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STUDY OF THE LOWER CLASS BLACK LESBIAN.

CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, PH.D., 1977

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1977

PSEUDOHETEROSEXUALITY IN PRISON AND OUT:  
A STUDY OF THE LOWER CLASS BLACK LESBIAN

By

WILLIAM A. FITZGERALD

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty  
in Sociology in partial fulfillment of the require-  
ments for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,  
The City University of New York.

1977

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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## ABSTRACT

PSEUDOHETEROSEXUALITY IN PRISON AND OUT:  
A STUDY OF THE LOWER-CLASS BLACK LESBIAN

by

William FitzGerald

Adviser: Professor Charles Winick

It is the general assumption of this dissertation that the most salient feature of lower-class black lesbianism -- a feature which also largely influences the incidence of homosexuality while in penal institutions -- arises out of, or is shaped by, an adaptational or instrumental response to the deprivations of poverty. One main objective in two distinct parts is thus generated.

The first part of the objective examines the core research question: Do lower-class black women who have in-prison lesbian experience have this as their first such homosexual relationship, or have they had these types of sexual encounters before incarceration? If the latter is true, then lesbian behavior while in custody represents less of a "pressure-cooker" type of situation than it does an "importation process."

The second part of the objective is contingent upon the first and is aimed at constructing an index to predict which of the inmates might or

might not engage in homosexual activity while in prison. The research question involved here is: Assuming the "importation" hypothesis to be correct, what are the factors that lead to or do not lead to preprison homosexuality and hence to prison homosexuality?

Systematic study in several New York City ghetto communities revealed many of the factors which predisposed a woman to this kind of activity. These then were matched against a sample of 57 black respondents in a prison referred to in the dissertation as The Kokely Institution for Women. Thirty-two inmates in the sample had had preprison homosexual experience; four had begun lesbian activity during incarceration; and 21 denied ever having engaged in the practice anywhere. An index, using sociological indicators for high homosexual potential, was constructed. This instrument was capable of identifying 34 of the 36 homosexual inmates but was less successful in identifying the 21 non-homosexual prisoners.

As far as can be ascertained, the present research is the first of its kind in any discipline. Apparently no comprehensive, systematically collected study which correlates prison lesbianism with lesbian behavior in the black ghetto communities has ever been published.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It was my good fortune to have had five excellent advisors to guide me over territory never before traversed in any discipline. First and foremost, I am indebted to my Chairman, Professor Charles Winick, for coordinating this pool of scholars, for sharing his own valuable knowledge, and for exposing pitfalls that seldom were apparent. Professor Betty Yorburg gave me not only crucial understanding of the inscrutable ways of females but also outlined how deprivational patterns adversely influence some American families. These two members remained with the project from inception to completion.

Although he was a member of the committee only in its final stages, Professor Edward Sagarin worked very closely with me making editorial suggestions and eliminating factual errors in the area of unconventional sexual behavior. Professor Lindsey Churchill concentrated upon the research design of the study. Even after accepting a visiting professorship in Finland, he continued to mail back valuable criticisms on each chapter. And Professor Hylan Lewis' perceptive analysis of the low-income black subculture, near the beginning of this project and just prior to his leaving on sabbatical, precipitated theoretical questions which I later developed. To all of these great scholars, I offer my sincere thanks and my gratitude. Any distinction this work might have is due to their efforts, while the inadequacies remain all my own.

I am also grateful to The National Fellowships Fund (Ford Foundation) for the financial assistance given me during 1973-1974. This assistance,

in addition to a regular stipend, enabled me to attend the Institute for Sex Research at Indiana University where I searched the Institute's extensive library holdings.

My special thanks go to Mr. Richard Hudson of IBM and to Dr. Philip Leonard-Spark of The City College of New York for advice in computer technology; to Ms. Bettye Stennett for typing the manuscript; and to the members of various correctional facilities for their splendid cooperation during my visits. And finally, I must express my profound appreciation to the inmate volunteers and other anonymous individuals whose willingness to share with me the intimate facts of their lives undoubtedly will aid scientific understanding of the effects of poverty upon the black lower-class lesbian lifestyle.

William A. FitzGerald  
City University of New York  
1977.

"For 3 centuries she moved in stealth besides and, sometimes, in advance of black men ... For 3 centuries she was the special victim of the lust of brutes. For three centuries she stood, poised against the landscape of the Americas, dark madonna with child, welding together family, tradition, culture and giving to a whole people a sense of survival."

