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Inmate Responses to Correctional Officer Deviance: A Model of Its Dynamic Nature

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ABSTRACT

The relationship between correctional officers (COs) and prisoners is dynamic and bounded by a unique context. COs engage in numerous sanctioned and unsanctioned behaviors within their correctional institution. The latter actions are typically referred to as deviant behavior. COs' deviance can have a debilitating effect not only on other officers, correctional workers, the administration, but also inmates and the institution as a whole. This article specifies a model of the interaction between COs' deviance and inmate reactions to these kinds of behaviors. In general, the study argues that convicts can respond in four different, but interrelated ways: obedience or deference to authority, apathy, adaptation, and resistance. Acts of prisoners resisting can further lead to COs' deviant behaviors to continue within the correctional institution.



KEYWORDS

Prisons; prisoners; correctional officers; prisoner behavior; workplace deviance/misconduct

Introduction

Human behavior does not exist in a vacuum. The way one person reacts to a set of circumstances is not the same way others would, and inmates¹ are no different. When confronted with unique situations, convicts respond in a variety of different ways.² The manner by which they react is a result of various factors including, but not limited to, their individual psychological makeup, experiences prior to and during incarceration, length of imprisonment or repeated incarcerations, the conditions of confinement, and situational dynamics (Blevins, Listwan, Cullen, & Jonson, 2010). Being able to understand how, and under what conditions, inmates respond to any number of stimuli is critical for effective and efficient operations within all correctional facilities. However, it should be noted that conditions inside jails and prisons vary (sometimes quite widely) among the federal, state, county, and city systems of correctional institutions. These differences can also be found between male and female prisons, and within different security (i.e., minimum, medium, maximum, and super maximum) levels of incarceration.

Scholarly literature on inmate behavior typically focuses on identifying behavioral patterns and how to control them. Inmate behavior is complicated, nuanced, and yet in many ways also predictable. Similar to prisoners, correctional officers' (COs) psychological makeup, experiences, and situational dynamics shape most of their behaviors within the correctional facility (Lambert, Hogan, & Tucker, 2009; Lambert & Paoline, 2008; Tracy,

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2004; Tracy & Scott, 2006; Zimbardo, 2007). For most, they go about their jobs following and practicing the required policies of their specific facility; COs typically carry out largely mundane and repetitive daily activities while on duty. There are times, however, when they may take shortcuts, or succumb to certain temptations, which causes them to react to situations outside the boundaries of their training and institutional policies. Others may be negatively impacted by their fellow COs (or inmates), which also alters their responses to any number of situations within the facility. When this occurs, COs occasionally respond through an array of deviant behaviors that violate not only institutional policies, but also in extreme cases, human rights (Human Rights Watch [HRW], 1996; 2001; Ross, 2013; Worley & Cheeseman, 2006; Worley, Tewksbury, & Frantzen, 2010; Worley & Worley, 2011).

Over the past decade, the previously unheard of means and mediums for viewing the inside of correctional facilities have highlighted deviant behavior throughout our jails and prisons. Typically, inmates' deviant behaviors, and not that of the staff, have been the focus. There has been a convergence of factors including mass media portrayals of jails and prisons (e.g., MSNBC's *Lockup* TV series [Hooker, 2016]), governmental inquiries that have occurred in the United States (Gibbons & Katzenbach, 2008), and elsewhere such as the Abu Ghraib prison scandal (Hersh, 2004), and selective prison scandals (Mancini & Mears, 2013) to investigate the various types of deviant behavior being committed by COs. Scholars have had a difficult time obtaining reliable and comprehensive evidence as to the extent of deviance perpetrated by COs inflicted upon inmates. The existence of this behavior has been recognized, but the scope and effects of COs' deviance committed on inmates continues to be unidentified.

This article reviews the academic research that has been conducted on the problem of CO deviance.³ It then outlines the most common types of documented deviance and prisoner reactions to this behavior,⁴ and then proposes a dynamic model of CO deviance and inmate reactions. In constructing such a model, we advance our understanding of the complex interplay of factors that exist in the correctional environment where inmates live and COs work. In short, the model serves as a heuristic device for understanding COs' deviance and inmates' responses to COs' deviant behaviors.

