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Another One Rides the Bus: An Exploratory Analysis of Recently Released Offenders' Perceptions of Inappropriate Relationships

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While correctional officers are trained to behave professionally and avoid even the appearance of overfamiliarization with offenders, there are nevertheless officers who have inappropriate relationships with inmates. These relationships are usually sexual or economic in nature and occur between staff and inmates/clients (Worley, Marquart, & Mullings, 2003). If left unchecked, inappropriate relationships can have disastrous consequences for the security of a correctional facility and expose agencies to civil liabilities. Officers who participate in these relationships may also face severe repercussions, including termination and even possible criminal sanctions (Smith & Yarussi, 2009; Worley, 2010). In this paper, we examine the extent to which inappropriate relationships exist. Forty-two recently released inmates were interviewed in order to explore
(Continued on Pg. 4)

INSIDE

Page 1	Another One Rides the Bus
Page 2	Annual Conference
Page 9	Special Announcement-ACJS Online Voting
Page 10	Special Announcement-ACJS Online Journals
Page 12	Book Review
Page 18	ACJS Today/National Office Information

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Another One Rides the Bus, Continued from page 1

these relationships from the perspective of the ex-con.

Of all the various types of inappropriate relationships, there is little doubt that acts which result in sex between inmates and correctional officers are considered to be the most serious. Under the Prison Rape Elimination Act (PREA), researchers collect data every year in order to examine how often these acts occur. In fact, all acts are reported, even if an inmate initiates the sexual act or appears to be willing. This is because inmates are legally incapable of rendering any form of meaningful consent by virtue of their incarceration (Smith, 2008). In 2007, there were 94,900 incidents where inmates voluntarily had sexual relationships with staff members (Beck & Harrison, 2007). Overall, seventy-nine percent of these incidents occurred between male inmates and female staff members (Beck & Harrison, 2008).

Similar studies have suggested that female correctional officers are more likely than male officers to behave in a sexually inappropriate manner with inmates. For example, Marquart, Barnhill, and Balshaw-Biddle (2001) analyzed the personnel records of 508 correctional officers who were disciplined by the Internal Affairs Division (IAD) for having an inappropriate relationship with an inmate. Female officers accounted for seventy-seven percent of all inappropriate relationships with inmates and sixty percent of cases involving sex. Marquart et al. (2001) reasoned that it was likely that "male prisoners perceived the women security officers as females first and employees second" (p. 889). Inmates who initiated inappropriate relationships with female officers may have done this as a means to express their heterosexuality in a male-dominated environment. In this same study, it was also found that correctional officers who had inappropriate relationships with inmates tended to be relatively new employees, with less than 36 months of experience. Officers who had been employed for less than 12 months were considered to be especially at-risk of having an inappropriate relationship with an inmate. Also, these individuals had an average age of 36 years; 54 percent of these employee boundary violators were Caucasian, 30 percent were African American, and 16 percent were Hispanic (Marquart

et al., 2001).

There is at least some literature which explores the general dynamics of inappropriate relationships, and many of these studies indicate that inmates are often responsible for initiating these relationships (Allen & Bosta, 1981; Cornelius, 2001; Elliot & Verdeyen, 2002; Worley & Cheeseman, 2005; Worley & Cheeseman, 2006). Some research even unveils strategies that inmate boundary violators utilize in their attempt to form relationships with prison staff. For example, inmates may make carefully crafted sexual references in the presence of officers, deliberately touch officers, and engage in the spreading of rumors to isolate their targets (Allen & Bosta, 1981). Even though officers who have inappropriate relationships with inmates do so voluntarily, some offenders are nevertheless extremely skilled at identifying which officers are vulnerable. While there is a growing body of literature in this area, there have been few, if any, studies that examine inappropriate relationships from the perspective of the recently released inmate. In this study, we seek to explore this perspective more fully.

METHODOLOGY

In this study, we interviewed thirty seven recently released inmates on five separate occasions in May of 2006. The interviews took place in the morning at a bus stop, which was located about one quarter mile from the prison. The interviews were voluntary and lasted between twenty to thirty minutes. A non-random quota sample was utilized; subjects were chosen based on their race, age, and general appearance.