Lorraine Hansberry,  
"This Complex of Womanhood,"  
Ebony, Vol. 15 (August 1960), p. 40.

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## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

Societies always have controlled the sexual component of their cultures by restricting whatever was deemed inimical to the public good. The purpose, according to Kingsley Davis, was to regulate the libidinal drive so that it induced "individuals to perform in socially advantageous ways."<sup>1</sup> Unleashed, however, this drive was deemed potentially dangerous by Davis, Freud and many others.

The sexually unknown always has implied peril, and in none of the highly industrialized nations of the West has homosexuality been embraced by the majority of the populace. Mostly it was condemned and the condemnation seemed intense against male to male sexual unions. This appeared to be particularly true of the pederastic affair where an older man sexually engaged an underaged boy. What animus there was against lesbianism probably resulted from the backwash against the male activity.<sup>2</sup>

Because lesbianism seemingly was taken lightly, many feminists later claimed that the laws reflected male chauvinistic dismissal of any female sexuality not founded upon the penis.<sup>3</sup> Yet, the attitude behind the laws perhaps can be explained in less devious terms. First, the American culture condones public displays of affection between women and thus female homosexuality is harder to detect. Lesbianism rarely causes complaints against solicitation or child molestation, nor does it create the kinds of public problems often associated with the spread of syphilis and gonorrhoea by male homosexuals.<sup>4</sup> Further, many women carry on a comparatively longer-term relationship and are not deemed conspicuously promiscuous.<sup>5</sup> And finally, the American Society was,

and still is, far more lenient where women are concerned, right up to and including the act of murder itself. <sup>6</sup>

But the dominant American culture with its "puritanical" heritage began changing rapidly after World War II, caught up in a world-wide restructuring of morals. Controversy, reform and unrest were rampant. Important segments of the population rose up into movements and rebellions. And since the country always has been secretly obsessed with sex and is both "erotophobic"<sup>7</sup> and erotophilic, a side issue in almost all of these movements, whether directly or indirectly, seemed to have had some connection with sex. <sup>8</sup> Evelyn Duvall characterized this new ethos as "a basic shift from sex denial to sex affirmation throughout our culture."<sup>9</sup> Cynics put it another way, charging that the national emblem of the wing-spread eagle was being subverted to the leg-spread eagle.

Part of this change was spurred by militant minorities who utilized the tactics once used in black social protest. The rising "gay" or homosexual revolution epitomized this trend. By the end of 1973, militant homosexuals had already succeeded in removing homosexuality from the category of mental illness by the American Psychiatric Association<sup>10</sup> and later prompted some politically sensitive communities to declare a "Gay Pride Day."<sup>11</sup> The historic action in the American Psychiatric Association rent that staid body asunder and sparked acrimonious debate within its ranks. Warned Charles Socarides of the Einstein School of Medicine, "They're playing tricks with mankind. The APA has done what all civilizations would have trembled to do -- tamper with the biological role between the sexes."<sup>12</sup> Socarides saw this as part of a "conspiracy, a movement of sexual equalitarianism in which everything is equal." He believed that his colleagues might eventually

declare transvestites and transsexuals normal.<sup>13</sup> He was right.

Robert Stoller has long concluded that his transsexual post-operated patients typically lose neurotic symptoms of anxiety and depression.<sup>14</sup>

Harry Benjamin, an endocrinologist, one of the pioneers in the field, denies that transsexuals are necessarily even neurotic.<sup>15</sup>

The indeterminate size of the homosexual population is a big factor in its success. Some homosexual sources set the figure at one million in New York City alone, which would make homosexuals there surpass in numbers the entire Puerto Rican City Population.<sup>16</sup>

Arno Karlen sets the parameters of this population nationally between 10 million and 25 million.<sup>17</sup> R.E.L. Masters, author of The Homosexual

Revolution, believes that the number of devotees is rising.<sup>18</sup> The psychologist, Albert Ellis, strongly implies that as negative sanctions are removed, "the vast majority" of individuals will participate in homosexual activities on some occasions but this would not give them a homosexual identity preference or need.<sup>19</sup>