The scholarly literature on correctional officers' deviance

Defining correctional officer deviance

Over the years, many definitions of *deviance* have been advanced. In general, deviance is an action or behavior that violates generally accepted norms (Adler, 2005; Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2001). Since the 1960s, numerous scholars have identified various acts of deviance in certain jobs, occupations, and professions (cf. Bryant, 2011; Thio, Taylor, & Schwartz, 2012). Yet definitions and understandings of deviance for COs have been scant. But when it has been addressed, it is usually through the lens of misconduct or corruption. According to McCarthy (1996), corruption includes "the intentional violation of organizational norms (i.e., rules and regulations) by public employees for material gains" (p. 231). Examples of such behaviors from COs have included theft, smuggling contraband, embezzlement of money from correctional institutions or inmates, theft of property, or misuse of authority (p. 232). Although these are a respectable start to defining misconduct or corruption, it conflates them with deviance

(McCarthy, 1996; Worley & Cheeseman, 2006). Instead, perhaps a relatively simple definition would be more useful. With regards to institutional corrections, deviance is generally considered “inappropriate work-related activities in which correctional officers may engage.”⁵ Although some COs do commit deviant acts through violence or excessive force, less is known about other forms of deviant behaviors by COs that requires no physical force.

Corruption is only one part of the larger concept of deviant behavior. COs’ deviance is inherently tied to personal and institutional ethics. Nearly all correctional agencies throughout the country—and the professional accreditation organization of the American Correctional Association—have established a code of ethics for all institutional staff members to follow at all times. In fact, COs have this code of ethics instilled in them from the onset of recruit training. Once on the job, however, reminders, monitoring, and sanctioning of unethical behavior is less omnipresent. For the code of ethics to work properly, it must be applied and reinforced from veteran COs and institutional administrators.

To date, there is sparse literature that exists in addressing COs’ deviance. There have been activist–special interest publications (e.g., HRW, 1996, 2001) and practitioner-based venues (e.g., *Corrections Today*) that have examined certain aspects of COs’ deviance. But most studies, typically, have concentrated on subcomponents of this phenomenon or related issues, such as COs’ power (e.g., Hepburn, 1985; Stichman, 2000; Stojkovic, 1984). Other research has focused on racial and/or sexual discrimination and harassment (see Britton, 1997; Camp, Saylor, & Wright, 2001), excessive force, and violence by COs (Bowker, 1980; Cohen, Cole, & Bailey, 1976; Hemmens & Atherton, 2000; Hemmens & Stohr, 2001; Marquart, 1986). Previous studies have also embedded COs’ deviance in complementary concepts, such as inmate boundary violations (Marquart, Barnhil, & Balshaw-Biddle, 2001; Worley et al., 2001), professionalization as a solution to problems with COs (Farkas, 1990; Stinchcomb, 2000), selection procedures (Stinchcomb, 1998), and COs’ leadership (Stojkovic & Farkas, 2003). Rarely have scholars examined the effects of COs’ deviance on inmates, and inmates’ responses to COs’ deviant behavior.

Types of correctional officer deviant behaviors

The first broad term used to describe COs’ deviance is the *abuse of power*. This refers to COs’ violence toward inmates. Although perhaps outdated today, Bowker’s (1980) study of victimization of inmates by COs concluded that “the treatment of the subject is superficial in that incidents tend to be mentioned only in passing (or as part of a polemical piece of writing), and they are not presented or analyzed in any great detail” (p. 143). Bowker further acknowledged that incidents of deviance “tend to be recorded factually” and not placed into a theoretical context:

[the] quality of the reporting of incidents is often difficult to determine. Reports are usually limited to the views of one of the participants or observers, with no corroboration from others. Even when reports are written by social scientists, they usually consist of second and third-person accounts derived from interviews rather than direct observation by the scientists. (p. 143)

Bowker questioned the inconsistencies as to the definitions of victimization experiences, which he then organized into three categories: physical, psychological, and sexual. The concept of deviance is more encompassing, but Bowker’s perspective does provide a foundational framework for research in this area.

The second broad term used to identify COs' deviance is *corruption*. Typically, corruption involves some form of personal economic gain. Despite recognition of this form of COs' deviance, there still is a lack of scholarship in this area. Sykes's (1958) *The Society of Captives* is considered to be one of the principal assessments of this subject. He argued that, on occasion, most COs were susceptible to corruption. Sykes (1958) offered three reasons for this behavior: (1) inmates and COs developed friendships, (2) inmates and COs engaged in reciprocity, and (3) COs engaged in default actions (e.g., were over-committed, lazy, or unwilling to do their jobs correctly). His findings prompted other scholars to examine the working conditions of COs and their relationships with inmates. Scholars such as Irwin (1970) and Irwin & Cressy (1962), however, also questioned the efficacy of Sykes's functional model.