Participants were provided consent forms and told that their participation was voluntary. In an effort to maintain confidentiality, they were not required to provide their full names. Approximately twenty-five percent of subjects that were asked declined to be interviewed. Usually, this was because respondents were attempting to take care of last minute business, which included finding their bus routes, eating lunch, or purchasing new outfits at a nearby secondhand clothing store.

The subjects were all male and ranged in age between twenty and sixty-six years old. Seventeen respondents (46%) were Caucasian, eleven were

African American (30%), five were Hispanic (13%), and one was Native American (3%). The racial identities of three respondents (8%) were not recorded. Also, of the sample, fifteen respondents (41%) had been paroled from the Texas Department of Criminal Justice (TDCJ), sixteen were discharged (43%), and six subjects did not indicate whether they had been paroled or discharged (16%). For the purpose of this study, subjects were asked questions to examine their perceptions of inappropriate staff-inmate relationships. Table 1 provides examples of some of the questions that subjects were asked during the semi-structured interviews.

FINDINGS

A review of the completed interviews illustrates that most subjects recognized that inappropriate relationships between inmates and staff members exist within the TDCJ. Of the sample, thirty-six respondents (84%) acknowledged that inappropriate relationships exist. Many of these subjects stated that inappropriate relationships helped inmates gain creature comforts, such as food, heterosexual sex, and drugs, thereby decreasing what Sykes (1958) refers to as the "pains of imprisonment" (p. 64).

All of the subjects were asked to assign a percentage to inappropriate relationships that were of a personal, economic or sexual nature. The answers ranged from 0 to 85%. Due to the small nature of this study, we were not overly concerned with the numerical responses that were given. Rather, we used this as a starting point to generate conversation. Most of the respondents offered unique insights into inappropriate relationships and provided their own explanation as to why these behaviors occurred. For example, one Caucasian respondent reported that some inmates will initiate inappropriate relationships as a gang initiation technique. For example:

In order to get cool with a gang, a convict may be told to go and ask an officer for a cigarette.

Another respondent also stated that prison gangs encourage their members to establish inappropriate relationships with inmates. This offender, who claimed to be a confirmed member of the Aryan Brotherhood, stated:

A lot of white dudes in prison don't look

out for each other and they get hogged by other inmates. In prison, convicts try to get in good with officers, so we can make some money and take care of our own. When I was locked up, I was selling packs of Bugler [tobacco] to a middle man in the Tango Blast [rival gang] for \$20. I had to find me a good boss to make some money with.

Prison gangs may play a major role in the development of inappropriate relationships. This finding is consistent with earlier studies which contend that inmate gang members may be especially likely to establish relationships with staff members (Worley & Cheeseman, 2006; Worley & Cheeseman, 2005). One of the major reasons why inmates in prison gangs are motivated to establish inappropriate relationships with guards is so they can acquire contraband and dominate the underground prison economy.

In the present study, one respondent claimed to purchase packs of Bugler tobacco from correctional officers for \$20. He would then use each package to produce approximately sixty hand-rolled cigarettes. The subject claimed to sell these hand-rolled cigarettes to other inmates for a dollar a piece, resulting in a 300% net profit. Other scholars, such as Lankenau (2001) and Silverman (2001) have documented the enormous black market for tobacco products in correctional facilities. Correctional agencies which have strong anti-tobacco policies may encourage inmates to form inappropriate relationships with prison staff in order to secure cigarettes.

In addition to uncovering the role of prison gang members in inappropriate relationships, four respondents (11%) also reported that it is not uncommon for male officers to be sexually aggressive towards the male inmates they are paid to protect. While some research has focused on male officers who prey on female inmates (Marquart et al., 2001; Cheeseman & Worley, 2006) very little literature has explored the process by which male officers sexually harass or attempt to form sexual relationships with inmates of the same gender. In the current study, one respondent described this in the following way:

Some of these male guards be eyeballing the showers. They watch us harder than

the females. There be some gay officers that will flirt with convicts. Some of them act kinda gay.

