Chapter 2
The Inmates Community

The decline of feudalism in Europe and the development of commercial capitalism led to the migration of serfs and tenant farmers from villages to cities after being uprooted from their lands. This accelerated and large-scale process of urbanization gave rise, among other things, to a great hostility of city dwellers toward villagers and to a great many problems of societal chaos. In the mid-1500s in England, the Enclosure Movement arose, which called for the incarceration of criminals and "unwanted" citizens in labor and rehabilitation facilities based on values of religion and work. These correction and workhouses, which were far from the public eye, did not separate men and women and were in poor maintenance and rife with violent conditions. They were perceived as a most efficient form of societal supervision, i.e, to "clear" the unwanted population from public view. This imprisonment and correction policy was applicable in England until 1865, when the correction and workhouses were combined with local detention facilities to establish the first prisons.

The Enlightenment Era of the mid-1700s also led to a discussion about the issues of crime and deviation, and the appropriate social response to these acts. In 1766, Cesara Baccaria, an Italian economist, writer, and philosopher, wrote an essay in which he enthusiastically protested against the torture punishment method common at the time and determined by the church. Baccaria believed that harsh and arbitrary punishment methods were not necessary, and that one should aspire to a more efficient punishment that would also deter criminals from crime in theory and in practice. In his article, Baccaria criticizes what seems to be an exploitation of political force through the law enforcement system, and he attempts an array of principles that he believed would turn punishment into a proportional and rational process, through an adequate, public due process. These principles would form the basis for developing what later became known as the Classic Criminology approach (Shoham et al., 2009).

During the first half of the 1800s, crime, poverty, and insanity were considered to be the result of social problems. This approach led to the rapid growth of redemption homes, shelters, and asylums for the mentally ill, where juveniles and adult men and women were housed with no separation. In 1870 the American

Committee for Imprisonment Issues convened to discuss the harsh and poor confinement conditions that governed these facilities.

The committee presented an optimal punishment model, which officially heralded an era of treatment and rehabilitation within criminal punishment. The rehabilitation model considered crime as an expression or a flaw, a disorder, or disease and so prisons were now considered punishment facilities with a corrective character. According to this approach, given the right treatment, criminals could be rehabilitated and return to normative functions (Shoham, 2010a).

Prisons, much like asylums, were the prototypes of the totalitarian inclusive facility model. The characteristic of these facilities is that in both cases, they collect within them a population that society had labeled as deviant. By collecting them in an totalitarian facility, this population is segregated and separated from the public. The differentiation and labeling remains with the deviant subjects through their entire life, even after they complete their punishment and allegedly pay their debt to society. Further more, the label of prisoner or mental illness changes one's status and is transformed into the dominant characteristic of a person's life, above all the other properties and role one may undertake in society. And so, even after release from prison or asylum, this one property will continue to characterize the labeled individual and create distance and repulsion from other members of society, due to its connotations and negative opinions that come with the label of a "prisoner" or "mentally ill" individual (Clear et al., 1997; Shoham, 2010a).

Inside the totalitarian facilities there are two separate populations living under the same roof: the staff and the inmates. The dichotomy between populations is constant, hierarchical, and definitive, and transfer from one group to another is nonexistent and impossible. It should be noted that even a warden who defected and committed a crime could become a prisoner, but he would still be separated from the general inmate population and be housed in a different cell and department for prisoners "under protection". Also, any transition in the opposite direction is completely impossible; those who were once prisoners may never become wardens, since one of the first criteria for acceptance into the Israeli Prison Services (IPS), as well as the police and other governmental bodies, is a clean criminal record.

The administration in the totalitarian facilities is formal and a priori structured. It dictates every process and activity required from the inmates every day, from dawn till dusk. As a result, in practice, even within the institute itself individual freedom is severely limited. They are stripped from all their previous characteristics in a way that creates the death of their previous self (Goffman, 2006), and they are put under the open and inspecting eye of staff members (Foucault, 1977). Foucault called this *the Gaze*—a constant stare, a sort of a superior eye that is all-seeing, forever watching the imprisoned individual.

Jeremy Bentham, one of the founders of the Utilitarianism school, published in 1791 his proposition for a substitute to the punishment of exile that was common during his time. In this paper he suggested an architectural building that would allow a warden to constantly inspect prisoners without them knowing exactly when they were being watched. This way the prisoner will be always wary of being watched, the control would be total, and the prisoners would always act in

accordance with the required codes. This building was named the "Panopticon" and exists in different variations even in today's prisons (Shoham et al., 2009). This unique architectural building represents the heart of formal monitoring and the constant, unilateral inspection of inmates. Due to this structure and the constant gaze upon the inmate, Foucault, who was of the radical school, compared the whole of society to a "panopticon" or "prison-like" society. This is a society where the government and the socially powerful gaze and constantly collect unilateral information about its members. This way the formal organizations accumulate information which gives them more power, which allows them to collect more information, and so on, thus preserving the status quo which works in their benefit and theirs alone, without ever viewing the interest of the inmates (the prisoners and the mentally ill), who are weaker (Foucault, 1967).

In addition to formal monitoring, prisons also have an informal monitoring system that originates inside the inmate community. This means of control and supervision may be harsh and demanding, even more so than the system of formal monitoring applied to the prisoner (Shoham, 2010a). The prisoners must act as they are expected and required, according to codes, values and behavioral norms dictated by the prison subculture. Should a prisoner misbehave, the implications for his life could be devastating: the prisoner population is not a patient population, on the contrary—it is known that prisoners' behavior is more violent and harsh, and that their violence and impatience increase within prisons walls. Inmates are not open toward deviations and exceptions from their rules and a deviant prisoner may pay with his life for his crimes. This is why we witness so many extreme violent incidents among prisoners.

The common social division, according to which one's free time and activities such as work, eating, and sleeping are spent with different people at different times according to one's free will, is null in the framework of a totalitarian facility. In this institute, all activities—recreational and basic needs such as sleeping and eating—are conducted within the facility under supervision and in the company of the same people. This is the origin of the name, "totalitarian" facility, as it includes everything, like an octopus with multiple arms that controls every aspect of the life of its inmates. Therefore, although an inmate is an adult social creature who has basic rights, he is deprived of many liberties. The institute and the institute alone will decide what he will do, when, how often, and with whom (Goffman, 2006).

Another social custom is that every individual presents himself to others via unique external attributes, which characterize him and reflect his unique "persona", which differentiates him from the masses. Human individuals distinguish themselves from animals by participating in a broad society with codes of values, culture, and common norms. Within the range of general values, individuals try to distinguish themselves using symbols and characteristics that have certain meaning to them, and project a certain public declaration. The characteristics can be valuable jewelry; a fashion style that will testify to the character of its wearer, such as punk; a unique hairstyle or attractive hair color; a meaningful tattoo or any other decoration that is visible and worn externally on the body (Clark, 1986). One of the characteristics of any totalitarian institute is that upon arrival, the inmate, the

newcomer, undergoes an induction process, a sort of ceremony that includes acts of stripping, violation and humiliation. This way, all unique characteristics are stripped from the inmate. His jewels and clothes are taken away, and he is given a prisoner's uniform. These, combined with the limited connection to the outside world, create a mental state of killing the previous "self". Thus prisoners become anonymous and alike, while their unique characteristics which once represented their previous social and personal self are taken away from them.

It should be noted that, especially within the criminal population, symbols and external marks gain double and multiple meanings and they are most valuable and have a meaningful role. Many criminals tend to wear various symbols and signs on their body, used to differentiate them from other people and represent their affiliation to the criminal world or some subgroup within it. Their status symbols are respected and valued according to the underworld cultural codes. This stands out both among individual criminals and gangs and groups of criminals who work together. The symbols, clothes, and other artifacts are adopted by gang members to construct the presentation of their group and their individual selves, and to differentiate their gang from the rest of the population, particularly from other enemy and rival gangs. In practice, the external characteristic carries a public declaration about values, temperament, approach, lifestyle, and identity (Hofnung, 2012). Simultaneously, the characteristics also serve as factors that unite the members of the groups and create solidarity and loyalty of the members to its values.

In the case of groups of juvenile gangs, the symbols and signs are usually an expression of defiance and rebellion, a contradiction to customary social symbols. As a rule, the criminal world is characterized in its rebellion against customary norms, and so its world of symbols includes defiant statements toward society and its common norms and symbols (Hill, 2003). It is no wonder, then, that the criminal world uses a wide range of symbols which are taboo in the normal world, such as signs of death, skulls, satanic signs, and others identified with darkness or evil and which are an antithesis to accepted norms (Shoham and Tzeichner, 2008). In addition, the use of specific and regular rituals, such as specific and unique clothing, use of color, identifying symbols, graffiti, tattoos, and acquired dress code are used for presentation and to promote the importance of group solidarity and its separation from general society (Miller, 1995). Therefore, tattoos gain additional validation and functions in numerous aspects of the criminal world, and are used to characterize, distinguish, and represent criminal and other gangs in particular (DeMello, 2000). As an example, unique tattoos are used to mark members of the Yakuza (the Japanese mob) or bike gangs such as the Hell Angels bikers and others (Sela-Shayovitz, 2003).

Hofnung (2012), for example, in her attempt to analyze the ethical code of the Japanese mob, describes how the *Irezumi* tattoos of the Yakuza play a role of expressing loyalty and commitment to the organization. The tattoo allows the organization member to express to general society that he is not a part of it, nor will he ever be.

The criminality phenomenon and the gathering into the gang social structure are mostly characteristic of society's male part. Some say that this derives from violent

genetic characteristics unique to human males and not females; others claim that this is an acquired behavior, based on gender-differential education for boys and girls (Ghiglieri, 2001). Either way, criminal behavior is identified with men who are more numerous in the prison population than women. As an example of this ratio, Israel has only one prison for women, Neve Tirza, compared to its nationwide spread of 23 overpopulated institutes used to imprison men (http://www.ips.gov.il).

The totalitarian institutes create a state of loss of identity due to stripping inmates of their unique characteristics. This act is used for a clear institutional purpose: it is much easier to dominate, supervise, and manage an institute with uniform, anonymous and socially powerless inmates. This consideration of convenience is the topmost consideration in such facilities, which operate, first and foremost, for their own organizational interests and only then consider the benefit of the inmates. Goffman (2006), in his paper about the totalitarian (inclusive), coined the term "disculturation" as the process that an inmate undergoes in the facility. This is the process of stripping an inmate from his previous culture, and it accompanies the entry to a new subculture with its own sets of codes, values and characteristics. Thus, new individuals are "born" in these totalitarian institutes, and they are different from those who entered. The longer they stay, the more dependent they become on the institute and the harder it will become to support an independent and stable life outside the walls of the oppressive institute. Therefore, staying in the totalitarian institute not only fails to prepare and train the inmate for reintegration as an adult member of society, but it also weakens his rehabilitative capacity. It seems that it is adaptation to incarceration and internalization of the set of values which dominates prison are the very obstacles that stand in the way of the many rehabilitation and therapeutic programs that are currently implemented in Israel's prison system.