To further expand on COs' deviance, what may be the most well known study of captives and captors is the Stanford Prison Experiment by Zimbardo (2007). Within this study, Zimbardo was able to demonstrate the "power of the situation" to transform "good citizens" into "evil doers." Here, he referred to this as "the Lucifer effect." The Stanford Prison Experiment was conducted in 1971, with 24 undergraduate students portraying guards and inmates in a makeshift prison in the basement of the Psychology Department at Stanford University. The students were screened to ensure that they were free of any emotional problems and not prone to violent behaviors. The study revealed that as each day passed, the roles of inmates and guards not only became evident, but also the interactions changed as well. The guards showed a disdain for the inmates and in some cases were violent toward them. Zimbardo said the changes became immediately apparent once the students started to change their clothing to represent their role as either a guard or inmate. In this context, the deindividuation process started, which permits guards to hide behind their uniforms, titles, and ranks when performing their job. He further argued that deindividuation is a close companion to dehumanization. That is, it is easier to hide behind the uniform when being deviant, especially when inmates have been devalued or discounted as human beings from society by being in correctional facilities (Zimbardo, 2007; also see Lurigio, 2009). Zimbardo's argument of the Lucifer effect was further demonstrated by the actions of some soldiers on inmates at the Abu Ghraib prison during the Iraq war. Although Sykes' and Zimbardo's research has shed light onto this area, the literature still remains in need of further expansion, development, and updating.

COs can, and do, engage in numerous types of deviance. Ross (2013), based on a review of scholarly research, news media reports, informal conversations with inmates and correctional workers, and informed by 4 years of work inside a correctional facility identified COs' deviant behaviors. Acknowledging that the forms and directions of deviant behavior can vary across institutions, inmates, and COs, he identified 15 main types of COs' deviance that fall into three categories: (1) deviance against the institution, (2) deviance against other COs, and (3) deviance against inmates.

First, most COs' deviance is against the institution. COs have numerous opportunities to improperly use or misuse agency equipment and property. This is accomplished in a variety of ways such as using institutional equipment to play pranks on one another, to breaking institutional equipment for it to be replaced (Abbey, 1975). Some COs may purposely be shirking their duties, forcing other COs to perform these job tasks. For some, stealing correctional facility property such as food to feed their farm animals, pets, or to sell to someone else for economic gain, is a form of deviant behavior (Ross & Richards,

2002, chap. 12). Others may abuse their sick time (Worley & Worley, 2011). Another way deviance has been inflicted on the institution has been by accepting gifts from inmates (or their family, friends, and associates) for the convict to obtain some form of special treatment from COs within the facility.

Second, COs commit deviance against other COs. For some, drinking on the job, or being under the influence of alcohol or drugs while at work, leads to other COs having to cover their duties to prevent being detected by the administration (Ross, 2013). Other COs may violate general boundaries, which is where COs blur the lines of professional distinction between themselves and inmates (Marquart et al., 2001). It may also be common for COs to actively participate in discrimination practices, whether it is through hiring practices, or how they treat inmates based on their sex, race, age, nationality, or sexual orientation. Sexual harassment of fellow correctional workers occurs regardless of sex or position within the facility (Britton, 1997; Worley & Cheeseman, 2006). COs that smuggle contraband into the facility risk their safety and career. More importantly, the risk of becoming compromised due to such activities places the CO at a disadvantage of performing their duties correctly and enforcing policy due to the altered relationship between the CO and inmate (Lankenau, 2001).

Lastly, COs' deviance may be directed against inmates. As originally argued by Clemmer (1958), COs have an enormous amount of power within correctional facilities. For example, COs may humiliate convicts, place them in cells with other inmates with whom they do not get along, or destroy an inmate's personal property. Prisoners consistently complain about their property being either mishandled or stolen by COs, but the authority and power lies with the CO in making a determination about inmate property (Worley & Cheeseman, 2006). There is a long history of discrimination against inmates that has led to either special amenities, or being singled out for exploitation (Souryal, 2009). The violence or excessive force against inmates from COs takes place in a variety of ways. Most commonly, COs facilitate violence from one inmate onto another, rather than CO on inmate assault (Hemmens & Atherton, 2000; Hemmens & Stohr, 2001). Lastly, sexual relationships with or assault of inmates by COs have occurred over the years and are most common with male COs assaulting female inmates (HRW, 1996; National Prison Rape Elimination Commission, 2009).