Another subject made a similar statement:

I've seen male bosses touch inmates during counts and grab their asses to wake them up. In prison, you got some gay officers that pray on inmates just because they be the ones wearing gray suits.

One respondent made an especially disturbing statement about his personal experience with a male officer who aggressively attempted to establish a sexual relationship with him. This individual, who had just been released after serving a fifteen year sentence for aggravated assault, reported:

A male guard came in my house [cell] and started a sexual conversation. He said something like, "Your time can be easy in here, if you play along." He told me he wanted oral sex and not to tell anyone. I think he went after me because I'm the kind of person who is friendly to everyone. And, the guard thought, "He must be homosexual because he hangs around these homosexual inmates." I wasn't down with that though.

While the majority of the research indicates that inappropriate relationships between staff members and inmates tend to be heterosexual in nature (e.g. male guard on female inmate or female guard on male inmate), clearly the above data illustrates that this may not always be the case. Three offenders (8%) also suggested that female correctional officers can also be aggressive in their attempt to establish inappropriate sexual relationships with male inmates. For example, one fifty-three year old Caucasian inmate described how a female officer attempted to initiate a romantic relationship with him. He stated:

When I was working as a clerk, I had this one female guard who was just a youngster start rubbing up against me. I asked her what she was doing and she just smiled. About two days later, she came into my cell and sat on my bed. I told her I didn't want to get caught doing nothing wrong, so she just left. Sometimes the guards may try and act all friendly to try and get information, like to see if there's

an inmate stealing from the kitchen. But, sometimes all they want is sex.

Another subject confirmed that some female correctional officers were sexually aggressive towards inmates. This respondent suggested that some female officers grope inmates inappropriately while conducting what appears to be a legitimate pat search. Finally, a third respondent described one of the caveats of having a sexual relationship with a female officer. He reported:

When I was in the joint, I used to work out with a convict who was into having sex with female guards. But, he made one of these boss ladies mad. We were so afraid she was gonna plant stuff on him. Guards will do this all the time and inmates have to shake down their own houses to make sure that no one's setting them up. Some of these bosses are so dirty. I was on one unit where some of the boss ladies were selling their bodies to inmates for fifty stamps.

Respondents in this sample maintained that some female officers will attempt to initiate inappropriate sexual relationships with inmates. Besides being aggressive in their pursuit of male inmates, some subjects suggested that female officers may also be vindictive and malicious towards inmates that shun them or even prostitute themselves to the inmate population. These findings are unique and contradict previous studies which depict male inmates as the ones who are usually responsible for initiating and controlling sexual relationships with female officers (Worley et al., 2003; Cheeseman & Worley, 2006).

While this study illustrates that correctional officers can be responsible for initiating inappropriate relationships with inmates, respondents also suggested that some inmates seek to establish relationships with employees who they perceive as either "weak" or naïve. One subject stated, "Guards who are good natured people are easily taken advantage of." Several respondents suggested that female correctional officers tended to be the most likely candidates for having inappropriate relationships with inmates. For example:

A lot of these female guards are down for whatever. Some come in and are already

pregnant. Using the State to pay for the baby, ya know. And they get good medical attention. Some of them may know inmates from the free world too. So convicts can feel these young girls out and know which ones to be chummy with.

Not all inappropriate relationships between prison employees and inmates are sexual in nature (Cornelius, 2001; Elliot & Verdeyen, 2002; Allen & Bosta, 1981). In fact, many subjects described inappropriate relationships that were of an economic nature instead. One interviewee stated:

Most of the bosses give convicts cigarettes, rather than money. We can use trade these for commissary with other inmates. Sometimes, an inmate will give a boss money for cigarettes, especially if they need help with the bills. Some bosses want something in return, others just want to help out. A lot of the time, they act like they're going to shake down our house [cell] and they'll drop something in their or by a nearby trashcan. Nurses do the same thing. And, it's easier 'cause they got their own office and there's no officers around.

Finally, it appears as though inmates who have inappropriate relationships with correctional employees also keep these a secret from other offenders. For example:

When a convict is having a sexual relationship with a boss lady, he's got to keep it real 'cause there be a lot of haters in here. If others find out, they will ask her for favors, and if she don't come through, they will snitch.