The admission of researchers, especially sociologists and criminologists, into prisons has allowed studies to be carried out within these facilities. These studies show that the inmate population is not a passive community that is only operated by the institute management; prisons contain a living, active, and breathing community which has its own unique set of rules. The value that guides the inmate community members' behavior is hostility. They express hostility toward the institute and its management, and their invalidation, as well as hostility toward normative society in all its forms (Weiss, 2009). In addition, the prisoner community was found to be characterized by a set of values, positions, and behavioral norms that are different from those customary in general society.

The preliminary basic norm is a lack of cooperation with the institute, which includes sanctions practiced against cooperating prisoners, informers, who may pay with their lives for their actions. And so, while the prison population is heterogeneous and constantly replaced, the accepted norms remain constant and are inherited from one inmate generation to another. In practice, this means that prisons give rise to an extremely unique criminal subculture that is preserved over time and characterizes the residents of the facility (Einat, 2005).

Criminal Subculture Codes

Penology literature, concerned with the formation processes of inmate subculture, describes three theoretical models: the import model, the deprivation model and the situational model, which came to explain the development of the inmate community and the source of the behavioral code which is practiced by all its members (for a detailed description of each model, see May and Winfree, 2002).

The import model (Farrington, 1992) is not just about prison's characteristics as an inclusive institute (cf. Goffman, 2006) and reference to prison deprivations, mainly about the connection between the prison lifestyle and the prisoners' world before their incarceration. The import model considers the inmate community's set of values and main codes as an expression of the membership processes utilized to join the cultural and social code of the criminal world outside prison (Delisi et al., 2004). According to the import model, social, cultural, and political perceptions before incarceration fill a central role in forming the inmate subculture and the adaptation means practiced by an individual prisoner. Central values of aggression and group loyalty are imported from the criminal subculture active outside prison. The same norms and behavioral codes that serve criminals outside prison continue to serve them after their imprisonment.

According to the situational model, used to elaborate on the deprivation model, the behavioral norms as well as the code system that guides the inmates in their actions are adapted to the unique environment and social conditions of the specific prison in which the inmates are incarcerated (Camp et al., 2003).

One of the most prominent phenomena in this imported subculture is that of tattoos which decorate the bodies of many prisoners, and are especially unique and well established among immigrant prisoners from the former Soviet Union. In this descriptive book, we have chosen to identify and sort the various types of tattoos worn by former Soviet Union immigrant prisoners incarcerated in Israeli prisons. The identification and sorting of the various components of tattoo language allows us to inspect, using post-modern theories, the role played by constructing and designing the criminal self-identity among inmates in Israeli prison.

Together with the import model, we can find another theoretical model called the deprivation or survival model (Shoham et al., 2009). The model assumes that the characteristic of criminal subculture within prison is, first and foremost, a response to prison deprivations, to the harsh incarceration conditions that create these deprivations, and the general rejection response expressed by the very fact of being incarcerated and expelled from society.

The inmate subculture's set of values is translated to unwritten norms that hold great importance, based on the "do and don't" amendment form. Amendments like "do not get in the way of other inmates' interests", "be loyal to your community", "do not lose your head", "try not to go berserk and always seem calm", "do not break", "do not exploit other inmates", to be a "man" and not complain, pay your debts, practice respect, do not cooperate with the prison staff, do not rat others out,

show resistance in case of confrontation with the prison management, and other such rules.

Survival in prison partly depends on the correct understanding of the behavioral rules and the risks and punishments involved in their infringement (Shoham, 2010a). "Betrayal", according to the unwritten prisoners' code, attracts various types of punishment and condemnation by the inmate community. Prisonization, the process undertaken by prisoners as they first enter prison, actually reflects a long process of socialization during which the prisoner adapts to the existing community's values, codes, and behavioral norms. This way, the prisoner acquires and learns a new social role. He adapts to the prison lifestyle, including its habits of eating sleeping, dress code, and work. Even the simplest tasks must be adapted and, in parallel, a local and new language and culture are developed. This is why every prisoner, regardless of religion, sex, or race, must adapt himself to the current prison community. The level of integration changes from one inmate to another, and is dictated by various parameters such as the cultural, social, and human capital that every prisoner brings with him. Simultaneously, while the prisoner adapts the characteristics of the inmate community, he is fed and affected by an antisocial, anti-institutional criminal culture. This turns him into an inseparable part of the criminal subculture, characterized by its protesting ideology that negates the general society's accepted norms and values.

It seems that the comparison between the two theoretical models limits the capacity to explain the development of the inmate subculture characteristic of a certain geographic location or incarceration conditions. In this study we assume that the formation of a prison's criminal subculture, including that of former Soviet Union immigrant prisoners, simultaneously reflects the assumption of the two theoretic models. Four decades ago, Sykes and Messinger (1970) already divided the ailments of incarceration to five main categories:

(a) loss of freedom related to disconnection from family, relatives, and friends and solitary confinement including the loss of freedom of action inside prison; (b) loss of services and revocation of various consumption products which partly become stipulated by one's good behavior according to prison definition; (c) the revocation of heterosexual intercourse; (d) loss of autonomy in deciding about the day-to-day components of the prisoner's routine. Each of these components is subject to the intervention and supervision of staff or inmate partners; (e) loss of basic sense of security, related to the need to function under constant state of threat from any other resident within prison walls. Toch (1977) mentioned additional prison pains' categories, such as revocation of privacy, crowdedness, sense of loneliness, social desertion and lack of support, confusion, boredom, fear of being sexually assaulted, instability, and lack of clarity about one's fate and future.

The prisoner is flooded with feelings of personal failure, frustration, and anxiety, which are enhanced in the estranged and threatening environment and by the disconnection from his family and friends. Therefore, the adaptation process to prison is a hard and complicated one, and the prisoner faces a new and most threatening reality of life. Pretty soon most prisoners realize that, in order to survive, they must study and adopt criminal subculture rules, as well as the social processes customary

among imprisoned criminals and the rules of behavior within the institute. Every prisoner "must", therefore, join the existing social circle from his first steps inside prison walls, and comply with the requirements and expectations demanded by both the institutional system and the inter-organizational culture formed and practiced among his fellow inmates (commitment to which is superior, at times, than to the institute, since inmate sanctions may be harsher than institutional ones). It should be emphasized that the array of values between inmates is dictated by them and is managed and monitored by prison leaders who are the people leading the gangs or by those with the most power within prison walls (Goldberg, 2002).

The Penology literature often attempts to sort prisoner types according to various components related to prisoner personality traits, characteristics of the crimes he committed, social properties, and the way he adapts to the inmate subculture. For example, Einat (2005), in his study of Israeli prison argot (inmate slang), divided the inmate subculture into two main categories, representing the inmates' devotion to the prisoners' subculture behavioral code.

"Snitches and shtinkers"—informer prisoners whose goal is to gain profit from the prison staff. The relationship between these inmates and the staff is characterized by intense, informal relationships which give control over merchandise and benefits. However, the inmates show them nothing but contempt and violence and the snitches live in constant fear of the other inmates' response. This group, parallel to Sykes and Messinger's "rats" and "squares" (1970), represent the infringement of the most severe taboo in prison subculture, and represent betrayal and weakness. They are seen as prison staff cooperators, working against their in-group. This group has the lowest status in prison subculture.

"Sport", "cool", and "real" (reliable inmate) prisoners who demonstrate conformation with the prisoner code and never betray it or their comrades in prison. These prisoners are parallel to the "cool" prisoner. They are characterized by loyalty to the behavioral code, maintain their self-respect without showing weakness and help other inmates, regardless powerful sanctions that staff members apply to them. A prisoner in this category gains personal satisfaction and social reward just by his ability to interfere with prison authorities, an interference which aims to demonstrate his ability to maintain personal autonomy. This group's status in the eyes of other inmates is high, they gain great respect and some even become prison leaders. This is the personality of the "ideal prisoner", who has fully internalized the prisoners' code and so forms a positive reference to most prisoners.

The Hierarchy of Classes

As in every society, the prison community also develops classes and gives rise to leaders who affect the other prisoners (Rosenpearl, 2004). The inmate's status and the relationship between him and other inmates is determined by his capacity to forcefully control another, to force his will on others, to lead to the execution of his instructions, to maintain a certain level of order, and to develop access to services

and benefits. The criminal identity and prisoner's status within prison is also based on the last crime for which he was put on trial, as well as the criminal skills attributed to him.

The inmates' group is a multifaceted one. Some arrived for the first time, others have been introduced to this facility more than once. The prisoners entering for the first time are in shock, at least in the beginning. They are helpless and very dependent on the staff. The veteran prisoners are recidivists who feel like fish in water when they are back in prison and try to do anything to improve their condition, even if this involves taking advantage of other prisoners. According to Rosenpearl's description, who was the manager of a large prison in the center of Israel, the hardest and most dangerous criminals, known to be violent and drug dealers, are the leaders. Prisoners of high leadership level get "servants" or "minions", i.e, prisoners who take care of them, do their laundry, cook for them, get them cigarettes, drugs, and other such things. Every request by them is considered a command to their frightened, weak, sick, and retarded fans, who are affected by them and dependent on them. At the bottom of this pyramid are the most rejected ones—those who committed sexual assaults against children. These are forced to the lowest status of the prisoner hierarchy. Therefore, they become targets and victims of the violent acts executed by other inmates.

In a totalitarian organization such as a prison, the issue of power and leadership among prisoners takes on an important and significant role. Unlike in other social organizations, where there is a great deal of overlap between powerful people and the organization's formal leaders, real leadership in prison, as well as a significant amount of power, is usually held by inmates' informal mechanisms. The capacity to monitor and control prisoners mostly depends on the relationship between prison staff and its informal leadership (Shoham, 2010a).

Expressive activity within prison is supervised and almost completely dominated by the prisoner leadership, which determines and reinforces the "good" and "bad" norms. These leaders determine, for example, if and when one may speak to the warden, what crimes gain higher or lesser levels of prestige, etc. Social relationships are also determined almost exclusively by the inmates and their leaders. The prison staff has very low levels of monitoring over these norms and relationships. These behavioral codes are not written anywhere but are well known and clear to all.

The behavioral code includes, as we said before loyalty to the inmate public, complete prohibition on informing, referring to wardens with distrust and suspicion, sharing benefits with other inmates, a ban on conning other inmates, prohibition of present weakness or surrender to threats (Shoham et al., 2009).

The instrumental activities in prison, such as food distribution and work, are supervised by the organization and its employees. However, even in this field prisoner leaders have significant powers and influence. Foods and other valuable items, such as cigarettes, which are distributed by the prison, are redistributed by the prisoners according to certain norms in order to reward those who are located high on the criminal ladder of the prisoner world or to punish those who are located at the bottom of the hierarchy.