COs' deviance against inmates has the greatest potential to elicit a response by inmate(s). That being said, as noted at the beginning of this discussion, not all actors in this environment will necessarily respond the same way to all situations. Some deviant practices may be more likely to elicit a response by inmates than others. The direction and nature of reactions could vary across individuals and particular situations. Although inmates may consider incidents of COs' deviance as sources of amusement, distractions, or impediments to daily life, these types of behaviors rarely trigger a behavioral response (e.g., reporting such an incident to a CO's coworker or superior). Alternatively, observation or knowledge about COs' deviance may be used by inmates to extract benefits from the CO. For example, some inmates can skillfully use an occurrence of such activities to extort benefits from the CO (e.g., Allen & Bosta, 1981; Cornelius, 2009).

Types of prisoner responses to correctional officer deviance

Prisoners can respond to CO deviance in four basic ways: (1) obedience or deference to authority, (2) apathy, (3) adaptation, and (4) resistance.

Obedience or deference to authority

When inmates observe, experience, or hear about COs' deviance, they may simply accept the behavior as normal or routine. In this case, inmates may selectively obey or defer to the authority of the institution and its staff (e.g., Milgram, 1974). Echoing Piven and Cloward (1977), "People usually remain acquiescent, conforming to the accustomed patterns of daily life in their community and believing to be both inevitable and just.... Most of the time people conform to the institutional arrangements which enmesh them" (p. 6). This behavior could also reflect a rational choice perspective. Inmates may simply make cost-benefit calculations that they have more to lose than to gain from confronting, or standing up to arbitrary CO actions—especially if the consequences are minimal. Alternatively, prisoners may believe that the COs' authority and expertise is appropriate and therefore accepts their actions. According to Hepburn (1985), COs are able to have inmates follow their directions best when they have established legitimate authority to the inmate.

Apathy

Apathy stems from a number of different sources. Inmates may have an individual or collective memory of repression, powerlessness, and isolation. Similar to the concept of learned or surplus helplessness (see Abramson & Seligman, 1978; M. Lerner, 1986), prisoners may have been beaten down so much, and so frequently, that there is not much fight left in them, and they may think it is not worth voicing their discontent. This kind of withdrawal may appear as if the inmate is succumbing to the "convict code" of doing their own time. This is typically characterized by minding one's own business, remaining largely alone, and avoiding enmeshment in any unnecessary activities or social networks. It can be a product of conformity with group norms (i.e., because others are not speaking up, then why should they?) (Ross & Richards, 2002, chap. 12; Sykes, 1958). Apathy may also be characterized as the product of a cost-benefit calculation. Participating involves a series of cost-benefit calculations made by individuals of affected communities, some of whom rationalize that they stand more to lose than gain in criticizing or complaining about the COs.

Adaptation

Most inmates are confronted with the need to address or manage the deprivations of prison (e.g., poor or substandard living conditions, overly punitive environment, etc.) (see Sykes & Messinger, 1960), also called penal harm (see Clear, 1994). Prisoners generally adapt (also known as prisonization) or become innovative to lessen the impact of deprivation (Fry & Frese, 1992). For example, they may spend a disproportionate amount of time in their cell, sleeping, working out, reading, watching television, or engaging in artistic and creative pursuits. This helps to distract them from the monotony of everyday prison life (Hassine, 2004).

Resistance

Alternatively, inmates may test or protest institutional norms, practices, and policies by resisting through behaviors generally referred to as so-called weapons of the weak (Scott, 1987).⁶ It is important to note that it is not always possible to identify all prisoner acts of resistance. Although a handful of scholars have provided reviews of inmate resistance (Bosworth, 1999; Bosworth & Carrabine, 2001; Buntman, 1998; Carlton, 2008; Gómez 2006; Law, 2009), the field lacks a relatively comprehensive model of the relationship among these processes, and one that is geared to the American context.⁷