The "gay" challenge to societal conventions and morals does pose a myriad of thorny questions unanswered by the ever-increasing volume of studies on the lifestyle. For example, in light of the APA decision, is the subculture really deviant? Since no western society deliberately trains its members to be homosexual and since heterosexuality is the professed ideal norm, even among homosexual mothers themselves,<sup>20</sup> it is logical to so define it sociologically, although not in any pejorative sense.<sup>21</sup> Next, is it a single subculture, or does it vary along dimensions of sex, class or race? Scholars still do not have the answers. But the charge has been made that "gay designers are dressing the nation in their fantasy clothes."<sup>22</sup> Charles Winick mentions certain

presumably heterosexual men in South Hampton, New York, who prefer to use panty hose as undergarments so they can wear tighter-fitting jeans.<sup>23</sup> The major department stores all carry "men's briefs" which in color, texture and flowered design could substitute for women's panties.<sup>24</sup> And Mary Quant introduced a line of makeup for men in New York which included lipstick, eye shadow and mascara -- although without notable immediate success.<sup>25</sup>

Despite the high interest in other "pariah" groups, there appears to have been practically no systematically-collected, empirical data wholly dedicated to lower-class black lesbians ever published.<sup>26</sup> Virtually ignored even by radical feminists, these females seem to be unrepresented in the white, middle-class lesbian wing of "Women's Lib." Not only has their absence been almost total in the scientific literature, but a similar void persists in the popular literature as well.<sup>27</sup>

Some compelling reasons exist as to why a scientific investigation of the lower-class black lesbian is of the utmost importance today. To borrow the Churchillian style, she is a "riddle wrapped up in a mystery inside an enigma."<sup>28</sup> Nobody fully understands her. The off-handed attempts to penetrate her obscurity have often resulted in a blend of mistake and fantasy. The need for this knowledge is especially relevant to the rising female power consciousness of these times. For example, does the black lesbian confirm a consciousness of kind? Does she echo the cry that Sisterhood Is Powerful like the white middle-class homosexually-involved female?<sup>29</sup>

In the past, some occasional research, but no comprehensive study, has been done on black female prisoners in the narrow area of penology. As far back as 1913, Margaret Otis examined homosexual practices among

delinquent white and black girls in reform schools and described how color differences replaced the differences in sex.<sup>30</sup> Not until the mid-1960's, however, did a fuller explanation of female prison homosexuality find its way into print with the claim that lesbian relations determined the social organization in women's prisons.<sup>31</sup>

The female prison, evidently, is not simply a microcosm of the larger culture but a special mirror which might show where the warps in the American society really are. It spotlights a decided correlation between social stress and sexual nonconformity. For example, prostitution under conditions of economic hardship is often considered a survival or coping technique. This, it will be seen, is true of ghetto female homosexuality as well. Lower-class black women, who have learned to maximize small advantages and who have learned survival in the face of lifelong adversity, make instrumental use of prison homosexuality in order to triumph over a hostile environment. Exactly how and why this occurs will become apparent in the chapters that follow.

#### The Conceptual Framework and Research Design:

In two separate studies involving women's correctional institutions, Ward and Kasselbaum<sup>32</sup> and shortly thereafter, Rose Giallombardo,<sup>33</sup> found widespread homosexuality to be the major feature in the informal social organization of female prisons. A kind of pseudoheterosexuality prevailed in which participants in lesbian dyads engaged in imitative male/female role behavior. Giallombardo and particularly Ward and Kasselbaum saw this homosexual conversion that they described as an adaptational response to the deprivations of prison life.<sup>34</sup>

That the prison environment alone could account for so many "jailhouse turnouts" was challenged on a variety of fronts. Skeptics

wondered if there might not be something in these women's class or cultural backgrounds which facilitated this type of response. Reviewers of these works, such as Mabel A. Elliott, called for a study of some possible correlations between the prison researches and sexually promiscuous individuals in the communities from which the prisons drew their populations.<sup>35</sup>

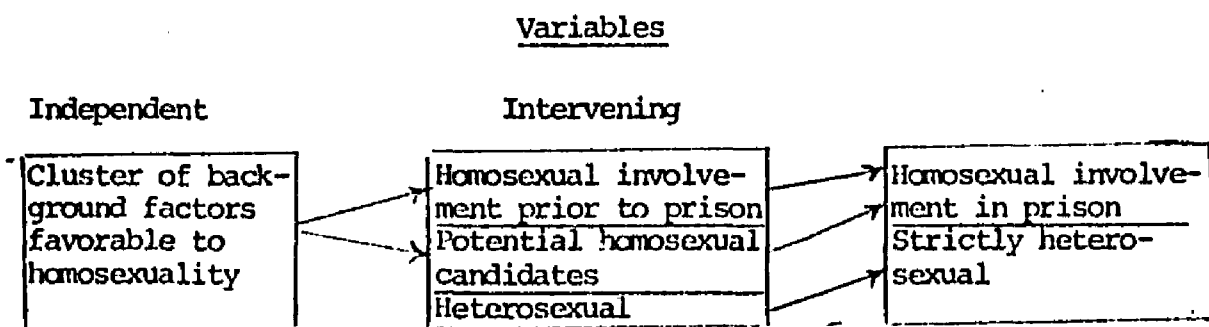
In the present work, I set out to determine, by research in and out of prison, whether such correlations could be located. This research focuses exclusively upon homosexuality among lower-class black females, in and out of prison, for not only are Afro-American women over-represented in the nation's penitentiaries,<sup>36</sup> but their influence on the inmate culture probably exceeds their numerical strength. This is verified by many types of evidence, such, as, for example, how thoroughly black subcultural slang dominates the prison argot.<sup>37</sup>