Rosenpearl (2004) divides the relationships that exist between prisoners into two types of interactions. One has a business-like character (commerce in services and products, cigarettes, sex, personal security, and other benefits); the other is a social-ethical system with characteristics of criminal subculture that works confidentially. This subculture has its own values and norms, informal leaders, special "courts", punishments imposed on prisoners who deviated from the subculture's accepted norms, and executioners who execute these punishments.

As we shall see, traitors, informers, state witnesses, and prisoners who broke the subculture codes are expected to suffer very harsh punishments in prison. These punishments usually include beating, battering, stabs, cuts to the face (informers are marked by a scar from their mouth to the ear or the ear to the eye), spraying boiling oil on the body and, in drastic cases, even murder. Relatively light punishments would be "fines" that are executed by confiscating equipment, canteens, etc.

Physical Violence

Physical and verbal violence form a main component in prisoners' lives. It seems that there are many sources of prison violence, but they can be attributed to the two main theoretical models that we discussed: the deprivation model, which considers prison violence as an expression of life surrounding and the existing prison incarceration pains, and the import model, which considers this violence as an expression of the role played by violent behavior in criminal subculture as a rule.

Toch (1992) argued that there is a tight connection between the environment and pressure situations, so that an uncomfortable environment significantly affects the behavior of its members. The prison environment is characterized by revocation of prisoners' basic needs and wills, such as privacy, autonomy, dignity, will to work, have sex, feel secured, etc. Therefore, the environment creates great tension among inmates. In addition, central characteristics of the prison environment and the reality of life within it, such as crowdedness, tension, inability to control one's time and use it freely, and boredom contribute together to the increase in violence and aggressive behavior.

The prisoner community shows great solidarity and social consolidation, however, this consolidation is mostly achieved through means of struggle and violence. The solidarity characteristics of the inmate community are based on power struggles and mechanistic agreements that are settled and supervised by the powerful members of the community (Shoham and Tzeichner, 2008). The inmate population is a heterogeneous one, composed of numerous subgroups collected according to their ethnic origin, religion, ethnic identity, territorial identity, etc. There are constant power struggles among groups. A number of researchers (Shoham et al., 2009;

Kaminski, 2003) agree that the consolidation characteristic of the prisoner community is an optical illusion, as termed by Bonderson (1989). In other words, the social consolidation is externally exhibited toward the prison authorities, which form the "main enemy". In fact, the collective identity constructed within the inmate community gains its power and strength from the sense of antagonism and structured conflict that exists between the community and prison authorities. Although there are inner consolidations and social-cultural struggles, the prisoner community mainframe creates an opportunity for a prisoner to feel sympathy in fate, "to be frustrated and suffer not as an individual, but as a collective". Breaking the group solidarity means, for the prisoner, that he must face a constant and lonely struggle of everything against everything. The inmate society is cohesive, and forms a very important social group for a prisoner, with which he can sympathize and assist during his struggles against his oppressors. Connections within this segregated community are an attempt to gain status and identity that were lost during the "humiliation ceremony" the prisoner underwent when he first entered the institute (Ross and Richard, 2002).

The violent behavior serves the array of values and codes of the prisoners' subculture, and through it they mark harshness and violence, power and strength, status, dominance and respect. Harshness symbolizes the prisoner's capability to take care and defend his dignity and body. A prisoner's fear of becoming a victim or a source of contempt and ridicule becomes a dominant factor in his personality and makes him act aggressively and violently in order to prove his masculinity.

Friction elements in inmates' population usually revolve around the supply and marketing of drugs, and sometimes even the supply and marketing of alcohol and (illegal) food (Rosenpearl, 2004). Those involved in these fields in prison gain a great fortune without taking any risk, so there is a very tough competition between different gang leaders to control the market. Blood has spilled more than once in this context; however, conflicts and harassments between inmates are common even when the issue is minor and negligible. The crowdedness is a cause for constant friction and, therefore, every minor issue like stepping on someone's sheet with a dirty shoe or an insult shot in the directions of some prisoners can cause a fight to break out.

Physical injury of an inmate is usually carried out by a messenger, selected from within the inmate population for a payment (money, high demand merchandise or drugs). The injuries are executed under situations that make it difficult to identify the assailant or capture him, such as in the evening, during a movie, or in the shower, when the victim is alone and naked and the shower room is filled with concealing steam. Physical violence is achieved using weapons made from a whetted screwdriver, a sharpened spoon, shaving knives, and other creative means.

Sexual Abuse

Most penology literature mentions that one of the hardest, most depriving pains of imprisonment for a prisoner is the inability to have heterosexual intercourse (Rosenpearl, 2004; Einat, 2005). Other than the physical sense of release, sexual intercourse provides a sense of warmth and closeness that every person needs, especially a prisoner who is disconnected from his environment and feels extremely lonely during his prison time. Therefore, prisoners who live in this harsh environment need a little bit of warmth, and love. This need leads to a development of homosexual relationships among inmates. According to Einat (2005), the Israeli prison subculture emphasizes the fact that a prisoner must be "normal" and sexually powerful, one that will not break or be swept away. According to prisoner behavioral norms, a "good prisoner" is one who controls his temper and his urges (including his sexual urge), and therefore a prisoner who has homosexual relations willingly (whether he was always homosexual or if he is doing this to gain benefits in prison), is considered someone who has been broken and is labeled by derogatory names and treated with contempt.

However, very often the act of rape is not done to achieve sexual satisfaction, but for the sake of violence which aims to humiliate the raped prisoner in front of the other inmates. Such a victim can be an informer or a member of a rival gang who is caught without protection. Other than the act itself, the powerfulness of the rape is in its message, i.e, the demonstration of the attacker's superiority and presenting the victim as weak. The goals of this behavior, therefore, are not only sexual but also include demonstration of power, imperiousness, and manipulation (Kaminski, 2003). Sometimes, weak prisoners or those with a feminine appearance become the raped "spouse" of a domineering inmate. Usually, these are young and exploited prisoners. In addition, some prisoners willingly serve as "rent boys" since they learned they can gain fiscal profits and other benefits, such as protection of other prisoners, company, cigarettes, food, drugs, etc.

Interaction Between Inmates and Wardens

Total facilities such as prisons maintain a clear division between its two active communities, the inmates and the wardens: those who dominate—through formal supervision means—and those who are dominated.

The conflict between the two populations stems from a number of reasons: for the inmates, wardens represent the outside world, the one that rejected them, took away their freedom, the world that humiliated them, and labeled them as different and deviant. The warden goes home every day, having various social interactions that are no longer possible for an inmate. The warden is the person who is constantly in the inmate's face, holding the keys to his cell and ward, keys that would open the gates of freedom to the outside world to which the prisoner wishes to return. The set of

heavy iron keys, dangling in the hands of the warden, form a significant symbol for the prisoner in his perception of the warden's character and structure the nature and method of apparent and hidden interactions that the prisoner maintains with the warden. Shoham et al. (2009), argue that inmates perceive and analyze the prison and the reality of their life within it in terms of wickedness and cruelty, they treat the staff with suspicion and rejection and call it names that express hate, derision, and fear. The identification and conceptualization of the prison and its employees with humiliating and inferior names are used, they claim, as a main component in the derogatory process and the dehumanization that prisoners express to wardens. The use of these terms allows them to relatively empower and strengthen their status in their own eyes, as well as to 'reject those who rejected them'.

Another reason for antagonism between the two populations is their different cultural background—the values, norms, goals, ambitions—things that drive any community. For the wardens, order, discipline, routine, and social supervision form a main interest; for inmates, the main interest is escape from the materialistic and social discrimination and narrowing the pains of imprisonment in a myriad of ways. The incarceration space contains two populations that are in constant social conflict and a relationship based on mutual enmity and antagonism. These routine struggles occur between those who maintain the power and formal authority and those who are subject to it, and also have certain powers and authority (informal as they may be). The constant struggle is inherent and expressed in the nature of interactions between these two communities (Shoham, 2010a).

In terms of the conflict doctrine, each group is trying to enforce its definitions of reality, as perceived by it, but the authority that holds the formal strength also holds the legal powers and means defined as legitimate to use in order to set these definitions of reality. The conflict between the two prisoner populations, i.e, prisoners and wardens, is deep and each population will use every tool in its powers—formal or not—to determine the rules and social order. In prison, the line that separates a certain social order or breaking it, is very thin.

In their struggle to define reality and form the day-to-day routine in prison, the authority of the wardens mainly arises from their position and formal role and does not depend on their personal character. True leadership, authority, and power, however, lie in the hands of the informal leaders among the inmates.

Never the less, there is a great deal of mutual dependency between the two communities. The inmate community is subject to the warden community, while the latter maintain an interest-based relationship with the inmates. The community that has the formal authority calls the shots, since it has the formal punishment power, as well as an informal one. The warden decides what work the inmate will do, what recommendation to give the disciplinary committees about his release, when to harshen the imprisonment conditions and when to ease them, etc. At the same time, the warden population also depends on the population that it controls, because, at the end of the day, good order and peace inside the facility are in the hands of the inmates. The warden's livelihood depends, in fact, on the prisoners' behavior, and the warden directly depends on the prisoner to properly play his role (Kaminski, 2003).

The mutual dependency between communities generates various interactions, which stem from the social reality dictated by the prison environment and is used as a way to handle existing conflict. The social order that applies in prison is based on interactions and informal agreements between wardens and inmates. The social order in prison is under constant negotiation between the two communities. It should be noted that, while formal means are in the hands of the warden to help him achieve his goal, he cannot exploit them fully as he may break the delicate balance which permits order and organization within prison walls to be maintained. The main problem with wardens is that their power is not based on an authority that is considered legitimate in the eyes of the inmates, and so their power is based on force and a system of punishments and negative rewards. Since use of exclusive force and coercion are not useful means to gain obedience, and since violence leads to violence, this can have dire results and consequences on a warden's status, role, and reputation. There is a trading system between inmate and warden, the warden ignores certain behaviors of the inmate and the latter, in return, maintains the desired order. In other cases, the inmate gives the warden valuable information and, in return for the information, the warden backs off on certain issues. This trading system which occurs in prison and is named "negotiated order", is a process of social interactions during which participants are constantly preoccupied with the attempt to define, determine, and preserve social order and connections that exist at a certain place (Hall and Spencer-Hall, 1982). This order is highly fragile, since its nature is based on conflict instead of conformity. Eventually, constant negotiation about the social order decreases the conflict but does not eliminate it (Collins, 1988).

To summarize, we can claim that the interactions between these two communities are mostly based on rivalry, powers, coercion, interests, corruption; sometimes they are friendly, sometimes they are violent. Each community has its clear goals and purposes: at the end of the goals and social supervision spectrum of the inmate community is the option to break the order and escape prison, while in the middle there is an easing of the material and mental deprivation that exists in the institute. At the end of the goals and social supervision spectrum of the warden community is the will to maintain the status quo, maintain order and discipline, break solidarity within the inmate population, and break down its hierarchy. Breaking solidarity is achieved by determining terms and values which encourage individualism (separating the prisoners, inducing conflicts between them, constant rotation of work distribution to prevent emotional connections between prisoners).