While some scholars, suggest that adherence to an inmate code discourages prisoners from informing on one another (Sykes, 1958; Faulkner & Faulkner, 1997), apparently this rule does not apply to inappropriate relationships. This finding is consistent with other studies, which suggest that inappropriate relationships are often detected by inmate informants (Worley et al., 2003; Allen & Bosta, 1981). This seems highly plausible, given the fact that most of the respondents in the current study were not afraid to candidly discuss the dynamics of inappropriate relationships.

CONCLUSION

In this study, the researchers interviewed thirty-seven males who had been recently released from the Texas Department of Criminal Justice (TDCJ). All respondents were asked a series of questions in order to assess their perceptions of inappropriate relationships between correctional employees and inmates. Most of the respondents (84%) acknowledged that this behavior occurs. Subjects confirmed findings from earlier studies by suggesting that inmates who are affiliated with a gang may be more inclined than other prisoners to establish an inappropriate relationship with a staff member. Also, several of the interviewees reported that inmates seek to establish inappropriate relationships with offenders who they perceive to be vulnerable, naïve, or generally easy to exploit.

While the above findings replicate results from previous studies, there were at least two new findings. First, respondents from this sample reported that male officers are capable of behaving in a sexually aggressive manner towards male inmates. This dynamic has not been fully explored in previous studies. Also, subjects indicated that female correctional officers had the potential to be sexually aggressive towards male inmates. This finding was also unexpected and contradicts previous studies which suggest that male inmates are much more likely to be the instigators, as opposed to the victims, in sexually inappropriate relationships with female officers.

This study has the potential to offer new insights into inappropriate relationships from the perspective of the ex-convict. Up until the present, this perspective has not been incorporated in the criminal justice literature. Despite the importance of this contribution, it should be noted that there are many limitations of this study. First, the study utilizes a rather small convenience sample (n=37) and can in no way be generalized to all recently released offenders. Second, it is quite possible that there are differences between subjects who agreed to be interviewed and those who did not. Also, some of the respondents who opted to be interviewed may have had an axe to grind and used this study as an opportunity to voice their discontent towards the Texas Department of Criminal Justice. It is possible that some subjects were also deceptive or may have lied in an attempt to present themselves in a

favorable light (Maxfield & Babbie, 2009).

Although the above limitations should be taken into consideration, these do not in any way invalidate the results of this study. As mentioned previously, this article is exploratory in nature and is designed to generate hypotheses and provide a baseline of information about a behavior for which very little is known. Future studies must be conducted in this area to expand and build upon our understanding of inappropriate relationships that occur within correctional settings. Only then can prison facilities become more humane, professional, and secure.

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Table 1. Recently Released Offenders’ Perceptions of Boundary Violations in the Texas Prison System

Research Question	What impact does this behavior have?
Questions examining boundary violations of a personal nature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What percent of staff members have personal and close friendships with inmates? -What percent of staff members flirt with inmates? - What percentage of staff have passed or received notes/romantic letters from inmates? - How do they pass these notes/letters?
Questions examining boundary violations of an economic nature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What percent of inmates do you think have received money or contraband from a staff member? - What percent of inmates have received money or contraband from an offender? - How do they receive this money or contraband?
Questions examining boundary violations of a sexual nature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What percent of staff have touched an inmate in his/her private area? - What percent of inmates have had any type of sexual contact with a staff member? - What has happened in these situations?
General perceptions of boundary violations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How is having a personal relationship of any kind viewed by inmates? - Does having a personal relationship with a staff member affect the morale of prisoners? -Does having a personal relationship with a staff member help or hurt you in prison? - Would you encourage a new inmate to try and establish a relationship with a staff member?

ACJS Will Conduct Online Voting

In order to lessen the environmental impact of the ACJS election process, we are embarking on electronic voting as allowed by the Constitutional Amendment passed last year.

