be dangerous to get "hooked up" with a catcher on the theory that paired-off "men" are less likely to cause major trouble. Guards are also involved in setting up some rapes and sexual encounters, in exchange for payoffs or for such diverse reasons as to destroy the leadership potential of an articulate prisoner. The guards are capable even of ignoring the screams of a prisoner who is being raped. The guards may even tell the prisoner that to file charges against the aggressor would be tantamount to publicizing his own humiliation, just as a public rape trial in the outside world exposes the female victim to shame and embarrassment.

Writings on Sex in Confinement.

A good deal has been written in scholarly style, in North America at least, concerning homosexual behavior in prisons, jails, and reformatories. Much of this literature is fraught with controversy, and the views of penologists, often concerned more with institutional control and abstract theorizing on "the problem of homosexuality" than with actual behavioral patterns, tend to differ both normatively and descriptively from the accounts of inmates. Penologists reflect the concerns of their employers, who usually seek to minimize aspects of life in their institutions which would arouse public indignation, and who are usually hostile to all forms of sexual contact among prisoners. The conclusions of a recent paper cited in *Criminal Justice Abstracts*, that "greater efforts to deter . . . consensual homosexual activity" are needed, are not untypical for penological writings.

Complicating the matter is the extreme difficulty, which is often glossed over, of a non-imprisoned investigator, usually someone associated with the administration (at least in the eyes of the prisoners), seeking to obtain reliable data on behavior which violates disciplinary

codes and which is as secretive as the most sensitive aspect of underworld life can be to the prying eyes of outsiders. As a result, armchair theorizing, remote from the actual behavior which is supposed to be its subject, is endemic to the formal literature.

A few non-penological psychologists and at least one sociologist (Wayne Wooden) have published useful studies in the 1980s, but it is noteworthy that only one comprehensive survey of sexual behavior in a prison (a low-medium-security California institution) has found its way into print (the Wooden-Parker book *Men Behind Bars*, for which Jay Parker gathered information while a prisoner). The only systematic investigation of sexual behavior (in this case rape) in jails (the Philadelphia system) was reported in 1968 by Alan J. Davis. Reliable statistics for juvenile institutions are apparently non-existent, though reform schools have been described as the incarceration facilities where sexual activity is most common, and as the locus in which habitual criminals first acquire the mores governing sexual expression in the prisoner subculture.

Accounts written by prisoners or ex-prisoners have usually taken the form of autobiography or fiction, and these also tend to draw veils over areas which might reflect unfavorably on the writer in presenting himself to the general public, such as rape and homosexuality. Former prisoners also tend to remain silent concerning their sexual experiences in confinement when conversing with people who have not shared that environment, former "punks" being most loath to disclose anything about their humiliating sexual role.

Novels by Jean Genet have depicted homosexuality in French reform schools and prisons, and these are the only widely read books dealing with the subject, though one must hesitate to conclude too much from Genet's hallucinogenic-fantastic writings. Billy Hayes' autobiographical *Midnight Express* (1977)

gave an explicit account of the author's homosexual experiences in Turkish prisons. Karlheinz Barwasser wrote from a gay inmate's point of view on German prisons in *Schwulenhetz im Knast* (1982), while Robert N. Boyd did the same on the California prison system in *Sex Behind Bars* (1984). The only systematic account from a "punk's" perspective can be found in Donald Tucker's revealing "A Punk's Song" in Anthony Scacco's 1982 anthology, *Male Rape*. A third-person novel which has dealt candidly with prison sex, based on the author's experience in the California system, is *On the Yard* (1967) by Malcolm Braly; a play by Canadian ex-inmate John Herbert, *Fortune and Men's Eyes* (1967), made into a movie in 1971, revolves around sexuality in a reformatory. There are numerous gay pornographic books featuring an incarceration setting, but very few of them have been written by former inmates and they are generally extremely inaccurate.

Theories of Prison Homosexuality. Two major theories have been advanced by penologists to account for prison homosexuality: the Importation Model and the Deprivation Model. The Importation Model suggests that the "problem" of homosexuality exists in a prison because it has been brought in from outside, the Deprivation Model assigns it to the conditions of incarceration where it is found.

The Importation Model rests on studies showing that the variable of previous homosexual experience is significant for predicting homosexual activity in prison. It alone accounted for 29 percent of the variance of the individuals' scores on an index of homosexuality. Its major flaw is that much of the prior homosexuality—including aggression against other prisoners—is likely to be imported from other incarceration programs rather than from the larger society outside prison. The variable of prison homosexuality is not a pure measure of importation free of the effects of imprisonment, since convicts have often served previous sentences, some as

adolescents in reform schools. The aftereffects of such periods of incarceration are difficult to unravel from the impact of the outside world. In one study, two-thirds of those reporting prison homosexuality indicated that their first experience had occurred in a reform school. However, the validity of this finding is weakened by the absence of comparable data from non-correctional institutions: how many young adults involved in homosexuality had their first experience while enrolled in high school?