Since in order to allow the routine and stable operation of this unstable organization, wardens maintain different types of concessions and negotiate with prisoners, the mid-goals, which are more subtle, are realized, and they also enable interactions of informal systems of punishment and reward, corruption, decreasing authority and formal supervision, etc. Despite the differences and enmity between these two populations, their social reality forces them to focus and maintain moderate social relationships and to let go for a while of certain drastic goals, and avoid situations that may lead to greater distress among those who dominate as well as the dominated.

Formal and Informal Control in Prison

Classic definitions of social control state that this is a measure of society's capacity to organize according to its principles, values, and goals. Therefore, social control is comprised of institutional mechanisms through which society organizes individual behavior. In addition, the same supervision forms a way to design and determine the behavioral patterns that aim to preserve a given state of organization and social order (Goode, 2001; Shoham, 2010a). Social supervision operates in a myriad of ways, with the sole purpose that subjects behave according to a priori norms and goals set by society, which cannot be changed by an individual. Even in prison, social supervision operates through various types of formal and informal negative reinforcements.

It should be noted that, in the framework of prisons, there are also rehabilitation methods directed at unique populations and which offer positive reinforcements. These include privileges such as accepting visitors, enjoying improved imprisonment conditions, getting out for study or work, and most importantly—going out on furloughs. In this chapter we will elaborate on the wider proceedings of supervision that are relevant to the entire inmate population. Basically, prison social supervision is based on force, as the prisoners legitimize the institutionalized social supervision of their own free will. After humiliating a prisoner during the "violation and humiliation ceremony", during which not only his freedom but also his status is stripped away; after isolating him from general society; after having him suffer "imprisonment pains" and nearly total discrimination, most prisoners will not only fail to legitimize the institutional social supervision but will also reject it and constantly attempt to deviate from it in order to regain their dignity and recreate their lost status and rights.

In prison, as in any other social institute, there are two types of social supervision: formal supervision and informal supervision, which is divided once more into the informal supervision by the inmate community and that executed by the wardens' community. Informal social supervision often rejects formal laws and converts them into alternative norms which are, although unwritten, as strong as those of formal law.

Social supervision among inmates is based on conflict, and was originally created in order to ease the community's problems and distresses. In practice, one may argue that inmates' informal norms, when viewed as social supervision indicators, form a way of adapting to the social reality and formal supervision mechanisms set by the institute (Macy, 1998).

Furthermore, prison does not just have an informal social supervision mechanism that collects the interests of the prisoners, but the conditions and reality of life in prison also induce the creation of a second informal supervision mechanism—that of the wardens. This stems from the wardens' acute need to find innovative ways to handle the actual conditions of the organization in which they live. Their

interpretation helps adapt formal norms for the conflicting social reality of prison. In this case, social supervision emerges to solve a series of problems that the wardens cannot handle using formal supervision methods.

Formal Social Supervision in Prison

Formal social supervision in prison is determined according to the law of the state to which the facility belongs, and to various amendments that change these rules within the prison environment. Formal social supervision in prison is composed of all of the rules and formal proceedings that enable organization and punishments for deviation to be determined, much like the Penal code.

The purposes of formal social supervision in prison can be summarized as: safety, order, discipline, and punishment, as well as therapy and rehabilitation (according to the goals set by each prison's unique punishment and rehabilitation system). Punishments form an important formal social supervision component, and include solitary confinement, prohibition on accepting visitors, the withholding of various privileges, transfer to another facility, postponing the release date, etc. In addition, a prisoner accused of violating regulation rules, i.e, misbehaving in some way, might find himself before a Parole Board that refuses to grant him early release. Furthermore, behavior that deviates greatly from the regulations, such as attacking a warden, may even lead to an extension of one's sentence due to the opening of a new criminal file and adding a ruling while the prisoner is still in prison.

Expulsion or transfer to another detention facility is a punishment employed by many countries in many prisons. The meaning of expulsion is to transfer the prisoner to a prison with a higher security level. In other words, a prisoner who transgressed in a medium-level security facility will be transferred to a maximum level security prison due to his behavior. The use of transfer or removal is most frequent within the same facility, between a cellblock that offers relatively improved imprisonment conditions and where most prisoners' privileges are limited or nonexistent.

The gradual cellblock scale that differentiates between the different levels of freedom available in different cellblocks, as well as the privileges that come with these levels of freedom (going out to educational or occupational systems, going out on furlough, having open family visits without partitions, the duration of the cell being locked during the day, access to public phones, the location of toilet and showers inside or out of the cell, etc.) is utilized as a powerful management tool by the prison authorities.

The possibility to move a prisoner bilaterally between cellblocks, to those with a higher mobility level or with a higher incarceration level, is used as one of the most efficient means of supervision to monitor a prisoner's behavior during his incarceration. In addition, incidents of extreme deviation by prisoners can be met with formal supervision mechanisms through putting a prisoner in solitary confinement,

whose duration is set according to the severity of prisoner's deviation. As mentioned, all these harsh punishment methods form important methods for monitoring inmates.

Discipline and routine forced by the institute's regulations form important components of formal social supervision. The routine set by the regulations determines the distribution of time during the prisoner's day: when he will wake up, eat, work, have free time, and go to sleep (Shoham & Tzeichner, 2008). Routine, therefore, takes over every moment of the day and determines methodical behavior (prayer times, courtyard times, etc.). It should be noted that routine is used to apply the disciplinary system, and any violation of it is a deviation from the regulations, not only due to the severity of a particular behavior or the damage caused by it, but due to the very act of defying routine itself, which is an infringement of the rules of the disciplinary system and the way of life it maintains and dictates (Goode, 2001). There is only one purpose of the discipline and routine systems–order, which is the most important aspect of total institution, and every violation of which is a deviation. Therefore, every act undertaken by a prisoner gains a meaning of "good" or "bad" and leads to a system of punishment and reward mechanisms. These mechanisms are highly significant for the prisoner, for they determine his progress or regression in a progressive system that will eventually lead to early release. The disciplinary system expects prisoners to obey and nothing more. Hence, obedience is one of the main components of this system and, accordingly, the prisoner's complete and absolute subordination to norms and order is expected. There are no activities or behaviors in prison (regardless of how personal and intimate they are) that are not supervised by the disciplinary system.

The routine that stems from the disciplinary system makes prisoners act systematically, like machines or robots. A total internalization of routine prevents deviations and makes the prisoners more obedient. The prisoner loses his autonomy and becomes completely dependent upon the institute; he cannot make any decision on his own since the routine makes all the decisions for him. Moreover, any slight deviation from routine (such as going to the toilet without permission) is a cause for punishment or negative reference. Due to this, the prisoner becomes completely dependent on the routine and its disciplinary system, which become the primary means of supervision.

Another important component of the formal social supervision system is medicalization, or the provision of medicine. This is a formal means of monitoring, where the regulations or medical authority's instructions allow the prison staff to allocate dosages of psychiatric medicine dosage to prisoners, as well as other kinds of drugs, whether he consents or not. Medicalization is a powerful means of supervision since drug addiction makes the prisoner completely dependent upon the medications provided by the institute. After a prisoner has become so dependent, he is obedient in order to get another dose of his drug. The use of medications, therefore, results in complete supervision over the prisoner while creating a world of rewards and punishment manipulations that enable absolute control over one's behavior.

Medicalization, as a system and means of supervision, is based on disciplining a prisoner's behavior. It aims to change a prisoner's rebellious behavior through a practice according to which a prisoner is held in a state of half-agreement and half-alienation, a dual-ambivalent state that enhances his sense of separateness. Furthermore, medicalization induces psychological destruction in the inmate, which is expressed by his total loss of identity and self-confidence, two losses that may lead to a deteriorating state of depression (Shoham, 2010a).

To the formal means of supervision mentioned above we must add the proceedings and treatment systems determined by an institute's regulations and the goals. The supervision mechanisms operate, among other things through social workers, teaching officers, medical teams, and religious guides who transfer norms, behavior patterns, moral principles, and other formal social supervision rules onto the prisoners. One such mechanism involves, for example, the prisoner's employment.

Prisoner employment in Israel is based on primary legislation, secondary legislation, and the IPS Commissionership Order (Avraham, 2004). The source of the obligation that prisoners work is the Penal Law, which determines the hours and labor days, payment, suggested workplaces, occupational diagnosis, integration, etc. Since the main declared goal of prisoner labor is rehabilitation (Judge Zamir, Israeli High Court of Justice 1163/98), a monetary reward less than the Israeli minimum wage is only one element of the rehabilitation. An analysis of prison employment properties (Kashi, 2003) reveals that the main objective of integrating prisoners into prison labor frameworks is for monitoring reasons, aimed to prevent the negative side effects of idleness and deterioration. This way, order and organization are maintained and the amount of free time a prisoner has to plan escapes and riots is reduced. The motto "employees do not employ" allows the prison to reduce various requests that prisoners submit, mainly in order to fight boredom and get out of their cell block. Going to work, despite the directive that obligates every prisoner to work, is considered a privilege due to the lack of available employment opportunities, for reasons that are partly objective and partly unique to the IPS labor framework. Exploiting the fact that the potential number of inmates requesting to go to work is greater than the available positions enables the system to take advantage of the ability to go out to work to fulfill its institutional goals. Going out to work includes, aside from the salary (which is low, even compared to minimum wage), various benefits related to the informal conditions that come with labor (Mor, 2005). The latter include social meetings with inmates from other cellblocks, establishing relations with staff in order to gain other benefits (such as food and cigarettes), and empathetic treatment from the staff. While the directive explicitly prohibits employing prisoners to provide personal services that are not included in the prisoner's work (clause 15 (a)), we can observe various relationships that develop during employment that are mutually beneficial. Being at work is very important for inmates, as it allows them to trade items and information between cellblocks, and between prisoners and the staff members.

Today, in this technological, post-modern age of progress, new means of supervision have been developed, which aim to strengthen the discipline and total

supervision over a prisoner and his life. In the various prisons in Israel, there are closed-circuit television systems that monitor the prisoners 24/7. In addition there are electronic devices that monitor the prisoners, such as electronic bracelets and telephones that can be operated according to the authorities' needs, to block access to certain numbers, record conversations, etc.; hand or leg bracelets to identify a prisoner and mark his location, and other devices that enable a total monitoring of prisoners.