Just as snail mail votes depend on good addresses, conducting an effective electronic vote depends on ACJS having a correct email address for each member who is eligible to vote. *If you are a 2010 regular, lifetime, sustaining, or institutional member and you have not received an email notice from the National Office regarding online voting, your email address is either incorrect in our system or the message was screened by your spam filter. Please address these issues to ensure that you receive your electronic ballot.*

We ask that you take this opportunity to check the ACJS Membership Directory at www.acjs.org to verify that the information we have for you is correct. If not, please notify manager@acjs.org of any change. Please put "address correction" in the subject line of your email. All ACJS members' names are in the Membership Directory and the directory is updated quarterly; however, the contact information is omitted for members who have opted out of the online directory. If your name does not appear in the ACJS Membership Directory, your 2010 dues were not paid as of the most recent update which is noted in the first line of each directory page. **If you are eligible to vote, please ensure that ACJS has your correct email address no later than October 25, 2010, to guarantee that you will receive your electronic ballot.**

The electronic system we will use provides multiple layers of security and also provides anonymity for your vote while allowing us to send email reminders to those who have not voted. Another advantage is that you will be able to print the verification for your vote and immediately be assured that it was received. Many nonprofit membership organizations have used this online system and have found that:

1. Their voting rates increase significantly,
2. The environmental impact of the election is virtually nonexistent,
3. Conducting the election is simplified,
4. They are able to provide better information to their members regarding the candidates and other referendums,
5. Costs are significantly reduced, allowing the member dues to remain low, and
6. Rather than ACJS using vast amounts of paper to conduct the election, the company we've chosen to work with actually plants trees.

Voting is scheduled to begin in early November. All 2010 ACJS regular, lifetime, sustaining, and institutional member designees whose dues are paid by October 1, 2010, will receive an email message with a username and computer generated password for use in the voting process. The email will also include a link to the voting site.

ACJS Journals Go Green for Members

ACJS is taking steps to be more environmentally friendly. One of the steps is to provide an opportunity for regular and institutional member designees to receive *Justice Quarterly* and the *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* through online access only rather than hard copy. Each ACJS member has been receiving online access for several years. That access provides all back issues of the journals as well as the current issues and access to articles that are in line for publication through iFirst. The online access also provides a mechanism whereby members can obtain electronic notification as new articles and issues are published to the online system.

We hope to begin offering online only access to ACJS regular and institutional member designees with the 1st issues of 2011. To that end, we will send an email to our members soon to find out which members want to continue to receive hard copies of the journals. Only 2010 members have the option of receiving hard copy journals and will continue to receive them as long as their membership remains current. New members or those who allow their membership to lapse will receive online only access.

When you receive the email about the ACJS journals, if you want to continue to receive hard copies of the journal, you will need to click on the link which will take you to an online survey. On that survey, you will enter your name, email address, and your desire to continue to receive the journals in hard copy. Any 2010 ACJS regular or institutional member designee who has not responded to the online survey by December 31, 2010, will receive online only access and will no longer be eligible to receive hard copies.

If you want to receive the online only access to the special services provided for ACJS Members, you will not need to respond.

The following is some background information that was important in making the decision to provide members the opportunity to receive online access only:

- a. Downloads for our journals have increased significantly this year.
- b. Members can sign up with their online subscription to receive online/email alerts when new material is posted/published to iFirst. ACJS will begin to email similar updates from the National Office when each new issue is posted and these updates will include the titles of the articles in the issue.
- c. A relatively small percentage of the libraries and institutional subscribers are currently opting for online only access to our journals. Therefore, JQ and JCJE will remain print journals for the foreseeable future.
- d. ACJS is trying to do as much as we can to provide environmentally friendly options.

REMEMBER: If you are a 2010 ACJS member and you want to receive the online only access to the special services provided for ACJS Members, you do not need to take any action.