Inmates who have been victimized by CO deviance, witnessed such events, or simply have devoted their time, attention, and focus to identifying and analyzing staff activities, are likely to know of COs' deviance. Alternatively, some inmates may simply not be aware of CO deviance due to being relatively newly incarcerated, mentally ill, or in segregation. In addition, they may be unaware of the unique norms (i.e., schedules, deviant COs, or inmate interactions) within a particular prison. Despite the inmate culture, some inmates may not be connected to the prison grapevine (i.e., be privy to the inmate gossip) and thus must make their own, sometimes faulty, conclusions about the actions and intent of COs' behavior. An inmate's sophistication and concern with respect to the norms of the institution may improve over time, as the prisoner becomes more accustomed to the policies, practices, rules, and organizational culture of the facility. Likewise, an inmate's reaction to witnessed or known CO deviance is mediated not only by the experience of being an inmate, but also by the myriad specifics of the particular correctional facility. Therefore, convicts may use any one of the above-mentioned ways to deal with such COs who engage in deviant behavior that affects them.

Some inmates direct a considerable amount of resistance toward the institutional conditions of being incarcerated, the COs, and the facility's administration. These methods are used by inmates when attempting to confront those who implement and enforce the rules that lead to their (perceived) deprivations in prison. This includes passive aggressive behavior, monkey wrenching or sabotage, insubordination, violence against oneself, getting assistance from outsiders, using the legal system, and creating disturbances through riots or strikes.

Passive aggressive behavior

Short of refusing to comply with a direct order, inmates have multiple creative ways to resist authority. One common way is "slow playing." In general, this involves complying with the direct orders of a CO but doing it very slowly or poorly. For example, when an officer orders a group of inmates to paint a corridor and knows that under normal circumstances the task should take a day, but when inmates are passive aggressive, the response may end up requiring a week to complete this job. In other words, this was done to anger the officer(s). Alternatively, inmates might ignore the CO by pretending to be hard of hearing, thus agitating the CO to resort to other measures to obtain the desired outcome (J. Lerner, 2002). Although less than complimentary, this approach is akin to a toddler "stalling" before being sent to bed.

Monkey wrenching or sabotage

According to Abbey (1975), monkey wrenching is the destruction of or use of equipment for which it was not intended. Such an approach is well recognized in instances of worker resistance in industrial factories, and political protest against development in wilderness areas. As it relates to inmates, some may break or destroy equipment (e.g., floor buffers, punch presses, etc.), fixtures (e.g., doors on bathroom stalls, toilets, sinks, flood cells) under the (frequently erroneous) belief that it will motivate the administration to finally replace or repair these items. But inmates may also choose to break equipment, fixtures, or deface property (e.g., jail house graffiti) as a means of resistance. Many of these instances are acts of low-scale rebellion, which is a reflection of frustration with poorly functioning equipment (e.g., toilets/showers that do not work), premises, or difficulties with the administration of the institution.

Insubordination

Another way for inmates to resist authority is by not following the orders given to them by COs or other facility staff members. For example, as a sign of resistance one, some, or all prisoners may refuse to come out of their cells for inspection. This may prompt COs to write a disciplinary ticket, perform a cell extraction, or initiate an administrative hearing. According to Baca (2001), a former inmate in the Arizona prison system, in describing his refusal to come out of his cell, "To this day, it still amazes me how taking myself out of the system and refusing to work had everyone in an upheaval, from my friends to the guards. The more I did nothing, the more aggravated everyone became" (p. 166). Insubordination can be an effective means to draw attention to oneself, one's conditions, or issues that might easily be overlooked.

Violence by inmates against themselves

Although self-injury may be most commonly motivated by depression, or feelings of hopelessness (Smith & Kaminski, 2011), it is also a way of gaining attention, which is a method of demonstrating that the inmate (and not the correctional facility) has ultimate control over the inmate's life. In a small way, harming oneself is way of getting back at the institution. There are numerous ways that inmates can hurt or kill themselves that is beyond the scrutiny of COs and other inmates (Ross, 2006). This includes anything from self-suffocation, to attempting an escape (with almost certain knowledge of the possibility that lethal action will be taken against them), or slow death by having sex with an inmate who is known to be infected with HIV.