Informal Supervision Systems Operated by Prison Wardens

The term "authority" can be defined as an entity that controls the means of supervision. However, one must differentiate between "authority" and "power", since those with real "power" are also the ones who possess the means of supervisions in practice. When authority and power interact, the ability to reward or punish exists at their intersection, e.g, in this case, the formal organization. However, when power and authority do not intersect, the capacity to reward and punish is not just a function of the formal status but also depends on other mechanisms. Hence, organizations where power and authority do not interact are unstable. In the case discussed here, we can easily see that while the wardens hold formal authority, power is not theirs alone. It is a shared feature, divided between both communities. Due to this, wardens are locked in an eternal struggle with the prisoners to strengthen their power. To this end, a long list of norms and unwritten rules has been created, which enable wardens to handle the informal power of the prisoners for whom they are responsible. This state of affairs may also explain why, despite the fact that wardens possess all means of legal supervision, formal means, they often have to utilize other, additional, and informal means to achieve their goals of obedience, order, and security.

Most wardens know that suppression alone will not help them regain control and order. Therefore, wardens often prefer to use other means of supervision instead of just punishment (Foucault, 1979). An array of rewards makes supervision an easier task, since the prisoner knows that violent or disorderly behavior on his part will lead to him being prevented from purchasing the products that make prison easier for him, the goods that decrease the sense of severe deprivation and stress he experiences. In many cases, therefore, an inmate will avoid harming prison order, to prevent himself being hurt by not getting his goods.

The wardens are also able to supervise prisoners through the distribution of products and services. The latter, used by the wardens for supervision, are a means to punish or reward the inmates (Patrick et al., 1999). For good behavior, prisoners are rewarded with improved accommodation and work condition, furloughs, and more. Prisoners who misbehave, however, may be punished with bans on furlough or open visits, by having their leave for work canceled, or by other punishments that change in both quantity and quality.

According to regulations, wardens may use physical force only in order to "prevent injury to other inmates or damage to property". Preventing this damage is the only reason that justifies, on occasion, the use of force (Warner and Tzemach, 2006; Shoham, 2010a). However, physical violence is often used by wardens to even the score with particular prisoners. Sometimes it is a part of a form of expression of the hatred and frustration the warden feels as a result of the difficulties and stress that come with his job. This is why violence is often directed against prisoners of certain race, or religion. Violent incidents have also been found to stem from the warden's own racial background and prejudices. Either way, the warden must know how far he can go with physical repression without crossing lines. Sometimes, the wardens use the inmates' community directly to create new forms of informal supervision. This form of monitoring is based on "snitches", informers, also knows as "schtinkers" (Einat, 2005). These prisoners trade intelligence for benefits, such as freedom of movement and other privileges. Their task is to report to the wardens about any work stoppages, thefts from the institute, the existence of any alcohol bootlegging inside the prison, homosexual activity among inmates, plans and attempts of escape, drug smuggling and trade, plans for retribution, or any other information of importance to the wardens. The information is usually passed through anonymous correspondence with the warden. Due to the informant system the inmates are under constant fear, isolation, and pressure. They do not know when they are being inspected and when they are being supervised. This uncertainty leads to a situation where supervision operates on an inmate 24/7. For wardens, this is a very efficient type of supervision since it is the only monitoring system that allows them to infiltrate the personal lives of the prisoners. Through the informers, the warden community can find centers of internal supervision deep within the inmate community, which understand the metaphorical and verbal language, the inside culture, and the intentions of its members. Therefore, this information is often considered high quality, functional, and especially useful.

The role of wardens is to infiltrate and spark disputes among the inmates. Undermining the inmates' inner unity will decrease the chance of behaviors such as riots, mutinies, or rebellion. This is performed in various ways, such as changing the work or the general routine, rotating the work routes among inmates, transferring inmates between cellblocks, sustaining an informer system, etc. Wardens must create a situation where there are no emotional or empathetic relationships between inmates, in order to prevent collective resistance. The methods used by wardens to monitor the prisoners, which also include unannounced searches, are very effective since inmates do not know when a search will be conducted. These searches can happen at any moment during day or night (Neuman and Irurzum, 1994). The searches make inmates feel helpless, since they physically express the fact he has no personal autonomy whatsoever. The prisoner must be cautious of his behavior and anything that he owns; not knowing when another invasion of his privacy will be conducted, he must stay "clean" all the time.

The searches do not only constitute a monitoring and supervision tool, but also serve as a means of punishment. Sometimes the searches are caused by a prisoner's inappropriate behavior and sometimes they serve as collective punishment. Often, a

great deal of the inmates' meager property is destroyed during a search. Many wardens use this opportunity to settle a score with inmates and punish them by destroying their belongings. For a prisoner, this is a very severe punishment since their private property is their only escape from the deprivation of incarceration.

The searches are also a means to disorganize the inmate community, since after the search the inmate's "home" is a mess, his personal belongings are lost, and his remaining property must be redistributed among the inmates. Every prisoner must protect the property he considers his; this causes many problems among inmates and leads to fights and altercations, i.e, it breaks the solidarity of this community.

On top of all these, other punishments must be added such as transferring an inmate to another cellblock, expulsion from the institute, replacing the inmate's job, solitary confinement, freezing his advancement in the parole process, canceling furloughs, and more. It could be claimed that, despite the fact that these punishments are a part of the institute's formal social supervision, in the hands of the wardens it receives an informal nature since the wardens interpret the formal law and, eventually, the law is enforced according to their own considerations and interests (Shoham and Tzeichner, 2008).

Another informal means of supervision is the disciplinary system, or more precisely the disciplimentary regime. Although essentially, this stems from the institute's formal supervision system, its application by the wardens transforms it into an informal one. Under the disciplinary system, a prisoner might become a *constituent* criminal, whose every behavior will be considered a felony, in the eyes of the wardens. This system is established such that it enables any of a prisoner's behavioral patterns, even the most minimal, to become punishable (Foucault, 1979). The system operates such that its continual existence 24 h a day fills the prisoner with the fear that any deviation may be discovered and punished. Hence, the disciplinary system must make the prisoner feel as if he is being monitored at every given moment, although he does not see the ever-watchful eyes and despite the fact that he is uncertain about the very existence of this surveillance.

This way, the disciplinary system, in the hands of the wardens, becomes a most efficient device since through it they can punish any behavior, out of all proportion to its nature. In addition, the wardens use a large variety of punishments as part of the supervision system. Many of these have been discussed previously, such as physical violence, destruction of a prisoner's personal property, deprivation of products, and other services. These are added with other punishments, such as transferring a prisoner to another ward, expulsion from the institute, changing his job, solitary confinement, blocking his advancement in the progressive process that leads to early release, furloughs, etc.

Social supervision utilizes all the methods of formal and informal supervision that were previously discussed, and the application of one method does not negate the use of another. In fact, the application of a successful social supervision mechanism is based on the ability to operate all systems simultaneously, while maintaining a level of functional balance between them. This sort of balance ensures that the objective of maintaining order and preventing prisoner escapes can be achieved.

Informal Supervision System of the Inmate Community

The system of informal supervision operated by people of power among the inmate community is meant to create a strong sense of solidarity among the inmates. One of the goals is to break the formal and informal supervision employed by the prison staff (Bonderson, 1989). This supervision system is not created for reasons of regard among members of the community or as a free choice, but it stems from the prisoners' need to unite in order to resist, as a single entity, to the formal norms of the wardens' system. Via this informal supervision, an inmate tries to recreate the status he lost during the "humiliation ceremony", during which his freedom and other right were stripped away. By its very nature, the inmate social supervision system deviates from the formal system of norms and that of the wardens. In addition, deviation from the required norms—the wardens' norms–aimed to reduce monitoring by the wardens as much as possible by whatever means, deviation is a mechanism that drives actions and is also a means to pass the time. Thus, the informal supervision employed by the prisoners allows the inmates to escape, if only psychologically, from the deprivations of incarceration, all while aiming to protect members of the prisoner community from the psychological consequences and influences that stem from internalizing the social rejection they experience.

The inmate community system of social supervision benefits and protects those who have internalized its norms. Surely, prisoners whose level in the social criminal hierarchy is high, as we will see later in our discussion about the language of tattoos as an informal means of supervision, gain more benefits compared to those who have not internalized the local norms and who are considered deviants. The inmates' system of social supervision has a strict hierarchy, where internal mobility is problematic, since the number of roles the inmates can fill is very limited. The inmate community has room for only a very few leaders, and so a tough battle of status ensures, which does not merely end with obtaining supreme status but continues in order to protect, strengthen, and preserve that status and the power, dominance, and control that come with it.

As we will see, particularly for prisoners who immigrated to Israel from the former Soviet Union, the prisoner elite are those who supervise the connection between community members and the warden community, and they control inmate behavior patterns and punish them when they deviate from these. Via this informal social supervision, the elite tries to control discipline and social order. One of the norms guiding the inmate system is the continual attempt to obtain prohibited pleasures or to ensure the supply of permitted ones, using illegal means. Prohibited pleasures include gambling, pornographic literature, alcohol, drugs, cigarettes, rape, etc. Gambling and games are functional, as they also work as a means of supervision; through them one can create debts, which justify the endless manipulations over a debtor, while benefitting the winner; these rights can be realized by the winner according to his needs, and can be converted into a myriad of other benefits (Fleisher and Decker, 2001).

Via these actions, powerful prisoners intentionally turn other prisoners into debtors. They leave a certain item in the victim inmate's cell and thus create a debt and acquire the ability to monitor that prisoner.

Threats and physical violence are an important aspect of the inmate community's internal social supervision. Inmates threaten and attack other inmates for debts, group loyalty, revenge, etc. To survive this extremely violent system, inmates must demonstrate physical strength and tolerance of pain, and remember that fear is a sign of weakness. An inmate who is weak, both physically and mentally, will be used by the stronger inmates, who employ physical violence and psychological manipulations. Reporting and informing prisoner-on-prisoner violence is an unacceptable behavior that leads to severe punishments. Due to this, physical violence is one of the most important means of informal social supervision by prisoners (Edgar et al., 2003).

An important tool in the prison system, which is used for both supervision and punishment, is the language of the inmate community, i.e., the slang or *argot* which is an element of the inmate community's characteristics. This language contains great power. It can confer status, punish banned inmates, and reflect the social supervision and the prisoners' cultural world (Einat, 2005). Language is not always verbal. While a common discourse is maintained using spoken language, prisoners share a world of nonverbal symbols and signs whose meaning is known among their community and which is used as a sort of code language. The nonverbal language can be expressed in versatile ways, one of which is sign language. This refers to motions and signs using various body parts (mostly hands), aimed to express a situation, warn, or give various signals (Fig. 2.1).

Another way to express nonverbal language is through symbols. One of the prohibitions in a total institution is the display of any drawings, pictures, or posters on the walls. The walls must stay bare and one can only hang or paint them with things that were approved by the staff. So walls cannot serve as a place for inmates to express their secret symbols, which are anti-institutional in nature, so inmates look for another place to express this visual language. Israel's Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty gives the prisoner a solution—his own body. Although the institute has a monopoly over their freedom of action and movement, there is still no law that prohibits an inmate from tattooing his own body, which is still considered a prisoner's personal and exclusive property with which he can do as he pleases. This is why inmates, as part of their defiance toward the institute and society, began to tattoo their bodies and develop a nonverbal secret language, known only to their own community and whose purpose is to transfer messages, determine one's status, and express objection to the institute, all inked onto their own flesh.

