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# Predicting Inmate Economic Conflict In Female Housing Units: Individual Factors Versus Social Climate Factors

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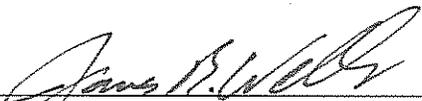
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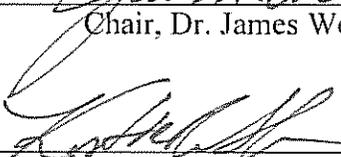
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**PREDICTING INMATE ECONOMIC CONFLICT IN FEMALE  
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INDIVIDUAL FACTORS VERSUS SOCIAL CLIMATE FACTORS**

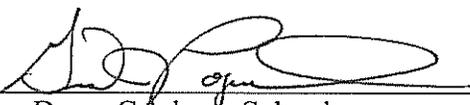
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UNITS:  
INDIVIDUAL FACTORS VERSUS SOCIAL CLIMATE FACTORS

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my grandmother

*Zanna Ronina*

who passed away unduly early

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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## ABSTRACT

Despite the fact that a number of studies have focused on different types of prison victimization, very little research has investigated inmate economic conflict. This study describes the context of inmate economic conflict and examines the factors that may account for the development of this conflict in female housing facilities. The secondary data analysis study is based on validated survey data from 3499 female inmates housed in fifteen correctional facilities located in seven different states. In addition to conducting descriptive statistical analyses, inmate economic conflict scores were regressed on a range of individual-related (background) and social climate-related (environmental) variables. This study found that the social climate factors accounted for more variance in economic conflict than the individual and demographic characteristics of the prisoners. These results provide further evidence that environment is a key factor when it comes to examining inmate economic conflict. Implications of these findings for future research and correctional practice are presented.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### **Introduction to the Problem**

At any given point in time the majority of individuals behind bars are adult males. As a consequence, most of the research on prison violence and victimization pertains to male inmates (Bowker, 1980). In 2010, there were a little less than 113, 000 women under the jurisdiction of State and Federal correctional authorities, compared to 1,500,000 male inmates (Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, 2011). Therefore, currently women comprise approximately 7.5 percent of the total prison population. “Forgotten offenders” is a reference that can be often heard when discussing to women prisoners (Chesney-Lind, 1986). There is a reason for that. Due to their small number within the correctional population, and their tendency to do time quietly without causing significant problems, policy makers rarely had enough resources to consider female needs and issues.

In the past few decades the number of female inmates has increased exponentially. Between 1990 and 2010, the number of female prisoner more than doubled, from 44, 000 to 113, 000. This increase drew a significant amount of attention to women’s lives behind bars, their adjustment to prison subculture, their needs and issues, as well as their victimization and conflicts. While researchers were able to uncover certain realities, such as the pains of imprisonment, significant deprivation issues, physical and physiological victimization, the prison economic system and challenges that it creates were overlooked.

In his work on inmate victimization, Bowker (1980) stated the following:

Investigators of prison behavior in correctional institutions for women have been so busy looking at lesbianism and its correlates that they have been unable to find time to examine stealing and other forms of economic victimization in most of their studies. (p. 84).

There might be another reason for the lack of research on economic conflict. Most researchers who have typically studied correctional institutions received their training in sociology and psychology; therefore, their research focus dealt with other aspects of the inmate culture (Williams & Fish, 1974). Still another reason for overlooking inmate economic victimization might be the nature of the conflict. Economic conflict substantially diminishes the overall perception of safety and usually precipitates more severe forms of violence such as retaliation or extortion (Owen, Wells, Pollock, Muscat, & Torres, 2008). However, economic victimization by itself is not defined as violence per se (Owen et al., 2008). Therefore, at first glance, prison economic conflict does not present an imminent threat to safety and security and hence, usually yields attention to other types of prison victimization.

This study is designed to describe inmate economic conflict as it presently exists in contemporary penal institutions for women. Factors that may influence economic conflict and victimization directly or implicitly will be scrutinized and presented. The study will also examine the relationship of broader social, economic, political, and cultural factors to economic conflict in the prison society. Finally, I will demonstrate whether importation or deprivation factors are more important in predicting economic conflict.

### *Prison as an Island of Poverty*

The word “prison” entails forceful images. It invokes images of stone walls or fences strung on top with concertina wire. The word may remind us of muscled, tattooed, and menacing “career criminals” images that are provided and distorted by the mass media. Finally, when thinking about prison we easily imagine armed guards who devote their career and life to protect the general public from dangerous and violent “super predators.” However, a visit to a correctional facility may shed some light on the contradictions between these images and reality.

In reality, prison is a warehouse for hundreds and even thousands of inmates who spend several months to several years in secure settings (Irwin, 2005). These inmates have to deal with a number of issues and problems such as physical and sexual violence, harassment and assaults, staff misconduct and excessive use of power. Bowker (1980) discovered that prisoners are subject to four types of prison victimization: physical, economic, physiological and social. Economic victimization is the main topic of this paper.

Indeed, it is hard to overestimate the role of the economy in the everyday life of an individuals, communities and whole countries. With this in mind I was eager to find out how the economy shapes concrete material conditions in prison as well as how it sustains social and power relations.

Prison has deliberately been made an island of poverty (Williams & Fish, 1974). Therefore, inmate economic conflict is an issue that is always present in any prison, but it scarcely can be resolved under the contemporary penal system. Occurrences of thefts, bribery or illegal trading are very common in the majority of correctional institutions, but these instances tend not to be disclosed. Inmate hustling exists in institutions regardless

of place and time; it is a notion that many professionals in the field are aware of and many of them are desperately fighting against.

Literature suggests that networks of black market exchange or the sub rosa economy circulate throughout the inmate population within all penal institutions (Casella, 2000). The reason for this is simple. The prison's formal economic system provides only the essentials if not less. However, exigencies of prisoners are hardly different from everyday needs of the general population. Safety is the first priority; however, pressed trousers or t-shirts, hot water, jewelry, and cosmetics are in high demand as well. Among the most valuable material goods there are cell phones, coffee, candies, chocolate bars, sandwiches, alcohol, cigarettes and of course drugs. Whereas in the free world it is just a candy, inside the prison is a high value good or even a currency because it is a ticket to the black market. Each of these goods can be, sold, traded and gambled because each item is inherently money. So the black market economy indeed exists in prison. Inmates generally identify this economy as a hustle. It exists despite walls, fences or deprivation of liberty. It exists because of necessity. It brings money, and money that has the ability to bring comfort when confined. More fundamentally still, it brings money that allows for commodity exchange.

Illegal activity inside the institution takes the form of complex social structural networks. Both male and female inmates are active participants in these networks. Casella (2000) found archeological evidence of sexual barter and illicit market exchange that boosted the underground economy of a nineteenth-century Australian female penal colony. Here inmates having in possession a limited number of material goods ascribed high value to every commodity that circulated within the prison. Desire to obtain an invaluable item made it worthwhile to fight for this item. The means by which it can be obtained do not matter anymore. "I will do anything for a cup of coffee" said one of the

female inmates in the county jail (Wells et al., 2012). Bosworth (as cited in Slotboom, Kruttschnitt, Bijleveld, & Menting, 2011) suggests that women use their ethnicity, religion, sexuality and femininity to cope with oppressive penal regimes.

The majority of other reviewed studies examined only male inmates. Women were largely neglected in attempts to enlarge, explain, or critique government efforts to supervise and correct precarious men (Chesney-Lind, 1986). “It was as though crime and punishment existed in a world in which gender equaled male” (Chesney-Lind as cited in Talvi, 2007, p.4). Only the rapid and ongoing growth of the female inmate population has brought tremendous scholarly and public attention to women’s correctional institutions. Several attempts have been made to address gender differences in criminological theories. However, the theoretical framework surrounding women inmates does not transform immediately into institutional policies, changes in the criminal law, or facility procedures.

### **Significance of the Study**

As we found in the literature, the information that pertains to inmate economic conflict is limited and does not explain the origin and the scope of the economic conflict problem. However, even a quick look at the surveys administered as part of this study shows that the economic conflict in housing units indeed exists and has a potential to significantly influence on the overall perceptions of safety in the facilities.

Just because it is more common to think that economic conflict is a straightforward cause of physical or sexual violence, the relationship of these constructs is not necessarily linear. In contrary, we see different conflicts in the facility are mutually enhancing and perpetrate each other simultaneously. Meanwhile, not denying that economic conflict might be a true reason of why other conflict exists, we suspect that the relationship is rather reciprocal. We found it important to look at the roots of economic

conflict itself. Considering economic conflict as a dependent variable might help us to understand the factors that result in inmates' debts, stealing, or necessity to pay for "protection," as well as the role of the institution in facilitating such activities.

The inmate economy penetrates all facets of prison life. On the one hand, inmate economic relations have a potential to maintain stable market relationships between prisoners when rules are clear, resources are accessible and regulation of social relations are certain and straightforward. On the other hand, inmate economic conflict has a potential to transform into more severe forms of violence, when prisoners have to fight for the scarce resources, and when "correctional personnel, reflecting the general attitudes of the American society, believe that the inmates are not entitled to an abundance of consumer goods..." (Williams & Fish, 1974 p. 9).

The aforesaid ideology, according to Pashukanis (1978), has a long lasting result on punishment practices. Considering prison as a microcosm of the wider society, Pashukanis (1978) stated that the direction punishment takes and the ways prisoners are treated in correctional institutions, will mirror the principles of economic exchange in wider society. Therefore, both inmate culture and inmate economic relationships, as well as wider culture and forms of economic relationships under the capitalist mode of production, have the potential to affect order and stability in the institution. By studying the ways in which wider culture originates and penetrates into every part of social life in the facility, the scientific world as well as practitioners will gain a better understanding of the etiology of economic conflict and will be able to influence or negate destructive corollaries of the latter. Being able to find the main causes of economic conflict would mean better control and better management of it through more suitable policies, better staff training and better understanding of the importance of anti-conflicts practices. This

study, like the majority of prison studies, ultimately aims to make prison a safer place for inmates to live and a better place for staff to work.

This study is based on two significant but controversial theories of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Deprivation and importation theories both seek to explain the origin of prison subculture as well as prisoners' adjustments to it. This study will examine which theory has better ability to explain economic conflict in prison.

The dominance of deprivation or importation factors will give us invaluable insight into understanding female prisoners' adaptations to incarceration. The understanding of human interactions throughout confinement may result in the application of more effective crime control policies. If importation factors are found to have a more significant effect on female carceral experiences, then successful adaptation in prison can be predicted based upon factors such as seriousness of the crime, histories of victimization, drug abuse, as well as demographic characteristics of the inmate.

The prevalence of the deprivation model instead will suggest that the attention should be redirected from individual characteristics of the inmate to the conditions of the confinement. These characteristics include but are not limited to effective regulation of the capacity of the facility, its security level, proper staff education, and the existence of educational and rehabilitation programs.

The intent of this work is not to test the aforesaid theories. I will use the latter as a foundation that will be used to guide our interpretations. Even though the subsequent quantitative analysis will reveal some support for the particular theory, we will use our findings as a working tool and apply them to refine the theoretical framework and exemplify some implications for practice.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### **Theoretical Framework**

The economic conflict theoretical framework will be presented through the prism of its evolution and development from the culture that penetrates the institution. Culture that shapes the institution is a multifaceted phenomenon. It is comprised of public and private social space, of individual characteristics and institutional environment. Finally culture is affected by broader economical, political and social forces. All of the aspects of culture and forces influencing it will be scrutinized and linked to how they influence inmate economic conflict.

There is a common stereotype that prison is a dysfunctional institution that has failed in its high hopes to rehabilitate or provide care to inmates. To the contrary, contemporary penal institutions serve only as a warehouse that holds thousands of prisoners under stringent control and arduous deprivation (Irwin, 2005). “We have arrived at the time when penal institutions of the past have either disappeared or are surviving by not more than force of habit, but without others born which correspond better to the new aspirations of the moral conscience” (Durkheim as cited in Garland, 1990, p.41). Pashukanis (1980) and Garland (1990) both agreed upon the existence of the idea of equity or fair trading in justice, according to which the state exchanges one adverse behavior (crime) for another equitable one (prison sentence). In other words, individuals committing criminal act will involuntarily “sign the state issued contract” regarding obligation of acceptance of punishment in the form of deprivation of liberty for a specified time. This fair trading mentality in the capitalist society leads the public to consider the prison institution as an indispensable part of fair transaction, in which the

offender 'pays his debt'. Our cultural fabric tells us that if this is the way we have always punished, then it is the right thing to do. However, taking this approach, society tends to not think about people behind bars as individuals who have needs and issues (Kappeler, 2011). All together, it leaves unattended issues of various kinds of conflict and abuse in prisons, including instances that occur in female facilities with disturbing frequency.

Conflicts do not exist in a vacuum. There is no conflict unless there are individuals and there is an unstable environment that will feed and reproduce the conflict. Through examination of both individual and environmental factors, this paper will analyze how the conflicts, and in particular, inmate economic conflict, develops in the correctional facility. It will also explain how the modern culture contributes to conflict escalation and long term survival.

Clemmer's concept of "prisonization", introduced in 1940, posits a positive correlation between the length of the incarceration and the conformity to the norms and values of prison culture (Slotboom et al., 2011). Today, we also eminently conclude that prisonization diffuses and assimilates staff the same way as it does inmates in the institution. This notion is important because, on the one hand, a prisonization phenomenon engenders the tension between the mentalities of inmates and staff. On the other hand, it requires inmates to establish facades and actions that they have to have for the public in a particular space and time. This tension will be further described in the public and private culture of the prison.