CUNY Graduate Center/ John Jay College of Criminal Justice Ph.D. Graduates

- Bucht, Rebecca.** "Qualitative and Quantitative X-Ray Diffraction Analysis for Forensic Examination of Duct Tapes." Chaired by Thomas Kubic, August 2010, CUNY Graduate Center/ John Jay College of Criminal Justice
- Caspi, David.** "Extremist Networks and Lethality: A Mapping of Violent White Supremacist Group Networks and Investigation of Relationship between Network Location and Ideologically Motivated Murder." Chaired by Joshua Freilich, April 2010, CUNY Graduate Center/ John Jay College of Criminal Justice
- Decarlo, John.** "A Study Comparing the Eyewitness Accuracy of Police Officers and Citizens." Chaired by Jennifer Dysart, August 2010, CUNY Graduate Center/ John Jay College of Criminal Justice
- Kim, Richard.** "Cyber-Surveillance: A Case Study in Policy and Development." Chaired by Warren Benton, January 2010, CUNY Graduate Center/ John Jay College of Criminal Justice
- Kroll, Rainer.** "Shiftwork: A Survey of Motivation in Police Officers." Chaired by Maria Haberfeld, June 2010, CUNY Graduate Center/ John Jay College of Criminal Justice
- McCarthy, Jennifer.** "The Relationship between Possessing Child Pornography and Child Molestation." Chaired by Karen Terry, February 2010, CUNY Graduate Center/ John Jay College of Criminal Justice
- Patten, Meredith.** "American Sports Fans: What Makes Them Tick, and Sometimes Explode, and What Attributes of the Arena Contribute to Fan Incidents." Chaired by Joshua Freilich, November 2009, CUNY Graduate Center/ John Jay College of Criminal Justice
- Rizzo, Brian.** "Serving at the Pleasure of the Mayor: An Exploration of Political Involvement in New York Police Commissioner Departures 1901-2001." Chaired by Todd Clear, February 2010, CUNY Graduate Center/ John Jay College of Criminal Justice
- Sacks, Meghan.** "Don't I have a Right to Bail? A Study of Bail Decisions/Outcomes and the Potential Effects on Plea Bargaining and Sentencing." Chaired by Candace McCoy, August 2010, CUNY Graduate Center/ John Jay College of Criminal Justice
- Vollman, Brenda.** "Identity and Behavior: Exploring an understanding of "Being" and "Doing" for Catholic Priests in the United States Accused of the Sexual Abuse of Minors." Chaired by Jock Young, August 2010, CUNY Graduate Center/ John Jay College of Criminal Justice
- Waldron, John.** "Social and Legal Determinants on the Enforcement of Domestic Violence Laws by the Police: A Study of New Jersey Police Officers." Chaired by Maria Haberfeld, May 2010, CUNY Graduate Center/ John Jay College of Criminal Justice
- Wilder, Kideste.** "Building a Model for Policing Communities with Competing and Converging Interests." Chaired by Todd Clear, August 2010, CUNY Graduate Center/ John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Book Review

Rideau, W. (2010). *In the place of justice: A story of punishment and deliverance*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
ISBN 9780307264817, pp. 385, hbk.

In the Place of Justice is Wilbert Rideau's chronological account of his forty-four year battle for freedom. Sentenced to death for the first-degree murder of a bank teller in 1961, Rideau rose to national prominence during his incarceration at Louisiana's Angola State Prison as both a free-lance journalist and the editor of the award-winning prison magazine, *The Angolite*. At his fourth trial, he was found guilty of manslaughter and finally gained his freedom.

Rideau offers an intelligent and educated critique of life in prison, describing the dehumanization inherent in Louisiana's correctional system. Even a rehabilitated inmate like Rideau, who was regularly allowed to leave the prison to give presentations and speeches, is, in the final analysis, merely a felon whose privileges can be withdrawn on a whim. This is seen in his constant battle to retain prisoner control of *The Angolite*, which he loses during the tenure of Warden Burl Cain.

Despite the establishment of numerous bureaucratic rules, regulations, and legal policies, Rideau contends that prisons are not governed by laws, but by men. He chronicles the effects that various management styles had on the inmate population in general. Rideau focuses on the influence of prison administrators, who, he finds, obtain their positions as a result of "politics or cronyism," not as a result of skill or ability. Chaos and danger result when the practices of incompetent supervisors are imposed on inmates, most of whom are uneducated, immature, and violent. Rideau offers examples of how much safer and more effective prisons are when run by thoughtful, progressive wardens.