This book is investigating a unique type of supervision that is based on the inmates' language of tattoos, a language that is kept secret and only passed between prisoners. The book focuses on prisoners who immigrated from the former Soviet Union who are incarcerated in Israeli prisons, because this phenomenon, imported from their countries of origin, is blooming and common within this community.
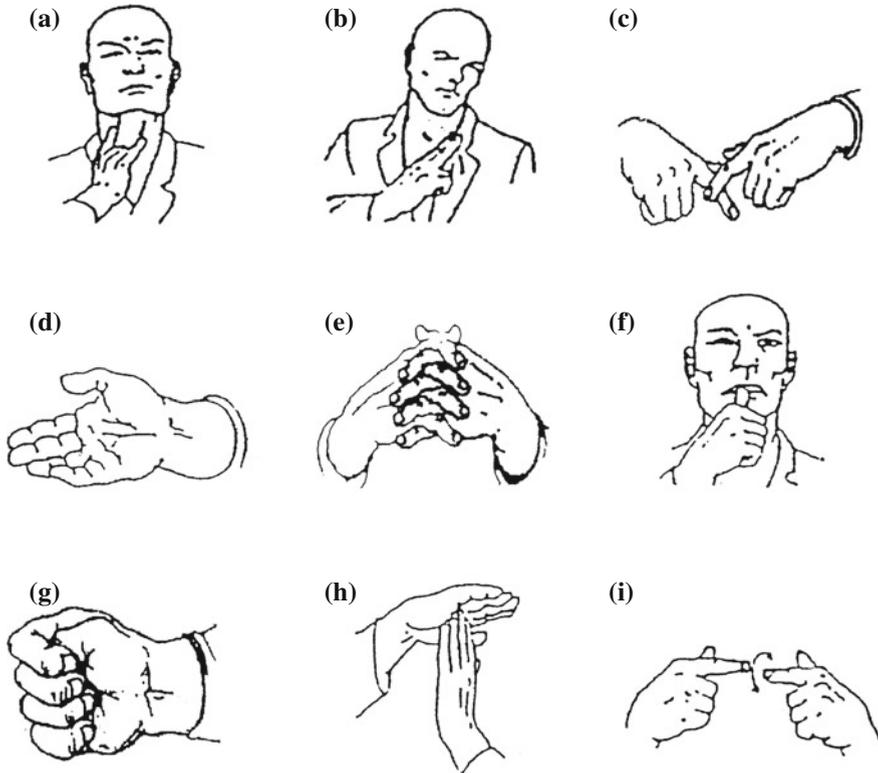
(a) (b) (c) (d) (e) (f) (g) (h) (i)

Fig. 2.1 An example for the Israeli criminal world's sign language: (Israely Police intelligence ©) **a** danger, **b** policeman around, **c** a false tale, **d** i am telling the truth, **e** situation is bad, **f** shut up, **g** there are evidences against me, **h** Heavy guilt, **i** It is not safe

The Israeli Correctional System

In 2013 the Israeli correctional system included 33 correction facilities: prisons and detention centers, containing approximately 20,000 criminal and security prisoners. The prison facilities differ according to their security level, i.e, low, medium, and high security levels.

The goals of the Israeli correction system change from one era to another, according to the approaches of those in charge and the models and "fashions" of punishment in the Western world (for differentiation between the goals of punishment, retribution, and rehabilitation, cf. Geiger and Timor 2009). Unlike other Western countries, where the definition of the correction system's goals forms a central component in public discourse, in Israel the goals of incarceration, the success of obtaining them, etc., are hardly ever recognized by the political sphere and are rarely expressed in public-political discourse.

Over the past decade, the IPS transformed from being a single component in the correctional system into an inclusive organization that includes all correctional facilities in Israel. The IPS was redefined as the "national correction system", which has legal custody over criminal and security detainees and prisoners, illegal aliens, foreign workers without a visa, etc. The redefining of the national correction system's designation was accompanied by two main processes: centralization and an emphasis on the security aspect over other components related to detaining people under legal custody.

Israeli prisons exhibit a gradual structure of several wings which differ from each other in their incarceration conditions, including different privileges that are available in each wing. This policy, termed "wing hierarchy" and which operates through the "carrot and stick" system, is a **primary managerial tool** in totalitarian facilities such as prisons. The mobility of prisoners between wings with strict conditions to those with more lenient conditions is dictated by the prisoners' behavior as well as institutional, organizational, and intelligence-based decisions.

The different wings inside a detention facility differ in their security level (low, medium, and maximum), the prisoner's status (security prisoners, criminal prisoners, illegal aliens, etc.), their designation according to IPS needs (seclusion wing, separation wing) and their structure. Most detention facilities present a hierarchical structure of their wings (from harsh to lenient), related to how inmates are contained and their living conditions. This hierarchy serves three purposes: first, to create separation between inmates (for example, separating violent from nonviolent prisoners); second, treatment and rehabilitation can be carried out more efficiently when it is allocated according to prisoners' allocation to wings, where a qualified team specializes in working with the population of the wing, which is grouped according to certain common denominators; third, to create motivation for proper behavior among inmates, according to the hierarchy, to encourage prisoners to change their norms of behavior (since in other, more advanced wings he can gain benefits that are unavailable in 'lower' wings). The division to wings enables a more convenient routine of life. The transfer of prisoners between wings is carried out according to a number of criteria, such as prisoner behavior, his function, the length of his incarceration and others (from: "Unique Wings", an Internet file by the IPS 2011).

The Israeli correctional system operates according to a specific written directive (the Prison Directive (New Format)—1971) that defines the duties and statutory rights of a prisoner. All prisoners admitted to prison meet with the duty officer, and then undergo a search and receive a detailed guide concerning his rights and duties. A prisoner must safeguard order and discipline and prison property. He may not have certain items that were not explicitly approved (food, money, cigarettes, etc.).

The rights include the right to separate between prisoner categories—such as men and women, detainees and prisoners, adults and juveniles, criminal and security prisoners; the right to have personal belongings; the right to receive medical care; the duty and right to work. Eligible inmates may also receive a salary set by the IPS commission. Prisoners are also entitled to religious service, education and culture. Body searches without a prisoner's approval are prohibited, and a

prisoner has the right to visitors and to ask for pardon. Prisoners' rights were meant to safeguard basic civil rights. Some of these rights are not mandatory (this means they require case-specific consideration) but are rather defined as a privilege and depend upon a prisoner's behavior and the facility's capacity to satisfy them.

The Correctional System in the Former Soviet Union

The correctional system developed in the Soviet Union was mostly based on the purpose of retribution, and characterized with a public, speedy punishment that does not contend overmuch with procedural issues or excessively violent punishments. Kulichki (2000) describes how by the seventeenth century, in the Russian Empire, common punishments were hanging, being impaled on a metal stick, decapitation, whipping and beating with sticks, drowning, burning, etc. Although death sentences were common, there were also various physical punishments such as amputations, casting melted steel into criminals' throats (for coin forgers, for example), and more. The physical punishments were divided into those meant to cause pain and those meant to create disability and irreversible damage through amputation and maiming.

The correctional system developed in the nineteenth century and during the first years of the twentieth century, was characterized by very harsh conditions, which many prisoners would not survive. Sokolov and Baskin (1993) describe, for example, one type of torture common in Siberian prisons, where wardens would put a rat in a pot and tie the pot to the prisoner's belly. The pot was then heated so that the rat would have no escape from the burning heat but to eat his way through the prisoner's stomach and out through his back. During the twentieth century the death penalty was canceled and life sentence prisoners were exiled to far-away places, but still the character of incarceration conditions remained severe and violent. The punishment system that operated in the former Soviet Union, even today, continues to preserve its violent and arbitrary nature. The staff managing the prison is given complete authority to dole out punishment for every violation, be it light or severe, that occurs within prison walls. The proportional principle that characterizes modern, Western punishments is hardly expressed in the punishment methods within prisons and every felony, even the slightest, can be punished severely and disproportionally (Kulichki, 2000).

The correction system developed in the former Soviet Union can be divided into two main types: penal colonies (a sort of work camp) and prisons. The penal colonies include colonizing colonies, normal penal colonies, high-security penal colonies, and special-security level penal colonies.

Other than the prisons, the correctional system also included educational colonies and detention facilities. Corrective colonies were populated with all types of prisoners defined as belonging to maximum security level prison facilities. The main consideration in operating the colony is economic, and these facilities are part of an enormous industry based on a very large, very cheap workforce. The colonies

operate in a large variety of industries–construction, steel and block factories, tree clearing, toy manufacture, textile factories, etc. Everyone inside the colony has to work, the wage paid to the prisoners is poor and half is taken as taxes for the state and the remaining half as payment for food and clothing. This supervision system is harsh and severe, and prisoners who do not do their work properly are expected to be punished severely in special facilities within the colony. The living conditions in these facilities are very hard and some prisoners do not survive. The special security level penal colonies are usually located in far and secluded areas, which make the colony completely immune to any external intervention. The harsh incarceration conditions result in severe physical and mental injury to the prisoners, and increase the respect and position of those criminals who find ways to survive (Pivnik and Gemus, 2008).

Another type of colony are the educational colonies, designated for juvenile prisoners who are under 18. Russia currently maintains approximately 63 educational colonies which have better detention conditions than those of the penal colonies, but typically also include daily abuse, beating, attrition, torture, and rape (Corey, 1996). We will later see that the socialization to the values of the hierarchical, violent, and tough criminal subculture begins within these educational colonies. Kulichki (2000) describes how an educational colony, which can contain up to 700 juveniles, maintains within it a strict criminal hierarchy led by the youth known in Russian as "Cheeky Boys", followed by the "Getting By" teens. After them are the active prisoners who were appointed by the staff, and at the bottom of the rank are the "Offended Ones", a structure that can also be seen among adult prisoners. There are also the "Roosters" who represent a group that should be avoided; these are minors who underwent rape and sodomy, and are considered allowed to all comers.

Another correctional framework characterized by severe conditions and violence is the detention facilities (Kulichki, 2000). These are highly crowded with poor incarceration conditions, and are constantly exposed to arbitrary punishment along with aggressive assault by other inmates.

According to the situational model, the extremely violent nature of Russian criminals' culture can be largely attributed to the violent nature of the Russian punishment system. The main symbols of the criminal culture that developed within this system, as expressed in the language of tattoos that developed during the twentieth century, can be viewed as a reflection of the violent attributes of the Russian correctional system. The need to live and survive under inhumanely violent conditions has turned phenomena such as agony, violence and death, alongside the ability to survive, loyalty, masculinity and hatred of the governing regime into main values of this culture and the defining characteristics of the criminal world's status.