#### *Public Culture of the Prison*

Prison, as any other social institution, presents a unique ultimate environment that inmates and staff have to deal and comply with on a daily basis. This environment can be referred to as the public culture of the institution or the prison social space. Public culture includes the impressions that individuals express in order to establish a particular

reputation while preserving respect and honor. This culture shapes every individual that lives or works in the institution.

According to Johnson (1997), public prison social space is dominated by state nurtured convicts. They are angry and dissatisfied with no access to work, education or other legitimate options. The prison yard, now and for many years ahead, is their home. Therefore, they intimidate, provoke, and act violent toward other inmates and staff. The female public culture is substantially less violent, but more dramatic. Prisoners who do not belong to the elite group often experience exploitation, psychological torture, sexual and other kinds of coercion. Females respond more emotionally to situations. Female inmates typically do not present serious physical harm to staff, but the female population can be very manipulative (Talvi, 2007.)

Guards, just like inmates, are adapting to a particular prison culture which is generally dominated by mindless, confident and brutal custodians (Johnson, 1997). It is further dominated by those who have a will to be powerful, and aspire to fully exercise this will. The idea that underlies this statement is that in order to have control over a situation, officers are supposed to be morally superior to inmates. "...the treatment staff and guards deserve one another's bad company, but the inmates certainly deserve better!" (Johnson, 1997, p. 201.)

Ironically, though the public prison social space has been dominated by numerical minority of both inmates and officers, their influence of this subculture is gigantic. The majority of the inmates do not belong to the public convict culture. Nor do the majority of the officers tend to subscribe to ruling by rigidity, threat and force. However, in order to avoid victimization, both inmates and officers have to comply and follow the dynamics of toughness, intimidation and superiority in the institution.

### *Private Culture of the Prison*

Officers' and inmates' private culture refers to how individuals truly adapt to the pain of imprisonment regardless of the facade they think they have to display for public consumption. According to Owen (1998), the majority of the staff aspire to be effective and responsible human beings who provide different services to the inmates such as security, protection, counseling, etc. By doing so officers make prison a better place for staff to work and safer place for inmates to live. There is a common stereotype among staff that characterizes inmates as lazy, idle, and non-cooperative individuals. However, responsible staff members are able to see beyond those stereotypes and find individual approaches to inmates (Owen, 1998). In this thesis we will omit details about the staff's adjustment to the prison work environment as well as the internal dynamics of the institution, and concentrate our attention on inmates' adjustment to prison and their assimilation into prison culture. Literature offers two models that seek to explain inmates' private culture, their adaptations, and their experiences.

### *Deprivation Model*

The model stresses that the characteristics of the prison environment are the most important factors in understanding the adjustment to prison life (Sykes, 1971; orig. edn., 1958). Sykes (1971) argued that prison subculture and inmates' adjustment to prison are closely aligned to the conditions of confinement, and these conditions represent all of the kinds of deprivations that inmates face. For example, inmates are deprived of both material possessions as well as psychological stability. They are deprived of clothes they want to wear and the food they want to eat. They are denied access to heterosexual relationships, as well as, family and friends. Finally, they are deprived of freedom and of any expectations of privacy. Deprivation shapes an inmate's adjustment to prison. Inmates are being fully subjected to a unique prison environment with its strict regime,

discrimination, and interactions with other inmates and staff. As an outcome of remaining in this “unique social environment,” inmates learn about its culture through everyday experience (Clemmer as cited in Stevens, 1998 p. 189) and are considered to be “products of their social interaction” (Stevens, 1998, p. 189). Proponents of deprivation theory claim that this unique prison environment impacts an inmate’s experience through the prisonization effect regardless of preincarceration experiences (Stevens, 1998.) This all may very well be true; however, the current research is interested in the development of economic conflict in these depriving settings.

#### *Importation Model*

While Irwin and Cressey (1962) agreed upon the importance of deprivation factors in explaining inmates’ adjustment to prison, they also claimed that Sykes overestimated these factors while playing down the crucial component of the analysis, which is the unique characteristics of the inmates and the prior experience of these individuals. Pre-prison socialization experiences of the inmate, according to Irwin and Cressey (1962), are the foundation for the formation of prisoner subculture. Evidence was found that supports the fact that those who used to live violent lives outside are more likely to associate with other violent prisoners and often engage in similar behavior in the facility. Therefore, Irwin and Cressey (1962) insist that leaving aside inmate prior experience while studying inmate adjustment to the prison might lead to an overly simplistic answer for a complex problem.

Taking into consideration both theories as a theoretical grounding we also have to address the issues of individual needs of the prisoners. This will help to explain the origins of economic conflict in the correctional facility.

### *Maslow's Theory*

Maslow (1943) discovered that human actions are directed toward need fulfillment. While moving towards the goal, individuals should satisfy particular needs, such as physiological, safety, belonging to others, esteem, and self-actualization. These needs exist in this hierarchy and can only be satisfied in incremental order; in other words physiological needs will always come before growth needs and remain actual and irreplaceable at any point of time. The prison environment is set up in a way to deprive the individual, not only from achieving high goals, but also from satisfying basic needs, such as the food they want to have, clothes they want to wear, the safe environment they want to be in, and making decisions they want to make. However, by depriving persons from freedom, autonomy, social identity, and capital accumulation, the state is able to deprive individuals from legitimate possibilities to satisfy his or her basic needs. However, the mere fact that needs can not be satisfied does not negate their existence simply because these needs are internal characteristics of the individual and can not be detached from the latter. Therefore, as long as these needs are not satisfied, the individual will search for legitimate or illegitimate means to satisfy her needs.

### *Ecological Model*

The question now is whether and how individuals in such a depriving environment are still able to satisfy their needs. To answer this question we have to introduce the ecological model, which was proposed by Toch and further developed by Johnson (1997). According to the ecological model, the prison environment is not uniform, but rather diverse and comprised of different types of niches. Inmates try to adjust to prison life by finding the niches that best accommodate their needs. Niches are functional subsettings that contains objects, accommodations, resources, people, and relationships between them within a particular organized space (Seymour as cited in

Johnson, 1997). In an unstable and even violent prison culture, a niche usually guarantees a safe existence and an avoidance of convict culture. Inmates adjust to prison through finding the niches that will accommodate and best meet the unique combination of their needs, and represent the best environmental fit for them. However, in real life, niches have some limitations. First of all, a prison is like a free capitalist world that does not guarantee a particular niche that an inmate is looking for. Secondly, a niche requires allies which are inherently grounded on trust. Trust, in turn, is a rare entity in prison. As a result, some prisoners may never find the niche that would be safe and comfortable for them. “One man’s niche can be another man’s nightmare” (Johnson, 1997, p.172).

So far it has been found that individuals who enter the confinement stage of the criminal justice process are subject to severe limitations and deprivations regarding access to means of production and resources. These individuals, while possessing particular private characteristics, must assimilate in a harsh world of prison which is called prison culture. To minimize victimization as well as to better satisfy their needs, individuals affiliate with niches (Johnson, 1997). In order for this model to become more utilitarian, economic relationships between subjects should be added.

#### *Principles of Economic Exchange in the Prison*

For the purpose of our study, we examine the prison from the micro theoretical perspective. Implementing a closer analysis of the prison as a monolithic, multidimensional and comparatively autonomous entity, it is clear that forces that are so embedded in our everyday culture also take place in the correctional institutions, and have no less impact on the latter. We will concentrate our attention on prison itself and its internal dynamics. First of all, we have found that the prison economy takes the form of two almost independent but exhaustive systems.

The first model is a formal economic system that is comprised of legitimate exchanges of goods and services. This system is in essence a socialist economy with a state, or more precisely, a business entity (prison industrial complex) ownership of the means of production. The production, distribution, or selling of goods and services occurs for direct use, speculation and accumulation of capital. The demand exists only within a particular institution, while the supply is not limited to the facility, town, state, or even country. All commodities that circulate inside the facility have to be paid for. However, the price is not an outcome of the conjunction of demand and supply. The seller is a business entity that has a monopolized market power and is able to determine and regulate the price.

Another system is an informal economic system that is comprised of both, licit and illicit exchanges of goods and services. It is an open market economy or free-market capitalism. The means of production are privately owned by prisoners. The latter produce, distribute, or resell goods and services for profit. The conjunction of demand and supply under the condition of competition and cultural consumption norms determines the price of goods and services. However, because U. S. currency is considered to be contraband inside the facility, and therefore prohibited, price does not take the form of financial commodities. Instead each prison has its own currency that usually takes the form of a durable, portable, and highly demanded commodity that can be comparatively easily obtained. According to Lankenau (2001), for decades cigarettes were this commodity. However, with the restrictions and even smoking prohibition in the majority of penal institutions, cigarettes could not fulfill the role of currency anymore. Today fairly inexpensive commissary items play the role of prison medium of exchange. The prison economy, just like the real world one, does not exist in a pure form. Stringent

regulations and barriers are created by the prison staff, whose work is highly oriented toward eliminating, regulating or even participating in any illegal activity in the facility.

The formal prison economy provides, at best, the essentials, while at worst, even less. “It is true that the prisoner’s basic material needs are met- in the sense that he does not go hungry, cold or wet” (Sykes, 1971. p.65). However, Sykes continues, prisoners need not only necessities, but also amenities such as different goods and services, the number of which is very limited. Finally, the formal system provides very little opportunity to earn income, and if it does there is no fairness in the distribution of income (Lankenau, 2001). This reality ultimately gives birth to an informal economy “that is premised on consuming prohibited or contraband items and hustles.” (Gleason as cited in Lankenau, p. 143.) The possibility of a black market existence and it’s power to survive depends upon the relationships between those who are willing to obtain a commodity and individuals with access to an illegal commodity in unsecured sections of the prison as well as the areas outside the facility (Lankenau, 2001).

It is important to mention that the mere existence of an informal prison economy does not necessarily imply inmate economic conflict. The informal economy undoubtedly may precipitate the conflict. Meanwhile, the economic conflict is shaped by structural and cultural forces that penetrate both the open and the underground economy.

Structural forces influence the development of a black market and therefore precipitate the economic conflict. The age of the facility is one of the most important forces. Age in turn usually determines the design of the prison. More contemporary prisons are known for better security and easier supervision, which limits the scope and even the possibility of the conflict. Another factor is the degree to which inmates are allowed to move within and outside the facility. Finally, lack of staff training, and lack of

their diligence to create a safer and more trustworthy environment, will enhance the possibility of conflict.

Cultural forces also precipitate the conflict. Today's late modern society is very inclusive. It puts intense pressure on individuals to conform, to become included in the mainstream of the vogue, to remain included, to have commodities, and to wear and possess the right things. Society itself is digesting people. Many of us inculcate ourselves with all the desires and passions for consumerism. We can assume that the majority of prisoners used to live their life on the streets and socialize within this particular popular culture. They aspired to be included and to be part of this culture. Therefore, taking this notion and applying it in Irwin's and Cressy's (1962) importation theory, it is not surprising that this popular subculture of consumerism is being brought to the depriving environment of the prison. Female inmates aspire to conform and to be included regardless of what environment they are in. Even being locked up in the facility, they strive to achieve what today constitutes being a beautiful woman. There is no doubt that some people in the "free world" would consider jail-issue clothing, cosmetics, deodorant and other grooming items as an inmate's unstipulated caprices. I am not critiquing that because it may very well be true. However, this attitude masks the tremendous cultural force that exist in contemporary society and that makes people conform to particular norms.

It is culture that shapes individuals from the first until the last days of their lives and teaches us that females must use soap, deodorant, shaving razors, shampoo, etc. This is a culture that promotes consumerism as a unique technique to construct identity and promote it as a requisite for a successful life. Therefore, like females in the community, women in prison fully possess this ingrained notion of culture. That is why it is much more important to the majority of women to have the clothes they can wear in prison, to

have the cosmetics and hygiene products they can possess, and finally to have food so they can follow the standards of beauty and femininity.

Prison in turn is stripping identity from the women inmates (Goffman, 1961). As a result, a tension arises between imported culture of consumerism on the one hand, and depriving nature of prison and identity stripping on the other.

The majority of prisons allow females to have cosmetics and other products as long as they can obtain them through legitimate means. However, simply because very few prisoners have resources to purchase these products, these items are in high demand and low supply. This fact gives birth to a hierarchy among inmates and to the birth of a black market and all kinds of deviance associated with it. It occurs because our cultural fabric has become so powerful, and our identity has been shaped around certain commodities. Therefore, when we cannot attain things that are desired, it may cause conflict. This conflict is nonetheless the outcome of culture. Our society excludes those who can not afford to be included. It regurgitates, spits out, and keeps a distance from those people who can not attain it. Therefore, impoverished and deprived women are willing to sacrifice the most sacred of what they have, their femininity and sexuality to obtain things and to feel included.

Sexual relationships are one of the most obvious and probably the most common forms of inmate desire to restore balance. Findings indicate that in prison, sexual relationships are ground primarily on manipulation rather than on any perception of homosexual alliance (Greer, 2000.) That is, inmates participate in sexual relationships in order to improve economic standing. The economic standing here is also directly associated with power relations. The Marxist claim that the notion of power exists in relation to the modes of production is highly applicable to modern prisons. Greer (2000)

found that prisoners are perceived as being more influential if they have higher monetary support compared to others.