An Importation Theory might more legitimately be focused on the concepts applied to sexual activity in confinement by the prisoners. There is little doubt that the dominant group seeks to apply the heterosexual models with which it is familiar from the outside world to the female-deprived prison society; if there are no females around, they will be created. The particular application of this model draws from *working-class* ideas of masculinity and homosexuality already mentioned. Only with respect to the punks—admittedly an indispensable element—does the prisoner culture depart from these ideas in upholding the notion of the “fall from manhood” and rationalizing its violent inducement through the act of rape.

The Deprivation Model focuses on the negative aspects of the prison experience as a cause of homosexuality. The deprivation model predicts that persons and institutions that associate high pains and intense suffering with imprisonment are more likely to have homosexual experience. Advocates of this view also assume that the harsh, depriving conditions of custody-oriented, maximum-security prisons would favor the development of homosexual patterns. Yet this prediction is belied by a study finding more prison homosexuality in a treatment-oriented prison (37 percent) than in a custody-oriented one (21 percent). The only positive correlations found are with the degree of isolation from the prisoner's family and friends, and the distance from home. The

element of loneliness caused by the deprivation of the prison experience may contribute to the need for sexual affection and gratification.

Perhaps it would be too much to suggest that penologists consider a Deprivation Theory which posits that homosexuality results from the sexual, affectional, and emotional deprivation of prisoners who would, if given the opportunity, otherwise continue their heterosexuality. Such a theory, however, would also have to take into account the question of power deprivation, which might motivate sexual assaults on other prisoners even if females were readily available. Another question which has yet to be addressed is why pecking-order contests are resolved in a sexual rather than some other manner.

Incarceration as Punishment for Homosexual Conduct. Imprisonment for homosexual offenses is a comparatively modern innovation. For no infraction of its commandments does the Mosaic Law prescribe imprisonment as a penalty, and as the punishment for sodomy, late medieval law decreed castration, banishment, or death. In practice, if not in law, eighteenth-century England commuted the death penalty for buggery to exposure in the pillory—a fate almost worse than death—together with a term of imprisonment, and when the punishment of hanging established by 5 Eliz. I c. 17 was finally abolished in 1861, the sentence was reduced only to penal servitude for life. In 1885 the *Criminal Law Amendment Act* prescribed a sentence of two years for “gross indecency” between males. One can question the logic of sentencing a man found guilty of homosexual acts with other males to confinement for years or even for life in an exclusively male community, but the legislatures of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries evidently had no qualms.

Though until recently homosexual acts were illegal in most American states, relatively few men and fewer women were imprisoned for violating such laws.

More frequent was the incarceration of convicted pedophiles, which still continues. Far more homosexuals arrive in local jails for prostitution (particularly "street transvestites"), and other—usually non-violent—offenses.

Conclusion. The patterns of sexual behavior and sexual exploitation documented in recent studies have a long history. In the nineteenth century such behavior could simply be dismissed as another sordid aspect of "prison vice," but with the coming of a more scientific approach prison administrators have had to confront this issue at least in terms of the effect on the inmates whom they held in custody. Isolation and maximum-security wards for obvious homosexual prisoners were attempted, but they did not keep the young and physically slight prisoner with no previous homosexual experience from being victimized. The lurking danger for the individual prisoner has become so overt that an appellate court has even upheld the right of a prisoner to escape if he surrenders to the authorities within a reasonable time, and courts of the first instance have hesitated to send convicted persons to prison because of the likelihood that they would be exposed to sexual violence.

Proposals for reform include new systems of inmate classification based on scoring devices designed to indicate the level of security required for each prisoner. However, the state often does not have available space within suitably differentiated facilities to provide the correct berth for each prisoner. A more fundamental flaw with such proposals is that they do not address the reasons for sexual aggression, so that present patterns are likely to replicate themselves within each classification level.

One strategy which, so far, has yet to be tried would be to legalize consensual sexuality in prison and encourage the formation of stable, mutually supportive pair-bonds in that context, while reserving the full weight of administrative attention and discipline for rape. With administra-

tors continuing to regard both rape and consensual homosexuality as problems to be equally eliminated, such suggestions have produced only "we can't sanction homosexuality" replies.

So long as the sex-segregated prison remains society's answer to crime, the issues of rape and of consensual homosexual behavior behind prison bars are likely to persist. So, also, will the strong suggestion that most sexually active heterosexuals, deprived of access to the opposite sex and not discouraged by their peers from doing so, will eventually turn to another person of the same sex, and may even become emotionally attached to that person. The full implications of that statement, supported as it is by a considerable body of experience, for our concepts of sexual orientation and potential, have yet to be explored.

See also Situational Homosexuality.

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PRIVACY

The right to privacy—freedom from unauthorized or unjustified intrusion—has become relevant to the issue of homosexuality because of the role that has