The criminal subculture that developed within Soviet correction facilities, much like correction facilities in other places, is hierarchical by nature with a low level of inner mobility. This hierarchy is based on several closed groups. At the head of a group is "the Thieves". The main law in the Thieves' culture prohibits work outside the prison and within it. Today's Thieves may be married and have property, things that up until the 1970s were perceived as potentially harmful to the Thief's total

commitment to the organized crime group. To become a Thief, an official coronation ceremony, based on a recommendation from two established Thieves, must take place. The Thief rank is achieved through an unwritten, firmly structured protocol. The recommenders must be veterans of at least 3 years. All correctional facilities accept a letter that describes one's intention to become a Thief (much like the *Ashgar*, the notes that serve security prisoners mainly in Israel). Whoever knows of a reason to prevent this nomination must report it. The coronation can happen within prison (preferable) or outside it, and the Thief swears to abide by the 16 rules (detailed later) of the Thieves' world or accept the death penalty for their violation. It should be noted that since the 1980s, the Thief rank could also be purchased for a considerable amount of money, and not just gained through long incarceration or an impressive criminal history. One of the Thief's roles is to maintain order and supervise a defined territory, as well as control the prison's joint fund. A Thief may not punish another Thief, and in any case of violation of the rules by one of the Thieves, the Thieves committee must assemble.

The Thieves have servants called "the boys", whose role is to create mutiny among prison population or "Bulls" that execute the Thieves' commands, and who are sent to places where cruelty and severe violence is needed. Along with the bulls, one can find the "Thunder Banishers" (known as "the Monkeys" in Israel), who take legal responsibility for the felonies committed by the Thief. Below them are "the Goats", whose identifying mark is their cooperation with prison staff (all terms are translated from Russian). This rank originated in the 1960s, when taking responsibility and performing administrative roles gained a prisoner early release (this is somewhat reminiscent of the role of the "Mentor" in Israeli correction system, who escorts and supports weak prisoners and thus increases his chances, which were low to begin with, of reducing his time at the Parole board."). The term Goat is considered the most insulting in Russian prison, and later it served as the title of prisoners who sought rehabilitation (Sokolov and Baskin, 1993).

Another low rank is "the Bitches", termed during World War II and referred to as Thieves who were sent to fight in the war in return for an earlier release. For each year they served, these Thieves were promised 3 years off their prison time. After these Thieves returned to prison, struggles of control commenced between the Thieves and the Bitches, encouraged by prison management. Eventually the number of Bitches decreased and the Thieves remained to role the roost.

At the bottom of the hierarchy ladder, as in the juvenile educational colonies, are "the Roosters". This rank refers to passive homosexuals, and prisoners convicted for raping minors and who were sexual assault victims in prison. In Russian correctional facilities, these prisoners have a special territory called "the Roosters' Corner". In the colonies they sleep by the door, and in prison next to the cell toilet or under the bed. No one may socialize with them, in the dining room they use tools marked with a hole and get the lowliest, most contemptible jobs like cleaning toilets and removing sewage. Many Roosters do not withstand their conditions and commit suicide (Pivnik and Gemus, 2008).

What Brings Russian Criminals to Israel?

Since the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, we have observed waves of criminal activity by groups of criminals from the former Soviet Union all around Europe; in the east, in countries such as Afghanistan, Israel, and Japan, and across the Atlantic, in the United States and Canada. These waves of criminal activity are justly or unjustly attributed to what the West refers to as the "Russian Mob" (Varese, 2001, 2012).

Israel is a significant source of attraction for people of high rank in the Russian criminal world, for a number of reasons:

Israel's perception of itself as the national home of all Jews and its desire to attract Jews from around the world led to the legalization of the Law of Return in 1950, which automatically provides citizenship to any Jew coming to Israel with an immigrant certificate. While most countries limit the entrance and natural citizenship given to immigrants, Israel provides free access to Jews. According to the Law of Return (and its amendments from 1970), all Jews have the right to immigrate to Israel and become an Israeli citizen. Furthermore, even the child or grandchild of a Jew, the spouse of a Jew, and the spouse of a child or grandchild of a Jew, who are not Jewish themselves may enter Israel according to this law. The exceptions are people who worked against the Jewish people or who might pose a risk to public health or national security. Other people's eligibility to citizenship and its approval as permanent is set according to the Israel Entrance Law and subject to considerations by the Minister of the Interior. However, several years after its legislation the Law of Return was amended with additional exceptions that refer to dangers to public safety from the new immigrant, or the existence of a criminal record; however, these exceptions were hardly ever applied. The Law of Return provides state protection to Jewish citizens, as well as those who merely claim to be Jewish.

Between 1990 and 1997, over 700,000 immigrants came to Israel from the former Soviet Union, and their numbers today stand at about a sixth of the total Jewish population in Israel. The existence of a very large and versatile community of former Soviet citizens in Israel ensures for criminals who arrive from the former Soviet Union significant benefits such as familiarity with the language, since they can operate within a familiar cultural system and mentality.

According to intelligence estimations in Israel, Russian criminals of very high ranks operate in Israel with a relatively high sense of personal security, and these criminals integrate within the Russian immigrant population. Despite its very small size, the state of Israel was divided to defined areas of control, making it easier for criminals to define areas of their own with almost no turf wars.[1]

Furthermore, Israel encourages foreign capital investment, without running meticulous verifications, thus becoming an "easy springboard" for money transfers from the former Soviet Union to Europe and the United States. In order to reach

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[1] This section was written based on interviews the author conducted with intelligence officers at the "Russian Division" of the Israel police's special forces in 2012.

Israel and gain citizenship, the high-rank operators use forged certificates issued in Moscow or elsewhere, or arrive under a tourist visa and have documents made in Israel to prove their Judaism and obtain citizenship. The Russian criminals ensure that their original citizenship is maintained and operate under both citizenships, if needed.

Russian criminals arriving in Israel usually do so in one of two ways: arriving under a tourist visa to participate in conferences and other cover-story visits used to execute criminal deals; or via fictional marriages to Jewish or Israeli women, thus gaining Israeli residence permits.

Most high-rank criminals arriving at Israel come for economic reasons, mostly involving investments and money laundering. For them, Israel is usually a means and not a goal. Most of these criminals are not interested in criminal activity within Israel, in order to not draw police attention to themselves, and they concentrate on creating economic, social, and political foundations.

Most criminal behavior is performed by the pawns and middle-rank criminals, who come to Israel as immigrants and operate in defined areas as organized crime groups. The groups maintain close relationships with criminals from their origin countries, and have residency in Israel and defined, joint criminal activity. Members of the criminal group maintain social and financial mutual guarantee.

The mutual guarantee inside and outside of prison is mostly maintained through a mutual fund which is called "Obshek" in Russian. The head of an organized crime gang, the *vor v zakone*, or his agent, is responsible for the fund's management. Any member of the group is obligated to allocate a certain amount of his profits to that fund. The joint fund is used to purchase various means for the group (weapons, vehicles), to bribe important police officers, government clerks, lawyers, etc. In addition, the fund is used to take care of group members who serve prison time, to buy them clothes, food, drugs, cigarettes, etc. The existence of the *Obshek* is an important characteristic of a criminal organization.

The criminal behavior of Russian organized criminals in Israel is mainly, but not exclusively, concentrated in three fields: prostitution, protection money extortion and fraud.

Prostitution: importing women for prostitution is a complete industry managed by organizations that locate women in former Soviet Union states and smuggle them to Israel using various means via Israeli contacts. The organizations employ the women in Israel and also return them home—sometimes with the aid of the police. This industry makes huge amounts of money. During the past few years, the industry suffered a significant blow due to the construction of the wall on Israel's border with Egypt at Sinai, which was used as the main smuggling route for prostitutes from Eastern Europe.

Protection-money extortion (*PME*): this is also known as "Racket" or "Krisha". Protection is extorted in Israel from almost every business owned by former Soviet citizens, mostly new immigrants. The money is collected from shops, real-estate agencies, restaurants, and massage parlors, which serve as covers for brothels. Israel is divided to control areas among gangs, and the division is determined by directions from Moscow, after the *vor v zakone* committee sent a representative to Israel,

who organized these matters several years ago in order to prevent unnecessary gang fights that would have damaged business and profits. In addition, the organizations have also taken over some businesses and are running them using their own agents.

Fraud and forgery: this is a highly successful industry, which makes a great deal of profit and directly harms the state economy. The fraud "industry" in Israel is highly developed and has infiltrated many fields. Most involves the forgery of money, immigration certificates, and other immigration documents, faking documents such as identification documents and passports, car licenses, and credit cards. The entire forgery industry enables large-scale fraud operations, crimes that significantly harm not only individuals but also the entire economy. The forgery of various certificates allows crime organizations to import prostitutes and criminal elements into the country, as well as helping people who are prosecuted by law escape the country.

Russian Prisoners Community in Israeli Prisons

In order to understand the processes among Russian prisoner population in Israeli prisons, we must first study the processes that occur within this population in general society. The processes that characterize Russian society in Israel are also characteristic of the Russian-speaking prison population, since the prisoner population is a sample of wider society, with its own differences and uniquenesses, considering it is entirely composed of men, prisoners and criminals, who live in a closed community within a total institution.

As mentioned before, the state of Israel is a country of immigrants, which accepts Jews from around the world. This has significant consequences on nature and image of Israeli society. Israel created a pluralistic society comprised of many different ethnic subgroups that simultaneously maintain intergroup tensions and peaceful coexistence. Despite the many years of living together as Jews in this country, the ethnic subgroups are not yet consolidated and integrated into a single identity; an individual's origin and ethnic orientation is still very important and meaningful in Israel (Gittelman, 1995).

The political and socioeconomic changes that were instigated by Michael Gorbachev in 1986–1991 as part of the policies of *Perestroika* ("reconstruction") and *Glasnost'* ("openness") caused social insecurity and the ultimate dissolution of the Soviet Union and its social order. The rejection of communism and loss of control over the state opened the door to drastic changes in economy, politics, and social affairs (Shraga, 2008). These changes resulted in the immigration of hundreds of thousands to Western Europe, North America, and Israel. Between 1990 and 2003, more than 1,100,000 people immigrated to Israel, composing 13 % of Israeli general society (Walsh et al., 2006).

The immigrants coming from the former Soviet Union during the 1990s did not deny their Russian-speaking society and culture of origin. They continued to consider it a main component of their identity and self-representation. Therefore,

Russian immigrants consolidated among themselves in Israel and segregated themselves in exclusive social networks, all while reinforcing their identities of origin and their former culture (Leshem and Lissak, 2001). The exclusive network, based on a common country of origin, might also explain the development of "Russian" groups in prison. Moreover, the Russian community separatism is strengthened in light of the "culture shock" experienced by the immigrant, which stems from the rejection of immigrants by elements of the local community. This leads to the rejection of the general population, or at least elements of it, by the immigrant himself (Zilberg et al., 1995). In prison, these aspects are further reinforced and the sense of alienation among the Russian group became extreme compared to other groups.