Enlisting the help of outsiders

Inmates who feel that their complaints are not being properly addressed may enlist the assistance of outsiders (i.e., family, friends, prison activists, politicians, lawyers, different branches of state/federal government, etc.) to intervene (Murphy, 2003). Some inmates have contacted the news media and provided information to reporters on prison conditions and specific CO's deviant behaviors. Others have opted to write editorials or through outside contacts use social media to have their voices heard. Collectively known as

prisoner journalism, it has produced the likes of relatively well known writers such as Wilber Rideau and Ron Wikberg (1992), and Mumia Abu-Jamal (1996). In recent times, because of prisoner litigation, the efforts of several nonprofit organizations—including the American Civil Liberties Union (through their National Prison Project) and HRW—selective aspects of jails and prisons have in fact been reformed (Chilton, 1991; Feeley & Swearingen, 2004; Welsh, 1992, 1995). In almost each major city in the United States, local justice advocacy organizations work on behalf of jail inmates. These actions do not guarantee that the problems behind bars will be fixed, though it does bring attention to conditions of confinement.

Resorting to the legal system

Inmates have filed writs, motions, lawsuits, and class action suits (Milovanovic & Thomas, 1989; Schlanger, 2003; Thomas, 1988). Sometimes these actions are done individually, other times with the assistance of outsiders, but typically, with the help of jailhouse lawyers who have considerable experience in writing legal motions to be brought before the judicial system. Although convicts may have their motions denied, they have at least succeeded in tying up the Department of Corrections' (DOCs') resources. This approach also brings a level of intimidation and embarrassment upon the prison administration. This is also a form of communicating with those outside of the prison about the conditions of their confinement.

Since the 1960s, there has been an increase of lawsuits initiated by inmates against prison administrators, correctional institutions, and DOCs (Schlanger, 2003; Thomas, 1988). Starting with the Supreme Court's decision in *Cooper v. Pate* (1964), inmates and their advocates have used the legal system to achieve important victories with regards to the conditions of their confinement. This was achieved by asserting violations of various constitutional principles and convicts who have persuaded sympathetic judges to initiate landmark legal reforms regarding prison conditions and practices. Inmates relying on using the legal system as a form of resistance, however, have been substantially tempered by the Prison Litigation Reform Act (1997).

Disturbances, rebellions, riots, and strikes

When all else fails, or to temporarily overcome feelings of powerlessness, inmates have resorted to various types of physical violence against other inmates, COs, staff members, and the institution itself (Cohen et al., 1976; Fleisher, 1989; May & Pitts, 2000). Convicts have also engaged in violence when they believe that the benefits outweighed the costs. Indeed, many disturbances, rebellions, riots, and strikes can trace their origins to COs' mistreatment of inmates, and the inability of the institution or DOC to address this form of deviance (Useem & Kimball, 1987).

Summary of prisoner resistance

Prisoners have numerous methods to resist the carceral enterprise. This ranges from passive aggressive behavior to full-on, collective, organized violence designed to overthrow power structures. These methods can be rank ordered along a continuum based on the expenditure of resources and energy on the part of inmates. Many of these actions are

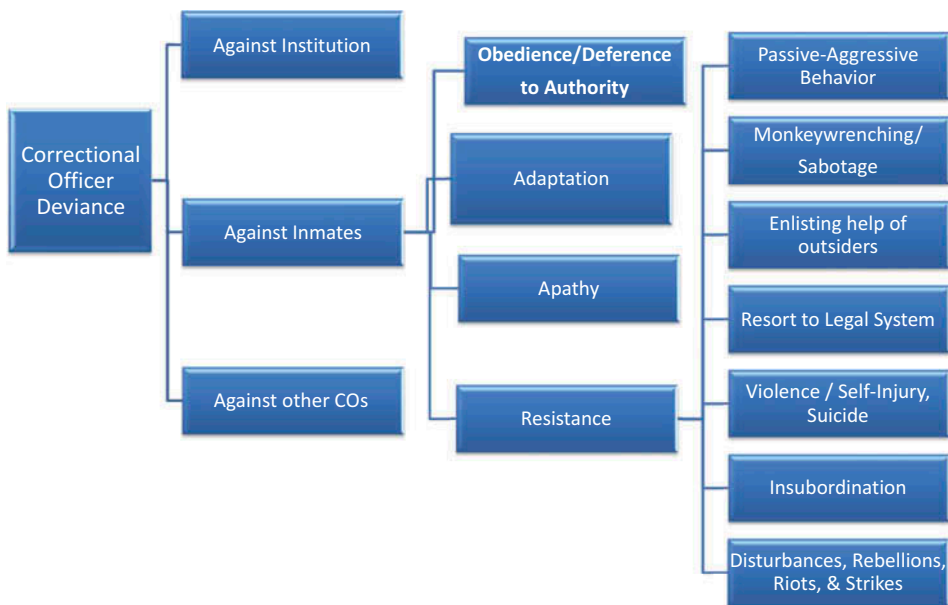


Figure 1. Model of the dynamic nature of correctional officer deviance and prisoner reactions.

often met with COs' push back and further sanctions. A summary of the entire process is captured in [Figure 1](#).