In contrast to Marx (1976) and Weber's (1978) conceptions of power are different. For Weber, power is not only attached to economic class, but it is also about social status. These two may operate together but they are relatively independent. Power, according to Weber, is a social actor's capability to require people to do certain things that they would not do otherwise. Social status is the degree to which a person is perceived by others as possessing socially valued attributes. This is the degree to which this person has social status. In deprived settings such as prisons, entities such as economic power and social status are so closely intertwined that they intensify cultural and structural disparities among inmates. Moreover, the constitutive lack of material goods as well the limits of sources of income, predetermines the development of both economic power and social status. Therefore, the form in which economic relations exist in prison is defined by economic power and by social prestige, or social status.

Continuing with economic relationships, it was already constituted that the satisfaction of inmates' needs and gaining social status requires involvement in black market activity. Inmates, being rational human beings, certainly are fully aware of the prohibition of the black market and any hustling activity in the facilities. However, their desire to gain access to extra material goods and services is a violation of rationality. Someone would call this the emotionality of a human being. However, I want to redefine and clarify the term emotionality. I do not consider an inmate's involvement into hustling activity for the purpose of getting extra goods and services as emotionality. Instead, I define prisoner's emotionality as their response to irrationality of the prison setting and prison management. During visits to facilities, Dr. Wells noticed that the general response of the staff to conflict is to put both adversarial parties in segregation or to

utilize different kinds of sanctions against them (Dr. Wells, personal communication November, 12, 2012).

Contemporary prison is a highly flowing, rationalized and bureaucratic agency in the way prison authorities exercise their power. Therefore it is obvious why authorities respond to the problem through bureaucratic means; a structured, rationalized, and predictable response is simply better suited for control and management. However, what is questionable is how our culture through mentalities and sensibilities shapes this kind of response. When inmates go to segregation, or when they face restrictive commissary privileges or more frequent cell searches, our mentalities and sensibilities accept this type of punishment as rational and deserving. It is indeed common sense for both officers and the general public to punish prisoners for any rule violation. It is presumed that punishment would serve as a deterrent from any violations in future. In the praxis of hegemony, inmates are rational creatures and choose to violate the prison rules. Therefore they deserve to be punished in a rationalistic way- a way that conforms to rationalistic sentiments. This idea, as rational as it is, leads society to not question the grounds of inmates' cultural adaptations in the first place. If they deserve to be punished, and this is the way we have always done it, why would anyone even question something that is already common sense? This practice of punishment reaffirms the normative way of thinking about inmates and their misbehavior. This type of system response, therefore, reaffirms popular culture, reshapes it and contributes to hegemony.

However, this type of system response is very inconvenient for inmates. Being already in a deprived setting, it gets even harder for them to retain their individual identities. Therefore, a prisoner's natural response to authorities is to adapt to prison culture through rebellion, which is engaging in illegal activities and hustling.

Guards often escalate the problem. Poorly paid and often lacking of ethics, the officers may take advantage of deprived inmates and the miserable condition of the prison. Therefore, motivated by multiple rational factors, officers might smuggle coffee, cigarettes, drugs and other commodities to prison. By smuggling or helping the smuggling of illegal goods into a facility, correctional officers directly fuel the prison economy. Corrupt officers not only encourage deviance in the prison community, but they also reduce the independence and effectiveness of other officers by weakening social bonds and decomposing discipline. Finally they drastically drop society's perception of the correctional officers' image, dignity and respect.

To conclude, the environment of incarceration is notorious for the deprivation and limitation of freedom and other liberties, so neither material possessions nor outside status can be fully brought to the facility. Wealth and status are the major notions in the facility. Prison conditions inevitably contribute to the economic conflict in the facility. Deprivation precipitates the economic conflict. As we know "no one does anything for nothing in prison"; and all pleas to bring in "just a bit tobacco" or "make just one phone call" were refused' (Crewe, 2006, p.351). Prison life is inherently mantled with a lot of temptations such as choosing the path of gambling, hustling, and other illegal activities.

On the other hand, it is hard to deny that certain individual characteristics may significantly affect an inmate's behavior during imprisonment, which can also lead to tensions and conflicts (Steiner & Wooldredge, 2009). Age, level of education, or criminal history are among the obvious ones. The same economic conflict may originate from the pre-prison class and material inequalities. Those inmates who receive money from family and friends may be able to afford buying certain things while confined. However, those without money are forced to get involved in illegal activities. However, gambling or selling contraband items may result in unequal distribution of wealth, which in turn may

lead to physical and other types of violence or prohibited behavior (i.e., threats, stealing or extortion).

### **Women in Prison**

For many decades women comprised only a small fraction of the total prison population. As a result, there are far fewer institutions for women than for men. Women also serve their time in the institutions that much smaller those for men (Pollock, 1990). For all of the above stated reasons, there has not been a lot of academic and practitioner attention concerning the needs of incarcerated women. Only the exponential increase in the number of female prisoners behind bars has brought a substantial amount of attention to the problem. The inconvenient and unaccommodating environment of women's prisons has been research topic for the last several decades. With the contributions of Giallombardo (1966), Kruttschnitt (1983), Owen (1998), Pollock (1990), Ward and Kassebaum (1965), and others, we have discovered the reality of women's life and its implications while confined. However, a number of questions remain. One of the questions that took my imminent interest was prison economic relations and economic victimization of women's prisoners. Early classic literature revealed the scope of the problem as well the origin and factors that contribute to economic conflict. However, the majority of the literature was dated 2004 and earlier. I was unable to find any research post 2004 that pertained to inmate economic conflict as the object of study. Ironically, some contemporary books on prison victimization do not even acknowledge this type of conflict.

This chapter summaries the major findings of economic conflict phenomenon in both male and female penal institutions during the period of 1930 to the present. I will

show how broader cultural, economic and political forces shape institutional life and have a potential to influence economic conflict. I will also unmantle the drastic gender differences within confined populations and stress what it means to be a female prisoner under the current correctional policies.

### **Early Studies on Prison Economic Victimization**

One of the earliest discussions about economic conflict was found in classic sociological study by Donald Clemmer that took place during the mid-1930s. Clemmer (1958) recognized that inmate economic relations exist and flourish against the background of the inmate code. He pointed out that “There ain’t no ten commandments-in prison” (p.154). However, he stressed that with certain exceptions inmates usually follow common rules from the code. For example, the code stated that a prisoner should not steal from another prisoner. However, from careful observation Clemmer (1958) concluded that some prisoners are not strong enough to completely follow the inmate code without violations. Therefore, though the code imposes that stealing from the state is totally appropriate, these items should only be given away, and not sold for profit. Prisoners often violate this condition. “Food is stolen from the kitchen and sold; clothes and shoes are sold and a favor is usually considered worth a small fee” (Clemmer, 1958, p. 160).

Other forms of profit activity also took place in the penitentiary in which Clemmer undertook his research. He found that the carriers who smuggled alcohol into prison had pure financial motives. The amount of alcohol which cost one dollar in the free world will bring four times more inside the penitentiary. Though Clemmer (1958) was not convinced that the smuggling was widespread, he affirmed the real scope of the

activity was unknown. Clemmer (1958) did not identify any social pattern within inmate economic relationships and was convinced that economic victimization was no more than an isolated individual act.

Clemmer's study became the first in a long series of sociological studies of prisons. A classic study was accomplished in a maximum security prison in the mid 1950s by Gresham Sykes. It was a descriptive study of prison as a social system that revealed prison life as a multidimensional entity. Sykes (1971) identified a number of social roles in prison and consequently was able to uncover social patterns that drive inmate economic relations. Alongside the direct use of force and coercion, Sykes found that certain prisoners use psychological and economic manipulation to obtain desirable outcomes. Because manipulation is a subtle form of exploitation, fellow inmates usually do not feel any coercion or threat of violence and comply voluntarily. Manipulative techniques often take the form of fraud and chicanery and may include, but are not limited to, defaulting one's obligations, cheating on gambling debts, and selling communal property.

Some of the patterns of inmate economic behavior discovered by Sykes (1971) remained unchanged since early Clemmer's study. For example, prisoners despised those who sell what is only supposed to be given away. Inmates who violated the inmate code by placing their own prosperity above the prosperity of the other inmates are called merchants. "The man stealing stuff from the institution is stealing from me. He shouldn't try and sell it to me" (Sykes, 1971, p.94). While merchant's actions are not accompanied by coercion, their behavior is subversive and exploitative. However, as mentioned in Chapter 1, the black market economy in prison is a capitalist economy in which the

aforesaid actions are totally appropriate. Therefore, just like in the real world, in prison those inmates who are willing to betray solidarity and collaboration, victimize fellow inmates, get involved in speculative activities, and are willing to take risks, are the inmates who have a chance to escape from material deprivation and prosper.

Regardless of how cynical one inmate's actions might be toward other inmates, the prison environment is an inherently cruel and embittered reality in which victimization and degradation are common notions. In 1980, Bowker accomplished a fundamental contemporary study on prison victimization. He insisted that prisoners are hardly in the position to control their destiny. They are assigned to a particular institution and a classified unit. In that unit they will learn that "Prison is a barely controlled jungle where the aggressive and the strong will exploit the weak and the weak are dreadfully aware of it" (Keve, 1974 as cited in Bowker, 1980, p.19). This exploitation escalates in four different types of prison victimization: economic, physical, physiological, and social. In liaison with the topic of the present study, I will closely examine economic victimization, while the other types will be mentioned within the context of the present work.

Economic conflict among inmates was recognized as soon as the first penal institutions appeared. To the present day, penal professionals are able to distinguish eight diverse but interrelated kinds of economic victimization. These include loansharking, gambling frauds, theft, robbery, protection rackets, and deliberate misrepresentation of products. Though these types of economic victimization are very common in male prisons, women economic victimization takes different forms among women prisoners and will be discussed later.

## **Deprivation and Importation**

Like any social institution, prison is well-known for its unique culture, mores and norms that have evolved and advanced historically. On the other hand, individuals who come to prison introduce a number of unique personal characteristics into the solid and tough prison culture. This confrontation of different individual and institution cultures, which are often adversarial, led to the ongoing search as to how inmates really adjust to prison. Two models which emphasize importation and deprivation, respectively, have the most importance for our analysis.

The study “Thieves, Convicts and the Inmate Culture” by Irwin and Cressey (1962) presented an outstanding qualitative study that shed light on the inmate subculture both within and outside the facility. Irwin and Cressey (1962) were able to identify different types of inmate subcultures and explain how particular inmates oriented to particular subcultures while “doing” their time. Stressing the importance of importation theory (which focuses on inmate prior experience and outside conditions), the authors were able to explain the true roots of economic conflict in correctional facilities and show how this conflict may be overcome using status, power and conformity to particular deviant subcultures. According to Irwin and Cressey (1962), a clerk can work in a kitchen storeroom and steal and sell food to acquire status. So there is a number of available opportunities to work in the facilities. The jobs differ from transporting contraband to doing laundry, or from drawing tattoos to gambling and taking bets. Each job is paid, so it is highly desirable. When Irwin and Cressey made their analyses, cigarettes were widely spread in prison. Therefore they found that a steady income of cigarettes, which was the

medium of exchange in prison, can assert prisoners to a level of influence that will allow them to purchase symbols of status to separate them from the others.

While Irwin and Cressy (1962) did not ignore deprivation factors, they stressed pre-prison individual factors as those which to a large degree shape prison experience. Other literature suggests that in some instances, the deprivation model can play the most important part in understanding depression, self-harm, and irritability (Slotboom et al., 2011). Interestingly, Zingraff (1980) detected that in the case of male inmates, deprivation factors play the most important role in prisonization phenomena. However, female prisonization is equally influenced by both deprivation and importation factors. This is just one indication that men and women adjust and do time in prison differently.

### **Female Prisoners**

Female inmates serve their time differently. Prison is a place where gender differences become critically important. “The men have everything. They stick together. The women are afraid” (Owen, 1998, p.73). Incarcerated women face unique issues, such as healthcare, family and children care, and no access to equal rights. Researchers have examined the demographic characteristics of female prisoners, the social world of women’s prisons and women’s adaptations to confinement (Heffernan, 1972; Jones, 1993, Owen, 1998, Pollock, 1990).

Women envision incarceration as a very unusual experience that may not be excessively difficult physically, but very stressful emotionally (Stevens, 1998.) Fear of the unknown in conjunction with breaking ties with children and families, as well as lack of emotional support and loss of financial assets, shape the behavior and habits women are going to experience in prison.

One of the major characteristics of women's prison is that these institutions confine a disproportionate number of minorities and poor (Pollock, 1990). This fact has a direct impact on women's economic relationships while confined. Like their male counterparts, female inmates strive to improve their material conditions. However, coming from a low income environment, many women have little or no outside support. Options to earn money in prison are also very limited. The only way to acquire legitimate or contraband goods and services is to exploit the environment (Giallombardo, 1966) "If you can get a little racket going, more power to you" (Giallombardo, 1966, p. 121). Therefore the "merchant" behavior that is despised in male prison (i.e., stealing from the institution) is more appropriate in women's prisons. Stealing from the institution is justified by the following rationale "If you don't get there first, someone else will" (Giallombardo, 1966, p. 121).