In the country of origin, the immigrant usually expects, based on practical information background and misconceptions, that in the destination country he will belong to a sympathetic, homogeneous national group. The meeting between immigrants and Israeli society and state often reveals heterogeneity and diversity at much higher levels than the immigrants imagined. Therefore, is it common for immigrants to respond with rejection and racial expressions, arising from a feeling that some of the local population rejects them. A common phrase that expresses this frustration is, "in my country of origin I was called names for being a Jew, and here I am called names for being Russian" (Itzikson and Menuhin, 1989). Furthermore, it seems that the immigrants' feeling that the recipient society is rejecting them is not without basis. Public opinion surveys regarding Israelis' attitudes toward Russian immigrants show that during the first years, the Israeli public demonstrated a positive attitude toward the immigrants and their *Aliya*. Over the years, however, the negative approaches within the community clearly became more extreme. In other words, after a short period of a positive attitude, trends of alienation and rejection emerge (Gil, 1994). This combination of the unique conditions which originate in the characteristics of the immigrants, their post-Soviet society and the nature of Israeli society and its policy toward immigrants, led to the formation of isolated groups in the Israeli landscape, which are hostile toward one another. This is highly expressed in the prisoner community, which is already characterized by its division into differentiated ethnic subgroups.

Herzog and Rattner (2003) studied the influences and consequences of the criminogenic situation created in the Soviet Union after the totalitarian regime crumbled, including the positions and attitudes displayed by Soviet immigrants toward different felonies. It was found that immigrants, unlike Israeli-born citizens, expressed a far greater permissiveness toward various felonies regardless of their severity. It was suggested that the undermining of tolerance toward authority, values and norms was a result of the intercultural conflict that arose due to the differences between Soviet and Israeli societies in fields of public policy and government.

Immigrants from the former Soviet Union have relatively small families compared to those of Israeli-born citizens, and there are a large percentage of single-parent families (Shraga and Krumer-Nevo, 2008). The Soviet culture was characterized by educating children using precisely defined roles and commitments, in

contrast to Western cultures that perceive education as a means to realizing individual choice (Schor, 2003). The immigrants' families tend to limit their personal relationships to a small sphere of relatives and close friends, toward whom they show great loyalty, commitment, warmth, and tremendous openness; in contrast to their attitude toward society, to which immigrants express suspicion, lack of openness, a cold attitude, rigidity, and restraint.

Transferring from one culture to another often involves feelings of extreme strangeness, which the literature calls "cultural shock" (Oberg, 1960). This situation is caused by the conflict between the desired method of combining one's identity and self- and social-perceptions, and the value systems of the country of origin and recipient societies. This conflict is characterized by a lack of sense of belonging, and by helplessness and confusion. The more alike the cultures, values, and norms of the country of origin are to the target country, the smaller the cultural shock and the greater the likelihood of a successful integration and adaptation (Kurman et al., 2005; Berry, 2001).

The wave of immigration from the former Soviet Union is one of the most intensive immigration waves the State of Israel has known. The immigrants' attachment to the Jewish collective and to Israel was rather vague in their countries of origin. In addition, the motives that drove them to immigrate were a result of the multiple social crises in their countries of origin. Their motivation to leave for any destination in the West was far greater than their longing for and attraction to Israel (this is why many Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union included the United States and other countries, and not just Israel) (Gittelman, 1995).

An examination of the stages of development of the former Soviet immigrant community during the 1990s, compared to any other group of immigrants to Israel, shows a significant change in the characteristics of the community, its consolidation rate, the preservation of its cultural identity, and the suspicious relationship it maintained with the surrounding society (Leshem and Lissak, 1999). In their Soviet origin society, Jews were characterized by social marginality, alienation, dependency, lack of formal organized community traditions and a "secular culture". However, during a short period of 7–10 years, the immigrants managed to create a flourishing Russian-speaking community in Israel. This rare process is called "community empowerment" (Sadan and Churchman, 1993). In this process, the human community, mostly based on local, informal networks, develops a formal, hierarchical community in both local and national aspects. In fact, this creates a transition from a state of *Comunitas* to a state of Community, which is widely legitimized among its members (Nisbet, 1969). As a result of this state, the Russian community in Israel gained a new status and some level of control over its destiny and surroundings.

Even in the cultural aspect, the community of former Soviet immigrants is characterized by a relatively separatist strategy compared to other immigrant groups in Israel. During the 1950s, the immigration waves praised the values of the "melting pot" (Leshem and Lissak, 1999). However, during the 1990s the state refrained from presenting such demands to the immigrants. At that time, state intervention in the lives of new immigrants was reduced, as was the concept of

social-cultural pluralism, both because the government learned from its past mistakes and as a result of post-modern movements that legitimized multi cultural and social polyphony. As a result, the integration of the immigrants from the former Soviet Union into Israel's cultural-social aspect occurred slowly, if at all. Horowitz (1986) called it "integration without acculturation", which is a process where immigrants preserve the values and norms that guided them in their countries of origin, and this is indeed the case with the Russian immigrants to Israel (Zilberg et al., 1995).

As a result, the Russian community in Israel developed the behavioral models of a community within a community; this was also true in relation to the behavioral rules of Russian criminals in prison. As a rule, it was found that the criminal population inside prisons is characterized by a division of prisoners into subgroups of belonging, i.e., into gangs or packs that operate within the general group (Miller, 1995). The categorization of a prisoner to a group is usually made according to his ethnic origin. This is very prominent in prisons in the United States, as well as in Israeli prisons. In the United States, prisoners tend to interact with others who share the same origins. This is why one can find groups of Hispanic, Afro-American, Italian, or Caucasian prisoners concentrated in their own unique gangs. Each gang has its unique identity characteristics and a hierarchical social structure. The groups are separated and preserve a status quo of tension alongside an inter-group balance. In addition, there are clear and mutual behavioral rules among groups and conflict between members of different groups may lead to a full-blown war within prison walls (http://slodive.com/inspiration/russian-prison-tattoos/).

It seems the division of prisoners into ethnic subgroups is also found in the Israeli correctional system. It was found that prisoners tend to connect with others who share ethnic or residential origins outside prison. Therefore, Arab prisoners, for example, tend to connect with other Arab prisoners and create separate subgroups within the general population. This is also the case with the Russian or Ethiopian prisoners, and even among Israeli-born prisoners. This is a common human phenomenon and is not surprising; it is known that humans tend to connect with others who are similar to them, i.e, their peers (Macionis, 1997). Furthermore, this phenomenon is so well known and common that the IPS administration applies regulations according to which prisoners with similar characteristics are separated in different cells and wings. The managers of the wings are instructed to designate new and veteran prisoners to cells according to clear parameters of segregation between prisoners who share "common" attributes. The managers even publicly announce that is in order to prevent prisoners from uniting into groups, i.e, prevent them from accumulating power. As far as the correctional system and the institute are concerned, if prisoners are allowed to gather into groups they may form packs and gain great power, stemming from their group identity and the connection between a large number of individuals. The organization actively operates to neutralize these mechanisms, using physical separation. This is why prisoners of various groups, religions and ethnicity are distributed in different prison cells. However, despite this practice, separation is still not absolute since prisoners do meet during courtyard walks, classes, work, etc., and so groups of prisoners of common ethnicity, religion

or nationality can still be found. And so, prisoners still tend to befriend and socialize with those similar to them. This way, the prison yields subgroups of belonging, one of which is the subgroup of prisoners from the former Soviet Union, which will be mainly discussed hereinafter.

Among Jewish prisoners in Israel, Israeli born-and-raised criminals hardly maintain the ethnic-religious subgroup division common in many prisons world-wide. Time, it seems, took its toll and the "Ashkenazi" and "Sephardic" groups rarely establish separate groups in prison. The inner division of Israeli prisons is mostly based on the geographic areas from which the criminals come and in which they operated. The phenomenon of inside leadership is also less prominent among the veteran Jewish population in prison; the social process and proceedings of the IPS have led to the fact that most prisoners simply look after themselves. However, the hierarchy and leadership still fully exist among the other two groups in prison–security prisoners (Palestinians) and the immigrants from the former Soviet Union. The similarity between these two groups originates from their lack of trust in Israeli law and its agents. Among the Palestinian prisoners, this lack of trust worsens, while the former Soviet immigrants still hope that they will undergo processes similar to those that prisoners from North Africa underwent in the 1950s, although it is clear that this process will be much slower and more complex. The reasons for this complexity are numerous: the Soviet immigration from the 1980s until today has been the largest, most intense immigration wave the country has ever seen, and this is also strongly felt within prisons. If the IPS counted 268 former Soviet prisoners in 1993, today their numbers reach 1,437—an increase of over 400 % (Shoham and Azulai-Tzeichner, 2008). From this aspect, prison is just a microcosm reflecting the difficulties the former Soviet immigrant community faced in attempting to integrate into Israeli society.

The social structure of prisoner community and in particular that of Russian prisoners is a distinct form of hierarchy. At the head of the pyramid of Russian prisoners in Israeli prison, is the strongest man in the group, who is also called a "Thief" according to the *vor v zakone* rules, terms that are taken from the former Soviet Union. This leader qualifies local leaders, who operate within the different wings of Israeli prisons and who congregates the Russian prisoners. A wing leader is called "Pakhan", Russian term for Godfather, and he manages the Russian prisoners' lives in prison. The *Pakhan* can make or overthrow leaders, he decides what work the prisoners will do and what will they study. At his command, they will refrain from using drugs and will donate to the common fund. Whoever is found to be an informer or steals from others, must expect a punishment and a leader that has rebelled against the *vor v zakone* is thrown to the dogs and his life is at peril.

Most Russian prisoners acquired the habits of their criminal culture back in their former Soviet states of origin. Ever since the Soviet Union disintegrated, organized crime began to develop in the former Soviet states and within a short time every common thief knew who was boss in each town and who controls the state. Most countries present a certain order in crime; there is a hierarchy, rules and courts. Similarly, the hundreds of Russian immigrant prisoners in Israel knew full well who

is the leader of a prison wing, who was in prison at the time, and to whom they would have to answer should they deviate from the rules organized by the Company of Thieves. Conflicts between prisoners are settled through an arbitrator, who is usually the wing leader, and in more severe cases it is the prison leader. The punishments imposed on those who were found informing, stealing, betraying, or otherwise challenging the leadership, are versatile and harsh.

Among these prisoners there are also many who never belonged to the criminal underworld in the former Soviet Union, but upon immigrating to Israel carried out criminal offenses for different reasons. These prisoners do not have a high status among Russian prisoners in jail, and they usually keep a low profile and obey the leader to protect themselves from possible harm (Kra, 2003).

Prison Tattoos
A Study of Russian Inmates in Israel
Shoham, E.
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