Summary

Few people plan on becoming incarcerated. Being separated from loved ones, the lack of daily freedom, and the fear and loathing of having to live behind bars for any extended period of time is far from ideal (see Crank & Brezina, 2013). Meanwhile, the general public, cheered on by moral entrepreneurs and led by tough-on-crime politicians who often approach crime anecdotally and without the benefit of empirical research (or paying serious heed to it), believe (or pontificate) that harsh prison conditions, as well as long sentences are effective ways to respond to most law breakers. Moreover, making convicts powerless is viewed as a useful tool throughout the rehabilitation process. However, despite some officials' best efforts, inmates are not completely helpless against the deprivations of incarceration. In fact, convicts have choices: they can either adapt, or resist those conditions and the deviance of system actors, especially when they view such as illegitimate, unreasonable, deviant, or illegal.

Moreover, the relationship among COs' deviance and inmates' reactions is a dynamic process. Although the institution may respond and seek appropriate remedies to CO deviant behavior (Ross, 2013), inmates typically bear the brunt of the COs' breaches of ethical and criminal behavior. Inmates, just like other criminal justice practitioners, have to deal with the powerful effects of the occupational subculture, the so-called officer code (Kauffman, 1988), especially the "blue wall of silence." This means that coworkers will generally not reveal potentially harmful information about fellow correctional workers because this action may result in formal and informal sanctions (e.g., withdrawal of

mutual protection from inmates while on the job, fewer staff being on duty, etc.). Thus, COs appear to be very careful about reporting acts of deviance among their fellow officers. Few officers want to be a whistleblower (i.e., an officer that reveals the wrongdoings of fellow COs, supervisors, or correctional facility administrators).

Conclusion

Although prisoners' voicing opposition (in whatever way) may give inmates temporary satisfaction, it may lead to additional or continued oppression, and increased violations of their human rights (Robertson, 2009). When causing attention to be brought to a poorly functioning (e.g., deviance saturated) facility, housing unit, wing, tier or even individual, the inmate whose response garners attention is likely to be the recipient of quashing or silencing responses by the offending individual, tier, housing unit, or facility. The state is likely to respond in ways to not only silence the inmate, but in a more positive manner may develop and implement bureaucratic ways to protect and codify the actions of its workers should similar instances happen in the future.

COs' deviance, particularly that directed against inmates, leads to a breakdown in inmate–officer and officer–officer trust. Not only are the effects felt inside an institution, but they also can be experienced beyond the walls as well. Such a diffusion of disruption to relationships may also directly contribute to a decrease in public confidence in correctional facilities' ability to fulfill their missions (see Mancini & Mears, 2013). When this trust is lost, it is difficult for it to be regained, and when it is, an incredible amount of resources is likely required to reestablish it. If levels of deviance are high, a facility cannot work at (or near) an optimal level, nor successfully implement meaningful vocational and rehabilitative programs. COs and correctional administrators must be conscientious in their efforts to prevent themselves from participating in deviant behavior and to insure that they deal with incidents in a timely fashion. Also, it must be acknowledged that modes of resistance may be a causal factor in CO deviance, thereby providing a feedback loop to this entire process.

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Notes

1. Despite subtle differences in meaning, we use the terms inmates, convicts and prisoners interchangeably.
2. Although this analysis is mainly tailored toward prisons and correctional officers who work in them, many of the actions that are identified occur in jail settings too.
3. Research on prison administrators and probation and parole officers is relevant, however this review is restricted to the work that explicitly focuses on COs.
4. Thus, this review ignores prisoner and prison activist initiated solutions. For a review of prisoner resistance, see (Buntman, 1998; Ross, 2010).
5. This definition subsumes CO misconduct.
6. Portions of this section were derived from Ross (2010).
7. Although this review is mainly geared to male institutions, most of the conditions, adaptations, resistance, and state response equally apply to both male and female correctional facilities.

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