Another significant factor that makes a prison a place where gender differences become critically important pertains to the cultural conception of femininity in contemporary American society. There is abundance of rules that recently have been implemented in county jails. These rules include, but are not limited to, no makeup or jewelry permitted, no access to personal property, such as curling irons or hair dryers, and no usage of bleaches in the laundry. These rules, while technically applying to both sexes, in reality, will affect only women (Jackson & Stearns, 1995). Therefore, clear discrepancies exist between identities that are being constructed through social interactions and between policies that significantly deprive women from the tools and means to achieve this appearance of women in American society. These discrepancies escalate with another major trend in policies. Efforts to promote rationalization and

standardization as well as gender equity in corrections often force women to adapt to prison in the conventional “masculine” style (Gartner & Kruttschnitt, 2004).

Women’s prisons are considered to be safer than those for men. Bowker (1980) stressed that both male and female institutions are known for violence and degradation. The only distinction is in “degrees rather than in kind” (p. 54). Violence among females is less prevalent, whereas, the instances when it occurs may be notable for severity, viciousness, and harshness. However, later studies of women’s prisons (e.g., Owen, 1998, Pollock, 2002) revealed that the violence, gangs, and racial tensions that are so common in the male institutions, are unusual in the women’s prisons.

Research indicates that, in general, violence is not the way to take care of things among female inmates, and it usually serves to achieve dominance and subordination when other manipulative strategies fail to achieve their goal. Therefore, techniques of social control other than violence and exploitation are sufficient enough to maintain and control the social structure in female correctional institutions.

Interestingly, those scholars are united when talking about the manipulative and speculative nature of female inmates. Goffman (1961) describes manipulative practices or “secondary adjustments” as prisoner’s attempts to obtain prohibited satisfactions or to secure legitimate ones by illicit means. Involving into these practices as well as profiting from them alleviates the misery, deprivation and loneliness of prison life.

### **Economic Victimization in Women’s Prison**

After an extensive review of the literature, I found that most researchers on prison victimization, except Williams and Fish (1974), tend to see inmate economic conflict as originating in the inmate code, conditions of confinement, or prison violence.

Researchers often do not link the prison economic system with the wider imported culture that makes poverty to be appropriate and even a necessary condition of incarceration. “Poverty is a fringe punishment” (Williams & Fish, 1974, p.9). This attitude justifies and intensifies the severe limitations of the prison formal economic system, and hence results in inmate struggling and involvement in a sub rosa economy.

Economic conflict has been substantially addressed by researchers in high security male correctional facilities; stringent control and regimentation of the latter leads to a well developed and defined inmate culture with a prosper illicit economy that perpetrates it (Williams & Fish, 1974). Less secure female prisons do not tend to develop a powerful inmate culture; therefore these institutions are less susceptible to a strong sub rosa economy. This might account for the lack of research on women economic victimization. Also when it comes to female prisons, lesbianism has been the main research topic for the last several decades.

However, even the limited existing research on women’s prisons is consistent with the exploitative relations of a confined community. Owen (1998) revealed there are three categories of exploitative relationships: theft, borrowing without intent to return, and inability to pay loan or return goods to the owner. This last type of nonpayment not only hurts and economically deprives the initial owner of the resource, but also disrupts trust between prisoners. “. . .I told her not to loan things to people” (Owen, 1998, p.149). The second category involves interpersonal relations which include emotional exploitation augmented by economics. In other words it is a phenomena which classic literature calls “mating for commissary reasons” (Giallombardo, 1966, p.125; Williams & Fish, 1974, p. 113). Owen et al. (2008) found instances where women with a sufficient

amount of resources would exploit those without resources for friendship and devotion. Other instances occur when inmates without resources target rich women and coerce them to enter into relationships to get access to their possessions and commissary (Greer, 2000; Owen et al., 2008).

Though pervasive homosexuality is indeed a characteristic of adult female prisons, some research indicates that it is a rare occasion when women inmates are forced into homosexual relationships by physical aggression and against their will. Most of the prison sexual relationships between inmates are consensual (Girschick, 1999; Kruttschnitt, 1983; Owen, 1998; Pollock, 2002 ). The third category of exploitation involves extortion which usually occurs when weak inmates are pressured to give away their possessions to another prisoner through demands or exploitative personal relationships. Owen (1998) described an inmate's mindset "If I want those earrings, I would say, "hey, I want those earrings." If she said no, I would take them anyways" (p.151). There is also enough evidence that vulnerable and marginalized women had to "buy their way out" in order to avoid trouble.

According to Greer (2000), women in prison are striving to reconstruct a "substitutive universe" (p. 453) to overcome the loss of roles they perform in the real world. However, they do not tend to construct any close, trustful, long-lasting relationships. Even the involvement into interpersonal relationships based on the concept of romance is erroneous in modern correctional institutions. Economic manipulation such as access to money or material goods was found to be a primary motivation for engaging in homosexual affairs (Greer, 2000, Ward & Kassebaum, 1965).

Casella (2000), while studying a sexual economy among nineteenth- century Australian female convict prisoners, found that circulation of material object exchange and well as sexual encounters, flourishing networks of the black market economy. Availability of essential resources and diverting luxuries as valuable exchange items was possible through careful trafficking. ‘The “tobacco and pipes and...a bottle of rum”...to be sent “in some way so as it cannot be seen” ’ (Daniels as cited in Casella, 2000, p.218).

Researchers who study contemporary women’s prisons, to the contrary, have failed to find an extensive black market or economic victimization (Bowker, 1980) At least they claim that the black market operates at the same level as identified in prisons for men (Pollock, 1990). The degree of organization of the black market seems to be more loose and informal in female prisons compared to their male counterparts. Drugs and other contraband are being distributed within the facility, but the distribution occurs in rather informal circles.

The deprivation setting of the prison, in conjunction with material scarcity, increases not only a drug’s value, but also the subjective value of common, non-expensive goods. Basic items such as candies and soda are among the goods, which when stolen or taken away by force, escalate into inmate economic conflict and contribute to the diminished perception of safety among inmates. Aforesaid challenges have a potential to escalate into more serious forms of violence.

### **Economic Victimization from Staff**

Just as there is a lack of the literature on female economic victimization, very little is known about staff- prisoner victimization in female correctional institutions. Guenther (1975) tends to originate this victimization within the “struggle for dominance”

(p.249) between correctional officers and inmates. Moreover, he pointed out that both sides have their unique resources to succeed. Custodial staff often has the ability to receive information prior or during the occurrence of undesirable activity; therefore the element of surprise is among their advantages. Among all other resources, prisoners have the invaluable one, which is time. Idle inmates will find a way to compile and accomplish desirable activity. Prisoners also have tactics of bringing and keeping contraband: they have stashes, accomplices, and in some occasions, they have the patronage of corrupt staff members. Guenther (1975) indicated that even if custodial staff finishes their most productive search, they will uncover only a small fraction of contraband circulating at the time.

Taking into consideration all prisoners' unique resources, it is evident that there is a major condition that drives a distinction between prison officials and confined inmates. This condition is the possession of prison's officials exclusive privilege on the legitimate means of coercion and use of force (Sykes, 1958). This condition suppresses the equality of the distribution of resources, favors and ultimately power.

I perceive that Guenther's (1975) call "struggle for dominance" (p. 249) between staff and inmates is only "illusion, created between those with power, and those without" (Berman & The Wachowski Brothers, 2003). The victimization of prisoners occurs because of unequal distribution of power, and the victimization of prisoners by staff cannot be easily separated from rightful application of institutional policies by custodial staff (Bowker, 1980).

Interestingly, researchers, while describing sexual relationships between inmates and staff, refer to these relationships as relatively consensual (Bothworth, 1999; Genders

& Player, 1990; Giallombardo, 1966; Girshick, 1999; Heffernan, 1972; Owen, 1998; Rierden, 1997; Ward & Kassebaum, 1965;). The rationality behind this statement is that women seek particular favors from male officers in exchange to sexual attentions, therefore women are willing participants. This concurrence, in turn, does not seem to be plausible once we realize that first of all female who are in custody and, secondly, deprived of legitimate means to gain any needs, freedoms, or privileges (Pollock, 1990). Visiting different correctional institutions while completing other research, I was extremely pleased to observe posters with “It can never be consensual”. Unfortunately, reality is a little different. Women engage in intimate relationships for different reasons, the majority of which are economic in nature. Therefore, as long as economic deprivation remains relatively high, the true reasons for such behavior will remain more subsistent than ever.

### **Changes over Time**

So far I have tried to provide an exhaustive literature review on prison economic conflict and other forms of victimization, as well explain how the female role fits the social structure of the prison and perpetrates conflict. I have also stressed that there is not much literature on economic conflict among female inmates.

Now I would like to show that prison culture and conflict are not stable and monolithic entities. To the contrary, the social structure and conditions of prison are changing over time and these changes are ongoing. Research has shown that the experiences and adaptations of prisoners are not constant over time (Diaz-Cotto, 1996; Greer, 2000; Mandaraka-Sheppard, 1986; Rierden, 1997). The inmate’s perception of prison reality alters alongside the shifts within the larger society. In other words, the

prison subculture is being influenced by broader political, cultural, economic and social forces changes. (Clemmer, 1950; Jacobs, 1977; Sykes, 1971). Research suggests that culture in women prisons, which for decades has been less violent and less victimizing than the men's subculture, might be changing toward more coercion and victimization (Greer, 2000). Fox (as cited in Gartner & Kruttschnitt, 2004) found that the punitive shift in criminal justice in the 1980s, in tandem with the prisoners' rights and feminist movements, created the new type of prisoners: politicized and litigious. Continuing, Fox (as cited in Gartner & Kruttschnitt, 2004, p. 269) mentioned that "What was once approximately characterized as a cooperative and caring community...has slowly evolved into more dangerous and competitive prison social climate."

Gartner and Kruttschnitt (2004) found evidence that broader social and economic changes had shaped prison economic relationships. Comparing prison economic relationships in the 1960s with those in the 1990s, they found that by 1990 there was a reduction of the personal property exchange among prisoners because of the potential for conflict. "If you loan something, it's hard for you to get it back. And the next thing you know, you're gonna boxin' for it," claimed a young Black female (Gartner & Kruttschnitt, 2004, p. 293). Gartner and Kruttschnitt (2004) continue that in such an environment a lot of violence is taking place over foolish things, like owing a pack of cigarettes.

Another example of changes within inmate culture and prison economies was presented in 2001 by Lankenau. He argues that the cigarette- smoking prohibition policies have transformed the fairly benign cigarette "gray market" where cigarettes were

once used as the major currency, into a highly regulated “black market” where cigarettes are an excessively prized contraband commodity.

### **Safe Environment**

Interestingly, some research has found that prison can be a relatively safe environment, especially in regard to the lumpenproletariat class. Gaining resources and income through legitimate practices may be an infeasible task for socially marginalized women. That is why engaging in illegal activities can be seen as the only accessible and worthwhile task. Prison in turn, constitutes a “safe haven” from violence, indigence, discrimination and other circumscriptive social issues (Bradley & Davino, 2002; Richie, 1996). This finding is based on the fact that many women inmates were victims of child and adult physical and sexual abuse (Bradley & Davino, 2002). Bradley and Davino (2002), upon completion of their qualitative analyses, once stressed that taking into consideration an inmate’s background, some prisoners perceived confinement to be much safer than the preincarceration environment.

### **Conclusion**

Understanding the nature of inmate economic conflict was not universal throughout the twentieth century. While the first research on prison victimization did not even identify social patterns within inmate economic relationships, later studies found that economic victimization was more than an isolated individual act. Economic conflict is tightly connected to other problems in housing units (i.e., physical and sexual violence, inmate- staff relationships, and successfulness of institutional procedures in protecting female inmates).

With the exponential growth of the female population in jails and prisons since 1980s, researchers were able to acknowledge that gender makes an unprecedented difference when it comes to adjustment to the prison culture, and perception of safety and victimization. Slotboom et al. (2011), concluded that deprivation is perceived differently by female inmates. Very often deprivation is contingent on an individual's perception. While perception is not necessarily reality, it can be more important than reality in directing behavior. For example, women who perceive their environment as stressful or unsafe, who feel depressed and excluded, are more likely to have psychological complaints during incarceration (Slotboom et al., 2011).

While researches extensively studied prison culture from the sociological and psychological perspectives, the prison economy, especially the informal part of it, has escaped the careful examination of most researchers and practitioners. This might have occurred for the following reasons: economic conflict is not usually perceived as violence per se, therefore it does not require immediate attention; secondly, most sociologists and psychologists have received little training and have less interest in economic theory as compared to sociological studies.

The social structure and conditions of prison are changing over time. There are different reasons that account for that. Prison as a social institution is heavily influenced by broader political, cultural, economic and social forces. Therefore, changes that occurred in different spheres will be reflected on prison life. Punitive political ideology towards criminal justice offenders that originated in the 1980s has drastically changed the portrait and the characteristics of the prisoner. The major cultural shift in individual perception of safety brought major changes in the way we define crime, as well as, in the

way we prosecute and punish crime. Taken together, these changes influence the environment and ideology inside the facility, which undoubtedly shapes security, safety and victimization.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

The previous two chapters have revealed that, historically, inmate economic conflict is more or less relevant to every female correctional facility. However, because female inmate economic conflict itself does not represent violence per se, it has been largely neglected and has yielded to studies of more serious forms of conflict. Also, the fairly small percentage of incarcerated women, when compared to men, may account for the lack of research on this topic.