Rideau challenges current correctional philosophy—something that standard corrections texts do not always do adequately. He puts a human face on racial issues in prisons, especially the tension between white guards and Black inmates. The issue of race also plays a role in Rideau's trial, sentencing, and efforts at clemency. As a 19-year old Black man accused of killing a white woman, he is charged with first-degree murder and sentenced to death.

Finally, he offers insight into what being free means to someone who has been incarcerated for 44 years. His descriptions of life after Angola offer an effective supplement to textbook discussions of post-release. After he is freed, he cannot find work as a journalist, despite having won numerous journalistic awards while he was incarcerated. When he and his wife volunteer in Baton Rouge to help first responders in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, one nurse takes exception to his presence, and he is asked not to return.

In the Place of Justice is a detailed account of a criminal justice system that fails to protect the most marginalized members of society from excessive government power. Within the prison system, very few individuals are able to summon the inner strength and capacity for hope necessary to avoid giving in to despair and immersing themselves in the violence and daily hustles of prison life. As have so many before him, he "grew up" in prison, came to terms with what he did, and moved on. It takes Wilbert Rideau 44 years to receive the correct verdict and sentence. He does not come across as bitter or angry, because, despite having only an 8th grade-education, he was able to achieve recognition as a journalist while in prison. Perhaps because of his work and the kinds of friends and acquaintances his recognition brought him, he is able to put his years in prison in some perspective.

Given its length and detail, *In the Place of*

Justice will probably be most appropriate for an audience comprised of upper class and graduate corrections students. It might also be useful in a course on minorities and criminal justice. In addition, it would serve as a supplemental text in a course examining convict criminology. Students could examine Rideau's work alongside that of Michael Santos, Steve Richards, Eldridge Cleaver, and Jack Henry Abbott. Rideau's text is strong and precise in its use of detail about his crime (which he never denies); the social and racial atmosphere in which it took place (the pre-Civil Rights Act South); the operation of the Louisiana corrections system, the appeals process, and life after incarceration, all of which criminal justice and corrections students are, or should be, familiar. Rideau's story will likely spark debate among students, many of whom will empathize with him, especially given the skill with which he presents his story. He is an excellent writer. Others will argue that he deserved his punishment and perhaps should have been put to death.

Rideau's crisp journalistic style and ample use of dialogue make for a compelling story. His discussion of all aspects of the criminal justice system provides support for and challenges to material presented in corrections textbooks. *In the Place of Justice* is a valuable addition to the literature on Southern prisons, and Rideau's insightful portrayals of life behind bars offers a glimpse into the effects of imprisonment. It is a must-read for any student of corrections.

James Geistman
Ohio Northern University

Haiku for Statisticians in Love

John Klofas

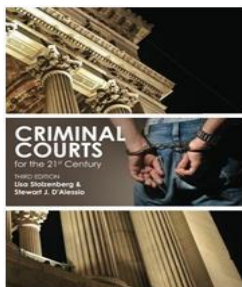
Pretty small sample
Too Many variables
Try another round

This is just not right!
Am I in your control group?
I feel untreated.

More talk of true love
Think autocorrelation
Time will show the truth

Over analyze?
I don't fall in love so fast?
Arima needs time

Me, spurious?
You found a new variable!
But we danced so well.



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Lisa Stolzenberg and Stewart J. D'Alessio

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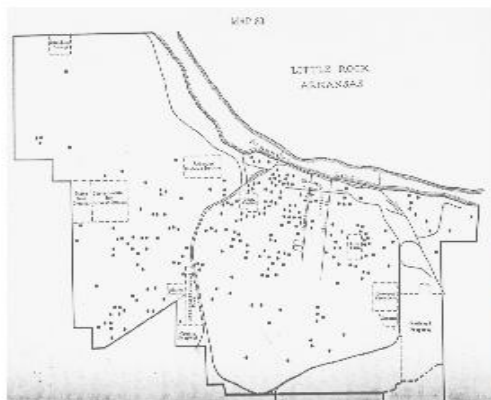
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