The widespread number of women prisons across the country makes it almost impossible to obtain a large enough random sample for a particular study. This study uses a purposeful sample of prisons as well as a purposeful sample of incarcerated female inmates inside the chosen prisons. The sample is sufficient enough to allow exhaustive analysis of factors that might account for the economic victimization in women's prisons. This chapter describes the research methods used while conducting this study, as well as provides an overview of the research design, research setting and population from which the sample was drawn. I will also present information regarding sampling procedures, variables, instrumentation, and preliminary data analyses.

#### **Research Design**

The present study is primarily based on quantitative research methods including descriptive statistics and hierarchical linear modeling. Descriptive statistics including frequencies, means, and standard deviations were calculated for all relevant variables. The analyses were performed using SPSS version 18 and Mplus version 6.2.

Prior to conducting the advanced data analyses, we screened the survey data and made an important discovery. Since most of the female inmates live in group housing units as opposed to individual cells, they share common environment and experiences. Given that the survey respondents were clustered or nested within 80 housing units, our observations regarding their perceptions of conflict are not considered to be independent, but rather, are clustered within housing units. That is, women who live in the same housing units are likely to have some common or shared perceptions. The phenomenon of non independence of observations is called nested data. Conventional factor analyses and hierarchical multiple regression do not take the nesting of the data into account. However, failure to address the nesting of the data may lead to incorrect or not valid conclusions (Wells, Owen, & Parson, 2013). Mirjam, Gerard, and Martijin (2003) demonstrated that standard multiple regression and fixed effects regression usually underestimate the standard error of inmate perceptions, and therefore, lead to incorrect results (generally type I error) and incorrect confidence intervals (usually too narrow). To overcome such inaccuracy, we utilized a statistical technique known as hierarchical linear modeling or multilevel regression. The latter treats inmates as the unit of analysis, while also taking into account the connection between the outcomes of inmates nested within the same housing unit. (Mirjam et al., 2003). The analysis was performed using Mplus version 6.12.

### **Source of Data**

The instrument and the data were derived from a study supported by the National Institute of Justice NIJ Award #2006-RP-BX-0016, Research on Violent Behavior and Sexual Violence in Corrections 2006 accomplished by Owen, Wells, Pollock, Muscat,

and Torres (2008). This instrument was further developed, refined and validated by Wells et al. (2013) as part of the follow up study which was supported by National Institute of Corrections (NIC) Award #10PEI34GKB6 PREA Validation Project for Improving Safety in Women's Facilities.

For the present study, I am using these validated survey data as a secondary data source. I chose this dataset because it best matches the variables I planned to utilize in order to answer my research questions.

### **Population and Sample**

The population from which the sample was drawn consisted of all women who currently serve their sentence in local, state and federal jails and prisons throughout the United States. Opportunities to draw a random sample were limited due to the extreme dissemination of the correctional facilities all over the country. Therefore, the sample was purposeful in nature. However, the sample contains a wide a variety of institutions: county jails and state and federal prisons; big and small facilities, as well as, public and private institutions. The sample also contains women from all possible housing units: general population, low and high custody units, individual cells, isolation, and administrative segregation, and infirmary. Therefore, although the sample is not strictly representative of the population, the diversity of the facilities and their inmates allow us to assume that characteristics of the sample are close to the characteristics of the female prisoners in the United States. In total, 15 different facilities were visited in which 3,499 women inmates were surveyed. The overall response rate was 89.0%, while response rates for individual housing units ranged from 50.0% to 100% (Wells et al., 2013).

## **Instrumentation**

In response to the Prison Rape Elimination Act of 2003 (PREA), and based on previous research conducted for the NIJ, Owen et al. (2008) developed the pilot version of the Women's Correctional Safety Scales (WCSS). The WCSS is a comprehensive battery of survey instruments developed to assess prisoner perceptions of safety and violence in women's facilities. The battery of instruments was initially constructed and validated based on the focus group data collected in the NIJ funded research. Upon development of the instrument, readability and grade level were also assessed. The current version of survey and consent form does not exceed the 9<sup>th</sup> grade level.

In 2013 Wells et al. (2013), sponsored by the NIC, further developed the instrument. Using various methodologies, such as exploratory factor analyses, multilevel factor analyses, regression analyses and other extensive statistical techniques, the researchers refined, shortened and validated the WCSS. They also addressed the problem associated with the nested data by using multi-level confirmatory factor analysis (MCFA), a procedure not yet common in criminal justice research. The end product was a valid, reliable, and "user friendly" battery of instruments (WCSS) designed to assess safety in women's facilities across multiple dimensions.

The following section will provide the variables that were utilized in the present study, as well as, the reasons and rationales for including them.

## **Dependent Variables**

The dependent variable, economic conflict is a composite measure, and it is operationally defined by five items (questions) from the survey. The questions and their factor loadings are represented in appendix A.

Each of the questions (items) was measured by value from the five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Not a problem) to 5 (Very big problem). The five-item version of the inmate economic conflict measure has a reported Cronbach's alpha value of .940.

### **Independent Variables**

The full list of variables is presented in appendix B.

Level 2 variables:

Type of institution (0 = jail, 1 = prison)

Level 1 variables:

#### Individual Factors:

Age at time of survey

Highest degree of education (1= less than high school, 8 = graduate degree)

Violent crime history (0 = no, 1 = yes)

Property crime history (0 = no, 1 = yes)

Drug offense crime history (0 = no, 1 = yes)

Other crime offense history (0 = no, 1 = yes)

Number of times has been in jail before this sentence or detention.

Number of times has been in prison before this sentence or detention.

Time (in years) have you served in this facility?

Time (in years) have you served in this housing unit?

Race of inmate (0= non-white, 1 = white).

Ethnicity (Are you Hispanic or Latino, 0 = no, 1 = yes).

Social Climate Factors:

*Inmates' rating on how physically violent unit* is measured by question 57 from the WCSS and ranged from 1 (not physically violent) to 10 (very physically violent).

*Inmates' rating on how sexually violent unit* is measured by question 58 from the WCSS and ranged from 1(not sexually violent) to 10 (very sexually violent).

Generally different types of violence perpetrate each other in a secure prison community. If physical or sexual violence takes place in housing units, it might contribute to stealing, racketeering, or taking away somebody's property.

*Inmates' rating on the inmate sexual violence scale* is measured by 12 survey items (questions: 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20) and varies from 0 (not a problem) to 4 (very big problem). The Cronbach's alpha was calculated to measure reliability for the scale. The reported reliability of the scale was .968.

We assume it is possible for sexual violence to lead to economic conflict. Female inmates who have been in close relationship with each other could have shared the same property and capital. They could have also presented gifts to each other. Once their close friendship is over, the process of carving up of the material possessions will inevitably arise. Another scenario may include having sexual relationship for the purpose of material prosperity. Sexual violence may also arise from the pimp's (a third party agent who receives a part of the earnings) services. Those services are generally not free. So problems with underpayment or non payment are frequent consequences of that business. Therefore it is conceivable that challenges that initially originated in sexual violence may lead to economic conflict.

*Inmates' rating on the inmate physical violence scale* are measured by 8 questions from the survey (questions: 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31) and ranged from 0 (not a problem) to 4 (very big problem). The inmate physical violence scale has a reported Cronbach's alpha value of .963.

Arguments, verbal threats and physical fights are well known activities in the correctional institutions. Inmates' necessity to pay "protection" to other women in order to keep themselves safe may precipitate engaging into illegal activities, such as stealing and trading commodities or selling drugs and other contraband, in order to obtain extra income.

*Inmates' rating on the staff verbal harassment scale* was measured by 4 items (questions: 32, 33, 34, 35). *Inmates' rating on the staff sexual harassment scale* was measured by 3 items (questions 36, 37, 38). Both scales ranged from 0 (not a problem) to 4 (very big problem). The staff verbal harassment scale has a reported Cronbach's alpha value of .939. Cronbach's alpha value for the staff sexual harassment scale is .918.

*Disrespectful attitude of custodial staff toward inmates* (i.e. usage of improper language, such as cursing; making sexual gestures or comments to women) precipitates inmates to inevitably become scapegoats. As a result it is likely that other inmates will pick up on the issue and transform it into a more serious problem. The relationships between inmates in the light of unprofessional handling of the staff may lead to instances when the inmate will be abused, harassed, and extorted; also her possessions might be stolen or taken away by force.

*Inmates' rating on the staff sexual misconduct scale* was measured by 6 items from the WCSS scale (questions: 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46) and ranged from 0 (not a problem at all) to 4 (very big problem). Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .941.

Prisoners generally neither possess enough material goods, nor even have the ability to afford them. However, staff have an easy access to a variety of resources. It is not uncommon for staff members to supply candy, coffee, soda or other commodities to inmates in exchange for different favors. Moreover, while trading invaluable goods with inmates, staff may cause a conflict between inmates who will compete to attain scarce resources.

*Inmates' rating on the staff physical violence scale* was measured by 4 items from the WCSS scale (questions: 47, 48, 49, 50). The scale ranged from 0 = not a problem to 4 = very big problem. Cronbach's alpha for the scale is .908.

Staff physical violence may indicate that staff do not care about the well being of a particular inmate. This fact might serve other inmates who may want to take economic advantage over the inmate, since staff may not want to intervene with the issue.

*Inmates' rating on the likelihood of violence from inmates* was measured by 3 items from the WCSS scale (questions: 51, 52, 53). The possible answers ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The Cronbach's alpha for the scale is .898.

*Inmates' rating on the likelihood of violence from staff* was measured by 3 items from the WCSS scale (questions: 54, 55, 56). The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The Cronbach's alpha for the scale is .858.

Garland (1990) pointed out that what people experience undoubtedly shapes how they see the world. However, not everything can be experienced by ourselves. A lot of

information and knowledge we get comes from observations, conversations, expectations and other forms of cognition. In other words, our perception of the reality is very often based on implied factors as opposed to direct experience. I would argue that this perception is indeed the reality. So if a woman perceives that she might be physically or sexually victimized by inmates or staff, she may try to pay “protection” in order to escape victimization. Apprehension and fear of brutalization by staff may lead inmates to borrow among themselves and to make favors to those who can protect them.

*Inmate's rating on the successfulness of facility procedures in protecting women inmates* was measured by 4 items from the WCSS scale (questions: 59a, 59b, 59c, 59d). The scale ranges from 1 (strongly disagree), 5 (strongly agree). The Cronbach's alpha for the scale is .860.

Inmates will not have to find a sophisticated way to protecting themselves if procedures in the facility are successful enough to protect women from physical and sexual violence. To the contrary, the failure of existing procedures to create safe a prison environment will make inmates engaging into different activities to protect themselves.

*Inmate's ratings on staff harassment of inmates that report* was measured by 4 items from the WCSS scale (questions: 60a, 60b, 60c, 60d). The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree), 5 (strongly agree). The Cronbach's alpha for the scale is .919.

Inmates are deprived of certain rights merely on the basis of being confined. Except for the constitutional right to be protected against “deliberate indifference” on the part of staff, prisoners do not have a legal right to be protected from any type of violence against them. Therefore, often inmates have to rely on self-protection in the way it can possibly be accomplished. Sykes acknowledged (1971) that the inmate subculture has a

lot to do with power. Power is something that can protect you when staff and other inmates cannot. Therefore, gaining power becomes a goal by itself. In order to achieve this goal, inmates will steal and trade, hustle with commissary items and contraband. In other words, they will do everything to gain financial stability and power to protect themselves.

In one of the facilities we studied, an inmate stole a walkie talkie from a correctional officer. As a result, the prisoner was able to make a cell phone (a high value commodity in the penitentiaries) out of the walkie talkie's parts and other details. That person had incredible power among inmates and was able to protect herself and other inmates.

Inmate's ratings of inmate harassment toward inmates who report was measured by 4 items from the WCSS scale (questions: 61a, 61b, 61c, 61d). The scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The Cronbach's alpha for the scale is .905.

The instances of harassing other inmates who report cases of extortion may promote further violence. The inmate who is victimized may have to steal or trade contraband in order to pay for her "protection".

### **Statement of Hypotheses**

Given what we know from the literature, I offer several hypotheses:

*Hypothesis -1:* There is a significant relationship between inmates' perceptions of the economic conflict and the type of the facility (prison or jail). Multiple regression was conducted to determine if there was a significant difference between inmate perception of the economic conflict and being in prison or jail.

*Hypotheses -2:* There is a significant relationship between individual characteristics of the prisoners (age, race, highest degree of education, history of the offences, number of times incarcerated, and the length of current sentence) and inmate perception of the economic conflict. Hierarchical linear modeling was conducted using only the first block of independent variables which are individual characteristics of the prisoners.

*Hypotheses -3:* Controlling for the individual characteristics, there is a significant relationship between the social climate factors of the institution (violence in housing units, verbal and sexual harassment, facilities procedure and other) and inmate perception of economic conflict. In order to test this hypothesis, the second block of independent variables (organizational characteristics) was entered into the hierarchical linear modeling.

*Hypotheses -4:* A deprivation model (social climate variables) is expected to be better able explain and predict the economic conflict in the correctional facilities than an importation model (individual and demographic variables). The hierarchical linear modeling was conducted to find how much variance in the dependent variable can be explained by individual and social climate independent variables, as well as by the type of facility (jail or prison).

### **Limitations**

The data collection instrument did not include all possible variables we would want to examine (e.g., types of programming, more background variables, etc.). Also, since this was a cross sectional study, the ability to capture social processes and change in the correctional facilities is limited. However, we expect that the data collected from the

questionnaire will still allow us to explore our hypotheses concerning the possible predictors of the economic conflict phenomena.

### **Delimitations**

Taking into consideration the diversity of the population, the data collection instrument and consent forms were in both English and Spanish languages so the Spanish speakers would not be excluded from the analyses. In certain instances when inmates had difficulties with reading or understanding the questions, on site researchers read or explained the data collection instrument to the subjects.

### **Assumptions**

While preparing for the study we went through extensive procedures to make sure that inmates' safety and anonymity were protected. Taking into account that inmates are vulnerable subjects, full IRB approval was obtained as a part of arrangement of the study. Providing inmates with explanation of the purpose of the study, as well as ensuring that they have all necessary forms and contacts, researchers made every effort to remain ethical and honest. As sympathetic and responsible researchers, we assumed that inmates were thoughtful and honest while completing the surveys. However, given the human factor and also institutional setting where the surveys were administered, researchers can not fully rely on the primary collected data. So the subsequent quality control analysis was utilized to discard the data that provided inadequate or imprecise information.

## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to describe the context of economic relationships in women's correctional facilities as well as to identify factors that influence economic conflict. Based on previous research, we hypothesized that the deprivation model will have more sustainable and stringent effects in explaining inmate perceptions of economic conflict in female correctional facilities. The present chapter describes the major findings.

#### **Respondent Demographics**

To assess the relationships between individual characteristics of the prisoners and their perception of economic conflict, the survey contained a range of demographic and background questions. Aggregated respondent demographic characteristics are represented in Table 1.

For the nominal level variables, descriptive statistics include a number of cases in a particular category and percentages. Interval-level variables are quantified by a number of cases, means and standard deviations.

The average age of the prisoners was 38 years. More than half of the respondents graduated from high school or had a GED. The majority of the confined female population (81.2 %) served their sentence in state, federal and private prisons.

The race and ethnicity variables were collapsed into two categories of white and non-white. This technique revealed that 33.1% of female inmates in correctional institutions were non-white. Taking into consideration that in 2005 whites population was

Table 1. Respondent Demographic Characteristics

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Type of Institution	Jail	659	18.8
	Prison	2840	81.2
Highest Degree of Education (Collapsed)	Less than high school	681	19.6
	High school diploma or GED	2711	78.1
	Vocational or trade school certificate	553	15.9
	Some College or undergraduate work but no degree completed	982	28.3
	Undergraduate college degree completed	380	10.9
	Graduate work beyond completed college degree	109	3.1
Race/Ethnicity (Collapsed)	Non-White	1148	33.1
	White	2321	66.9
Violent Crime Offense History	No	2509	72.5
	Yes	952	27.5
Property Crime Offense History	No	2880	83.2
	Yes	581	16.8
Drug Offense Crime History	No	2120	61.2
	Yes	1342	38.8
Other Crime Offense History	No	2384	68.9
	Yes	1077	31.1
<b>Variable</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>
Age	3461	38	10.41
How many times have you been in jail before this sentence or detention?	3425	4.34	8.19
How many times have you been in prison before this sentence or detention?	3445	0.73	1.60
How long (how many months) have you served in this facility?	3453	24.53	44.27
How long (how many months) have you been in this housing unit?	3437	11.15	22.89

accounting for 237,855,000 (81.5%), and blacks for 37,909,000 (13%), this fact suggests that the non-white female population is confined in correctional institutions at a disproportionately high rate. With regard to the type of criminal offenses, the majority of female inmates (38.8%) are convicted and placed in prison for drug related offenses. The number of times female prisoners have been sentenced to correctional institutions, as well as, the length of the current sentence, are highly skewed and kurtotic. These distributions might have occurred as a ramification of including into the analysis the wide range of long and short term correctional institutions. Therefore, in order to address the problem correctly, further analysis is needed to distinguish between short term county jails and long term private, state and federal facilities.

### **Descriptive Results from Inmate Economic Conflict Scale**

Descriptive statistical analysis was also performed on the inmate economic conflict scale. The percentages, means and standard deviations were calculated and presented in Table 2. Higher means indicate higher perceptions of the inmate economic conflict. The mean of the each question, as well as the overall mean, have a value between one and two, which on the scale from zero to four, indicates somewhat between a small and medium problem.

#### *Assumptions*

The WCSS instrument was constructed to measure several different perceptions of economic conflict, some of which might be considered problematic by only a small number of inmates (Wells et al., 2013). Therefore, it is expected that the data might be skewed and kurtotic, as well as having some outliers. As part of the preparation for

Table 2. Descriptive Results from Inmate Economic Conflict Scale

Item	Not a Problem at all	Small Problem	Medium Problem	Big Problem	Very Big Problem	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Women here have gotten into verbal arguments over debts	20.1	20.7	22.6	15.9	20.7	3496	1.96	1.41
Women here have used pressure or threats to collect on debts	29.1	20.8	19.3	14.6	16.2	3489	1.68	1.44
Women here have gotten into physical fights with other women inmates over debts	32.9	18.1	17.7	13.8	17.5	3489	1.65	1.49
Women here have used pressure or threats to steal from others	35.5	21.5	18.8	13.5	10.7	3493	1.42	1.37
Women here have gotten into physical fights over theft.	26.8	18.7	18.6	18.7	17.1	3490	1.81	1.45
Overall mean for Inmate Economic Conflict Scale						3499	1.70	1.28

the higher-level analyses, the data were cleaned and screened for substantial skewness, kurtosis and outliers. Although I identified items that were skewed and kurtotic, I believe that these values are legitimate and carry important insights. The software that I utilized for the study (Mplus 6.12) incorporates the Maximum Likelihood Robust (MLR) estimator, which is robust to non normal data and non-independence of observations. Therefore, MLR estimator was applied to satisfy any lack of normality of the data (Wells

et al., 2013). The correlation matrix, condition indexes and variance proportions were utilized to test to multicollinearity. No multivariate multicollinearity was found.

### **Multivariate Analyses**

In order to test the hypotheses, hierarchical linear modeling was performed. Overall three models were constructed. They are represented in Table 3.

#### *Model 1*

Hypothesis 1 stated “There is a significant relationship between inmate perception of the economic conflict and the type of the facility (prison or jail).” To evaluate the extent to which the IV (the type of institution) associated with the DV (inmate economic conflict), the type of institution was entered in the model and remained the only independent variable in the model. Model 1 showed that whether inmates were confined in prison or jail had a moderate association ( $b = .446$ ) with inmate perceptions of the economic conflict. The relationship between type of institution and inmate economic conflict was significant. The former explained 8.8% of the variance in the latter. Therefore, hypothesis 1 is supported.

#### *Model 2*

Hypothesis 2 stated “There is a significant relationship between individual characteristics of the prisoners (age, race, highest degree of education, history of the offenses, number of times incarcerated, and the length of current sentence) and inmate perceptions of economic conflict.” To evaluate the extent to which a number of IVs (individual characteristics of the prisoners) correlated with the DV (inmate economic conflict), the former were entered in the model; the type of institution also remained in

Table 3. Multi-Level Models of Perceptions of Economic Conflict among Women Inmates

Predictors of economic conflict	Model 1		Model 2	
	Estimate	S.E.	Estimate	S.E.
Intercept	1.310 **	(.097)	1.181 **	(.140)
Level 2				
Type of institution	.446 *	(.158)	.432 *	(.158)
R-Square (between)	.088	(.059)	.086	(.059)
Level 1				
Age at time of survey			.004 *	(.002)
Highest degree of education			-.026	(.056)
Violent crime history			.110 *	(.055)
Property crime history			.124	(.069)
Drug offense crime history			-.035	(.050)
Other type of crime history			.019	(.049)
Number of times have been in jail?			.000	(.003)
Number of times have been in prison?			.020	(.015)
How many years have served in this facility?			.001	(.001)
How many years have you served in this unit?			-.002	(.010)
Whether race of inmate is white			-.083 *	(.041)
Ethnicity			.024	(.069)
Inmates' rating (I. R.) on how physically violent unit				
I. R. on how sexually violent unit				
I. R. on the inmate sexual violence scale				
I. R. on the inmate physical violence scale				
I. R. on the staff verbal harassment scale				
I. R. on the staff sexual harassment scale				
I. R. on the staff sexual misconduct				
I. R. on the staff physical violence scale				
I. R. on the likelihood of violence from inmates				
I. R. on the likelihood of violence from staff				
Success. of facility procedures in protecting women inmates				
Staff harassment of inmates that report				
Inmate harassment of inmates that report				
R-Square (within)		N/A	.012	(.004)

Note: Standard errors are displayed in parentheses

\*p<.05; \*\*p<0.01.

Table 3 (continued)

Predictors of economic conflict	Model 3	
	Estimate	S.E.
Intercept	1.629 **	.044
Level 2		
Type of institution	0.063	(.056)
R-Square (between)	0.026	(.045)
Level 1		
Age at time of survey	.004 *	(.002)
Highest degree of education	-.058	(.039)
Violent crime history	0.028	(.038)
Property crime history	0.053	(.041)
Drug offense crime history	0.039	(.033)
Other type of crime history	0.019	(.032)
Number of times have been in jail?	-0.003	(.002)
Number of times have been in prison?	0.019	(.010)
How many years have served in this facility?	0.001 **	(.000)
How many years have you served in this unit?	-.002 *	(.001)
Whether race of inmate is white	-0.047	(.031)
Ethnicity	-.034	(.050)
Inmates' rating (I. R.) on how physically violent unit	0.047 **	(.012)
I. R. on how sexually violent unit	-0.013	(.011)
I. R. on the inmate sexual violence scale	0.237 **	(.026)
I. R. on the inmate physical violence scale	0.533 **	(.025)
I. R. on the staff verbal harassment scale	0.066 **	(.013)
I. R. on the staff sexual harassment scale	0.091 **	(.033)
I. R. on the staff sexual misconduct	-0.023	(.030)
I. R. on the staff physical violence scale	-0.002	(.024)
I. R. on the likelihood of violence from inmates	0.016	(.016)
I. R. on the likelihood of violence from staff	-0.080 *	(.040)
Success. of facility procedures in protecting women inmates	-0.025	(.017)
Staff harassment of inmates that report	-0.040 *	(.019)
Inmate harassment of inmates that report	0.032 *	(.014)
R-Square (within)	0.652	(.017)

Note: Standard errors are displayed in parentheses

\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ .

the model. Hierarchical linear modeling indicated that only three of them (age, violent crime history and race) were significant predictors of inmate perceptions of economic conflict. Age and violent crime history are positively associated with the dependent variable. In other words, older inmates and inmates who had committed at least one violent crime tended to have higher perceptions of economic conflict in the institution. With regard to race, non-white respondents tended to perceive economic conflict as more problematic. Overall the degree of explanation by individual factors is less than impressive at 1.2 % of the variance. With respect to model 2, the effect of the variable, type of institution, remained significant and explained 8.6% of the variance in the dependent variable. The fact that three of the individual factors are significant in the model lends support to hypothesis 2.

### *Model 3*

Hypothesis 3 stated “Controlling for the individual characteristics, there is a significant relationship between social climate factors of the institution (violence in housing units, verbal and sexual harassment, facilities procedure and other) and inmate perceptions of economic conflict.” Model 3 assessed the relationship between inmate economic conflict and social climate factors, while also accounting for personal characteristics and the effects of the type of institution. Multilevel modeling identified eight items that contributed significantly to the variance in inmates’ perceptions of economic conflict.

Once social climate factors were added to the model, they accounted for the changes among individual predictors. While age, remained in the model as a significant predictor of inmate economic conflict, violent crime history and race of the inmate

dropped out. However, two other variables, time served in the facility and time served in the housing unit, became significant predictors. The model revealed a weak positive correlation between the dependent variable and time served in the facility. A possible explanation follows. Those who spent a long time in the institution had been subjected to the prisonization phenomena. They became fully accustomed to the inmate code as well as the norms and rules of the institution. For them the prison environment was neither scary nor intimidating anymore. It seems likely that ties with the outside world and contacts were gone, and inmates had to rely on themselves. In conjunction with the reality in which prison did not provide even the essentials, this was a major implication for why the prisoners perceived the economic victimization as so problematic.

Model 3 also established a weak negative correlation between the perception of the economic conflict and the variable time spent in the housing unit. Here is the possible explanation. When coming into a new housing unit, inmates were likely to experience a range of emotions varying from hope to fear. The housing unit was not a private suite, but a small secure facility full of other women with whom the new inmate would have to establish some type of contact. The new housing unit represented uncertainty. Therefore, during the period of adjustment to the new environment inmates' perceptions of conflict were much higher than in a regular well known environment.

With respect to social climate factors, higher perceptions of conflict were predicted by higher ratings of how physically violent the unit was; inmate sexual and physical violence; staff verbal and sexual harassment and harassment of inmates who report. Inmate physical violence was the strongest predictor of economic conflict in the facility.

A strong positive correlation between inmate perceptions of economic conflict and inmate physical violence was expected. Instances where women chose to use physical violence as a method of solving problems are indicating that these women had something the other female wanted. It can be a partner, a material position, or a status. To secure her own position or merely escape violence, a female prisoner often had to pay for protection.

Inmate sexual violence was strongly positively correlated with the inmate economic conflict. Prison homosexual relationships are “reinforced if not motivated by economics” (Williams & Fish, 1974, p. 110). Williams and Fish (1974) continue, once devotion and affection are established, an inmate, particularly the one who plays the manly role, may demand goods and services in exchange for the assurance of fidelity. Augmenting this behavior with “threats, love, jealousy and even anger due to unfaithfulness” (Williams & Fish, 1974, p. 110) resulted in the escalation of inmate economic conflict.

Higher ratings of how physically violent unit were strong predictors of inmate perceptions of economic conflict. If the majority of women in a particular housing unit are violent, other inmates might live in constant fear for their own safety and for the safety of the little that they have in their possessions.

Both staff verbal and sexual harassment were moderate predictors of inmate perceptions of economic conflict. Staff verbal and sexual harassment represent a significant violation of professional prisoner handling and typically result from poor, incompetent and corrupt prison administrators. This might occur because staff members share a general ideology, according to which inmates are not entitled to the abundance of

material possessions, to decent and humane treatment, to attain more than people in the free society can attain. Under this ideology, correctional staff do not strive to help prisoners do their time, rehabilitate them, and provide them safe conditions to live and develop. Under the aforesaid ideology inmates not only suffer from miserable conditions of confinement, but also from inappropriate handling by staff. Being left on their own for survival, prisoners tend to take advantage of the little that black market system provides.

Inmate harassment of inmates who report was a weak positive predictor of the inmate economic conflict. Not all inmates subscribe to the inmate code. To the contrary, female prison “is a society of snitches” (Williams & Fish, 1972, p. 117). If a snitch got harassed, it is likely that she would keep reporting harassment and other activities. Her reports might undermine the smooth running of the black economic market.

This study found inverse relationships between two independent variables (likelihood of violence from staff and inmate harassment of inmates who report) and inmate perceptions of economic conflict. At first glance it seemed counter-intuitive; however, this inverse relationship could be an outcome of the depriving prison environment that imposes different coping strategies by both inmate and staff. One explanation for the inverse relation between likelihood of violence from staff and inmates’ perception of the economic conflict might be the following. Correctional personnel are more lenient in female institutions because women rarely serve time for violent offences and do not possess much threat neither to society nor to themselves. Therefore, there are two possibilities. The first one is staff might not interfere with any activity that is taking place in housing units, and inmates themselves successfully run the underground economy. While some inmate groups are welcome to be included in the

flourishing illegal business, other social types of prisoners such as snitches cannot be trusted and therefore are left behind. Since staff members let inmates deal with arising issues, inmates perceive economic conflict to be more problematic. The other possibility is the staff is overly oppressive and does not tolerate any illegal economic relationships. Therefore, most opportunities for involvement into a sub rosa economy are shut down by staff members, which simultaneously will reduce the inmate perception of economic conflict.

Ratings on staff harassment of inmates who report were also inversely correlated with inmate economic conflict. The unwritten rule of an every prison is that “The officers are on one side and the inmates on the other and never the two shall meet” (Giallombardo, 1966, p.166). Inmates who break this rule hurt the secretive sub rosa economy. If staff members do not punish snitches by legitimate or illegitimate means, and to the contrary, cooperate with them, it might create potential problems to both legal and illegal inmate economic exchange.

Overall, social climate factors explained a significant amount (65.2%) of the variance in economic conflict. Once social climate factors entered the model, the institution where inmates serve their sentence (prison or jail) became non-significant. Therefore, hypothesis 3 is supported.

Hypothesis 4 addressed relationships between two models (importation, based on individual characteristics of the women prisoners and deprivation, based on social climate variables) and their ability to predict the economic conflict. A deprivation model was expected to be able better explain and predict the economic conflict in the correctional facilities. Our findings confirmed the hypothesis. Indeed deprivation factors accounted

for 65.2% of variance in the dependent variable, while individual and demographic characteristics of the prisoners explained only 1.2% of the economic conflict. These results indicated further evidence that environment is a key factor when it comes to examining inmate economic conflict. Environment as it shapes and perpetrates economic conflict will be further discussed in the following chapter.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **DISCUSSION**

This thesis has described my study of whether individual factors or social climate factors are more important in predicting inmate economic conflict. In this study I used a secondary database collected from 3,499 respondents to examine their perception of inmate economic conflict in correctional facilities. While previous studies (Edgar, O'Donnel, & Martin, 2003; Owen, 1998; Pollock, 1990) acknowledged the economic victimization in correctional facilities, their primary concern revolved around other issues in corrections. This study has expanded the body of knowledge due to examination of economic conflict as a primary research question.

A summary of descriptive findings indicated that inmate perceived economic conflict was a small to medium problem in magnitude. The factors related to these inmate perceptions are described below.

According to my analysis, there was minimal variation on the demographic characteristics of inmates (i.e., background, type of offences, and level of education) in the majority of correctional facilities. To the contrary, social atmosphere and inmate-staff relationships varied significantly from institution to institution. (James B. Wells, personal communication February 6, 2013). It was found later that this atmosphere has a great potential to alter inmate perceptions of economic conflict. Therefore, the study addressed this ongoing question: What accounts for such critical variation among inmate perceptions of economic conflict in different housing units?

This study demonstrated that all strong and significant predictors of economic conflict, with the exception of age, and time served in the facility and in the particular housing unit do not pertain to inmate demographic characteristics. Instead, significant predictors of economic conflict in correctional institutions are social climate variables. Therefore, in order to change the inmate perception of economic conflict, the environment of the institution should be changed. Some recommendations will be provided in this chapter.

Multilevel modeling showed that different forms of victimization are closely connected to economic conflict. In such a manner, inmate physical and sexual violence, staff verbal and sexual violence, and inmate harassment of inmates who report were strong and significant predictors of inmate economic conflict.

### **Limitations and Implications for Future Research**

While current quantitative analyses allowed me to find what factors are predictive of economic conflict in the facilities in general, I was unable to establish causal order between variables. Also because I used archived data, I was unable to include a number of additional variables that could have been applicable to the study. Examples of questions and potential predictors variables that could have been addressed are presented below.

What is your family status?

Were you employed prior to incarceration?

What was your income prior to incarceration?

How often do you receive visits from your family members or friends?

How often do you receive presents from family and friends?

Do you receive any financial support from your family while incarcerated?

How much money are you allowed to spend in prison commissary weekly?

Does black market economy take place in your housing unit?

What are three items that you would have brought to prison if you were allowed to bring them with you?

While model 3 explained impressive amount of variability in economic conflict, I was not able to study all possible predictor variables. The literature review and prison observations and interviews lead me to believe that the prison economic conflict phenomenon is subject to a number of different forces that were beyond the scope of my analyses given the use of achieved data. Therefore, though my analyses could not reveal all these different forces, I suspect that these forces might play an important role in predicting inmate economic conflict, and therefore, have to be acknowledged. Drawing on the literature review as well as theory, I incorporated different forces in a model intended to explain economic conflict in the correctional facilities. The model is represented in Figure 1. The model presents six different forces (inmate demographic and individual characteristics, wider cultural forces, opportunities for sub rosa economy, economic relationships in wider society, and rationalization) that shape inmate perceptions of economic conflict. Inmate demographic and individual characteristics were presented in table 1. However, each of the remaining forces will be the focus of the following discussion.

#### *Wider Cultural and Structural Forces*

One of the reasons prisoners have economic conflict is because there are so many shortages of resources in the prison environment. The reference to a prison as an “island

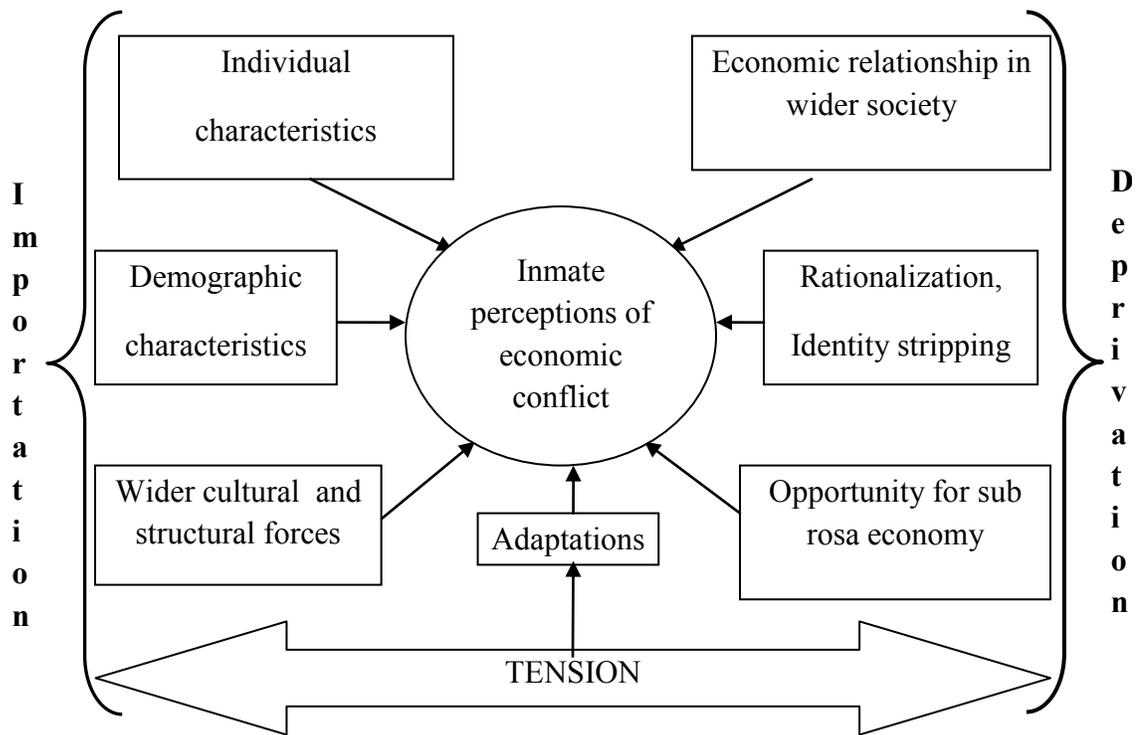


Figure 1. Forces that shape inmate perception of economic conflict.

of poverty” made throughout this and other studies has immediate relevance for understanding economic conflict (Williams & Fish, 1974). One of the major reasons for such shortages is the principle of less eligibility, according to which, prisoners should not live in better conditions than the lowest class of people in free society (Rusche & Kirchheimer, 1968). Cultural ideas of how little prisoners should be entitled to exert a major impact on the way prisons are operated and what is made available within them (i.e., prisoners should not be entitled to higher education, employment, health care). If people in regular society cannot afford college, or receive medical assistance, why should individuals who are incarcerated have that ability? In addition to the principle of less

eligibility, there are wider cultural sentiments and mentalities that address prison culture such as fear of crime and cultural conceptions of the kinds of people that prisoners are (i.e., dangerous others). These conceptions have a major impact on policies and practices that are enacted in the prison system. Examples of such policies may be an abolition of the last meal in Texas execution cases, the lack of adequate health care and rehabilitative programs in prisons throughout the U.S., the scarcity of basic hygiene products for female prisoners, poor quality of food and lack of nutrition, etc. Not only prisoners seen as less eligible; they are also seen as undeserving. While having such shortages in prison resources is culturally palatable, it also results in competition over the little that is available through legal or illegal channels. Ironically, the economic conflict can serve to reinforce the very cultural conception of prisoners that gave rise to such conflict initially.

#### *Opportunities for Sub Rosa Economy*

As discussed previously, shortages in prison are a great source of economic conflict. However, inmate perceptions of economic conflict do not derive merely from prison shortages, but from shortages in interactions with opportunities. This conclusion is especially obvious while observing inmates in segregation or on death row. Many of these prisoners are locked up in individual cells for 23 hours a day and have very little potential and very little opportunity for involvement in illicit economic exchange. Even though these inmates are heavily affected by the scarcity of prison resources, they generally perceive the scarcity as deprivation, rather than as economic conflict. To the contrary, inmates who live in shared housing units are together most of the time and have more opportunities to get involved in illicit economic exchange. Also inmates in less secure, less oppressive environments have more resources; accordingly they are going to

have more opportunities for economic conflict to develop. Therefore, a dynamic between shortages and opportunities is one of the sources of economic conflict in correctional facilities.

*Economic Relationships in Wider Society*

As mentioned in Chapter 2, in the earlier part of 20<sup>th</sup> century a Russian jurist, Evginiy Pashukanis (1978), described that punishment practices are based on, driven by, and reflect the principles of economic exchange in wider society. As a jurist, Pashukanis's analysis revolved around sentencing; nonetheless the implications of his analysis proliferate far beyond court settings and go into both policing and corrections. When punishment is carried out in sentencing and later in prison, Pashukanis's theory would predict that the direction that punishment takes will mirror economic relations in the wider society. If Pashukanis (1978) was right and punishment practices are a replication of principles of private market exchange in a wider capitalist society, his findings would have profound implications for our work because principles of economic exchange will significantly impact how women deal with one another and how they deal with staff behind bars. I could not test his theory based on the data available. However, the logic for future research might be grounded on the following premises. Our culture promotes a stereotype, according to which a certain standard of commodity consumption constitutes a beautiful woman, such as the right look, the right clothes, and the right make up, etc. Simultaneously, popular culture promotes another stereotype, according to which prisoners are construed as less deservingness individuals. However, in order to analyze the concept of deserving, it should be understood that this concept itself is an economic category that derives from economic exchange practices. The American culture deals

with people behind bars based on economic exchange principles. Prisoners, as less deserving than the rest of society, should live in worse condition than people from low classes; prisoners should not receive medical care if people from low classes cannot. The same ideas apply to food, education, employment, etc. Overall, prisoners should suffer more than anybody else in free society. Inmates should experience pain based on simple economic logic because they have already forfeited their freedom by committing a criminal act.

Though Pashukanis's (1978) theory does not apply specifically to the variables that I have studied as part of thesis project, it does explain why economic conflicts exist in institutions in the first place. In other words, his theory is a tool to address the origins of the conflict that might be successfully utilized in future research. Put simply, principles of commodity exchange are valued in American culture, and these principles are diffuse in their effects across social institutions, including penalty.

If we want to be able to predict economic conflict in the prison environment, one of the things that follows from Pashukanis's theory is to look at economic conditions in the wider society. Economic conflicts in wider society should be replicated in some form behind prison walls. For example, during the period of a recession, when there is a lot of insecurity and anxiety over employment, the job market, budget constraints, and other issues in the wider society, there is likely to be increased resource shortage and competition among the different governmental agencies. These shortages will invariably find their way behind prison walls and increase economic conflict there. If prison culture really is a microcosm of wider society, then we will expect to see more economic conflict behind bars when the economy in wider society is in depression or recession stages. This

economic impact can be measured both quantitatively and qualitatively. Rather than measuring the demographic characteristics of the prisoners, or prison social climate variables, another category of environmental variables should capture how culture and the economy affect prison. Potential questions might be:

Have you spent eight or more years in correctional facilities?

If yes, how have conditions of confinement changed since the early part of the sentence?

### *Rationalization*

Prison deprives people of basic needs: freedom, autonomy, social identity, capital accumulation and more (Sykes, 1971). While some individuals would justify this deprivation as a way to impose retribution, others would justify it based on security concerns; still others may find that depriving people from their unique identity would help with their management. I will show how deprivation and management go hand in hand together.

Prisoners do not have names; they have a unique assigned number. Prisoners do not keep their own clothes; instead they wear uniforms. Prisoners are deprived of their identity because of the rationalization process, a process which maximizes control and efficiency, such as treating people with sameness, having rules, regulations and procedures. A key of rationalization is imposing a large number of rules over prisoners. New inmates coming into prison receive a rule book which specifies the appropriate way to dress, to behave, what inmates are allowed to receive through visitations, what food they allow to have in their cells, etc. All aforesaid procedures help with efficient and rationalized management of a large number of inmates.

Prison is a classic example of a bureaucratic organization. It is comprised of hundreds and even thousands of different mechanisms (rules, regulations, policies, interpersonal relationships between staff and inmates) that should be managed effectively and efficiently. Official proliferation and adherence to the rules make it easier to run the prison. It is easier to run a prison when everybody dresses alike, when everybody engages in certain activities at a certain time, when no one is allowed to have long hair or make up; when prisoners can only possess a certain amount of money on their account, and they can only withdraw a certain amount of money at any given time. Inmates in high security prison, as well as in administrative segregation and isolation are prohibited of most personal possessions. Staff members justify such strict actions as security precautions, which in some cases might be true, but this rationalization and security risk mask the massive shortages of resources that prisoners may utilize. This lack of resources encourage prisoners to get involved into immoral or even illegal activities while incarcerated. A desire to satisfy basic needs, such as having enough food, drinks, cloth or hygiene products, encourages prisoners to participate in a black market economy. Once a black market economy is established, management will face another bureaucratic task to keep this underground economy under control. Therefore, the rationale to deny prisoners basic needs generally leads to uprising of irrational black market, the regulation and control of which is significantly more difficult compared to an open economy. Rationality thus begets more of itself.

The rationalization which facilitates management deprives people from their basic needs and often leads to irrationality. Rationalization in the way described above both

causes and shapes economic conflict. In turn, such conflict shapes and reproduces rationality.

To conclude, the aforementioned model is not the result of my quantitative analyses. It is rather an inductive outcome of the following: extensive literature review; quantitative analyses; inmates' written comments in the open ended questions section of the survey; conversations with my thesis chair Dr. Wells who gathered the data (James B. Wells, personal communication), and a member of my thesis committee, who has knowledge of penology (Kevin I. Minor, personal communication). My study neither tested, nor confirmed this model. My study had a different research question, and that research question was fully answered. We found that social climate factors have a better ability to explain and predict economic conflict than individual factors. However, literature also has some suggestions as to how economic conflict might originate. Therefore, I simply presented that the factors that originate this conflict might be the next step for future research.

Overall, from a research perspective, my findings open up new possibilities for testing theory or other ideas as to how to regulate and possibly prevent inmate economic conflict (i.e., testing an aforesaid model). However, additional research is needed to establish a causal model. This can be accomplished by using structural equation modeling.

### **Implications for Practice**

The identification of major factors that may predict inmate economic conflict is critical in order to develop the best practices for its prevention, intervention and illumination. Therefore, the findings from my research may be used by correctional

administrators to identify risks and possibly prevent inmate economic conflict in prison settings.

Since in my study individual factors like age, race, educational background, type of offense, etc. explain only about 1% of the variation in the dependent variable, these demographic characteristics of prisoners are not critical when it comes to inmate economic conflict. The major predictors of economic conflict are prison environment variables. Therefore, correctional personnel should devote more of their attention to the environmental factors of a particular institution, including issues from prison design and operational capacity to staff-inmate relationships. Overcrowding itself is a major source of instability, victimization and violence (Wells, et al., 2012). In my research I observed a facility where a housing unit with design capacity of 48 inmates confined 76 women at one time. These women had to sleep on rollaway beds in the general areas. The beds were so close to each other that women could not get up from one bed without touching other beds, including shoes and personal belongings of other prisoners. Economic conflict has strong potential to flourish in such environments where any expectation of privacy is gone, and prisoners from multiple housing units have unlimited access to other inmates' belongings.

Another social climate consideration is the existing degree of inmate sexual and physical violence in facilities. My study found that both sexual and physical violence are strong and significant predictors of economic conflict. In order to successfully prevent and handle instances of violence and consequently decrease perceptions of economic conflict in housing units, there is a strong need for a sufficient number of trained staff members. Therefore, correctional facilities where one staff member is assigned to

supervise two housing units might be more susceptible to the existence of physical and sexual violence between prisoners.

Another significant predictor of economic conflict is the relationship between inmates and staff. This study found inverse relationships between likelihood of violence from staff, staff harassment of inmates who report and inmate perceptions of economic conflict. Higher ratings on likelihood of violence from staff and staff harassment of inmates who report are associated with lower inmate perceptions of economic conflict. This finding may at first appear as counter intuitive. However, an important pattern might be hidden behind these inverse relationships. Likelihood of violence from staff could be a proxy for staff oppression; the greater level of staff oppression, the less opportunity exists for prisoners to be involved in the black market. Oppressive staff are going to shut down black markets largely or completely. As a consequence, most opportunities for economic conflict will disappear simultaneously.

A similar pattern links staff harassment of inmates who report and perceptions of inmate economic conflict. If inmates feel that they are going to get harassed by staff simply for reporting an activity, it is repression. The more repression inmates experience, the less they will report in the future. Therefore, economic conflict might still exist in the housing units, but it will take a more subtle form. This reaffirms a basic Durkheimian point that more oppressive society becomes, the less deviance there will be because there will be less potential for the latter.

Other significant predictors of economic conflict include staff verbal and sexual harassment. Staff verbal and sexual harassment might be a form of punishment that correctional personnel inflict on prisoners for their past criminal activity. Staff members

may need to receive additional training on issues such as work ethics, morals, and empathy, or even get familiar with how prisonization transpires in modern societies. Pashukanis (1978) explained this logic as follows. By committing a criminal offense, an individual involuntarily signed a contract with the state to accept punishment (retribution) as payment for the crime. In modern, bourgeois capitalist society, retribution for the crime is imposed by deprivation of freedom for a definite term that is previously established by a judge (i.e., human labor time, proportional to the criminal act, is in itself a concrete payment for a crime). Correctional personnel should have understanding that a prisoner's obligation to spend a certain amount of time in a correctional institution is punishment in itself. Prisoners should not be punished additionally because they are in prison. To the contrary, there is a continuous issue when state power is abused and corrections employee harass prisoners, inflict physical and emotional pain on them beyond that already inflicted by the court order. The destination of correctional personnel is not to judge, punish, or humiliate individuals behind bars, but to enforce safety, security and deliver corrective practices that are only declared by law.

To summarize, from a practical perspective, findings from the WCSS can be used by correctional administrators to identify the potential risk of the inmate economic conflict in housing units. Also, operational needs such as designing staff training, improving reporting and investigative mechanisms might be identified and addressed in order to reduce inmate perceptions of economic conflict and overall make a facility a safer place to live and work.

## **Conclusion**

More than four decades ago Williams & Fish (1974) found that inmates' adjustment to institutionalization, especially the way they arrange and share material possessions and regard prison officials, are the outcome of the deprivations of incarceration. This study supported the aforesaid statement. With all factors (independent variables) combined, I was able to explain 65.2% of the variation in inmate perceptions of inmate economic conflict. However, while the individual characteristics of the inmates (importation model) accounted for only 1.2% of the variance, social factors (i.e., prison environment) accounted for 64.9% of the variance in the dependent variable. Therefore, despite social myths about violent super predators who upon entering correctional institutions spread fear among correctional personnel and inmates, imported factors were not supported by the current study as predictors of economic conflict. To the contrary, the majority of residents of the correctional institutions are non-violent drug abusers, individuals who violated their probation responsibilities, or committed financial or property offences. Only 27.5% of the confined women population who participated in this study were incarcerated for violent criminal offence. However, this 27.5% (952 women out of 3,499) do not make a difference when it comes to economic conflict because at least as measured in our study, violent crime history is not a significant predictor of inmate perceptions of economic conflict.

To summarize, this found significant predictors of inmate economic conflict. I showed that perception of economic conflict does not come from the color of the skin, from the highest level of education of the prisoners or other personal factors. It also does not derive from the offense history or the number of sentences an individual had served

throughout her life. Where does the perception of the economic conflict come from, contrarily, is the environment of the institution. Therefore, in order to predict and avoid this conflict, the social environment of the institution (i.e., interpersonal relationships between inmates and staff members) should be addressed, transformed and supervised.

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APPENDIX A.  
Operational Definition of Inmate Economic Conflict.  
Factor Loadings.

Questions	Factor Loadings
Q1. Women here have gotten into verbal arguments over debts	.814
Q2. Women here have used pressure or threats to collect on debts).	.881
Q3. Women here have gotten into physical fights with other women inmates over debts	.899
Q4. Women here have used pressure or threats to steal from others	.730
Q5. Women here have gotten into physical fights over theft	.779

APPENDIX B.

Predictors of Inmate Perceptions of Inmate Economic Conflict.

1. Type of institution (0 = jail, 1 = prison)
2. Age at time of survey
3. Highest degree of education (1= less than high school, 8 = graduate degree)
4. Violent crime history (0 = no, 1 = yes)
5. Property crime history (0 = no, 1 = yes)
6. Drug offense crime history (0 = no, 1 = yes)
7. Other crime offense history (0 = no, 1 = yes)
8. Number of times has been in jail before this sentence or detention.
9. Number of times has been in prison before this sentence or detention.
10. How much time (in years) have you served in this facility?
11. How much time (in years) have you served in this housing unit?
12. Race of inmate (0= non-white, 1 = white).
13. Ethnicity (Are you Hispanic or Latino, 0 = no, 1 = yes).
14. Inmates' rating on how physically violent unit (1= not physically violent, 10 = very physically violent).
15. Inmates' rating on how sexually violent unit (1= not sexually violent, 10 = very sexually violent).
16. Inmates' rating on the inmate sexual violence scale (0 = not a problem, 4 = very big problem).
17. Inmates' rating on the inmate physical violence scale (0 = not a problem, 4 = very big problem).
18. Inmates' rating on the staff verbal harassment scale (0 = not a problem, 4 = very big problem).
19. Inmates' rating on the staff sexual harassment scale (0 = not a problem, 4 = very big problem).
20. Inmates' rating on the staff sexual misconduct (6 items, 0 = not a problem at all, 4= very big problem).
21. Inmates' rating on the staff physical violence scale (0 = not a problem, 4 = very big problem)

22. Inmates' rating on the likelihood of violence from inmates (3 items, 1= strongly disagree, 5= strongly agree).
23. Inmates' rating on the likelihood of violence from staff (3 items, 1= strongly disagree, 5= strongly agree).
24. Inmate's rating on the successfulness of facility procedures in protecting women inmates (4 items, 1= strongly disagree, 5= strongly agree).
25. Inmate's ratings on staff harassment of inmates that report (4 items, 1 = strongly disagree, 5= strongly agree).
26. Inmate's ratings on inmate harassment of inmates that report (4 items, 1 = strongly disagree, 5= strongly agree).

## VITA

Polina Karpova was born in Omsk, Russia on February, 27, 1987. She graduated from High School in June, 2004. The following September she entered Omsk State University of Communication Lines and in July, 2009 received the degrees of Master and Bachelor of Science in Management of an Organization. In August, 2011 she entered Eastern Kentucky University and in July 2013 received a Master of Science degree in Criminal Justice.