In altering somewhat, then, the conceptual models advanced by Giallombardo and by Ward and Kasselbaum, the general assumption of this thesis is that the most salient feature of lower-class black lesbianism -- a feature which also largely influences the incidence of homosexuality while in penal institutions -- arises out of, or is shaped by, an adaptational or instrumental response to the deprivations of poverty. One main objective of the research, in two distinct parts, is thus generated.

The first part of the objective examines the core research question: Do lower-class black women who have in-prison lesbian experience have this as their first such homosexual relationship, or have they had these types of sexual encounters before incarceration? If the latter is true, then lesbian behavior while in custody represents less of a "pressure-

cooker" situation than an "importation process." In that case, for women who engage in lesbian activities in prison, lesbianism is a symptom of lower-class black life rather than a consequence of prison life.

The second part flows naturally from the first and relates to the testing of hypotheses aimed at determining which of the black inmates will engage in homosexual activity while in prison and which would not. The research question involved here is: Assuming the "importation" hypothesis is correct, what are the factors that lead to or do not lead to preprison homosexuality and hence to prison homosexuality? The systematic study of several New York City ghetto communities<sup>38</sup> revealed many of the factors which predisposed a woman to this kind of activity. These then were matched against a cross-section of the black prison population. An index was constructed to show the sociological indicators of high homosexual potential. The connection is diagrammatically displayed below:



The score is negatively correlated. A high negative rating reveals fewer of the corroding effects of poverty and ostensibly lowers the degree of pressure upon these women to practice unconventional survival patterns. It follows, then, that the women who attain low negative scores are more likely to have experienced homosexual relations prior to prison and therefore are likely to continue these relations during in-

carceration. Conversely, the higher the negative score, the more likely these women are to be strictly heterosexual in prison.

In all formulations there remain a few individuals who cannot be accounted for under the prevailing theory. For example, some women who were homosexual prior to prison are not homosexual in prison and vice versa. Ward and Kassebaum mention a category of woman called the "true homosexual" — a distinction between the females who convert to lesbian behavior in prison and those who were not only homosexual before coming to prison but who expect to continue in the "gay" life after being released.<sup>39</sup> "True homosexuals" are officially estimated from their records at from five to ten percent of the prison population which, of course, is an unreliable estimate since few women reveal this information to prison interrogators.<sup>40</sup> Ward and Kassebaum separated this category from their calculations on the homosexually active inmates.<sup>41</sup> But in this study, the etiology or even the differentiation of this group from the rest has no urgency.

A prison referred to here as "the Kokely Institution for Women" was the locus of the research. Kokely is a fictitious name for a representative female correctional facility and the identifying features concerning its location, personnel, and inmates have been altered to preserve its anonymity. Kokely nevertheless does exist and this study has attempted to faithfully report the data collected at that site.

For the purposes of this research, it was desirable to compare an in-prison with a nonprison lesbian lower-class black sample. Considering the delicate nature of the inquiry and the general lack of knowledge

concerning the composition of the black lesbian universe, obtaining a ghetto sample of overt as well as covert lower class female homosexuals was far from an easy task. Success depended upon my mode of entry in gaining access to this target population. Sanctioning agents — young women of this particular subculture who introduced me to their peers and served to justify my research on ideological or financial grounds — were vital. Participant observation was facilitated as trust developed over time. In fact, I lived in some of these households for short periods of time, observing and recording activities not generally open to outsiders. I tried to see life as they saw it and describe it as an ethnographer might do, using empirical data and interpretations based occasionally upon inference. All respondents were interviewed in great depth. Although I was able to establish myself as a friend, confidant, and even as an advisor of sorts, I learned quickly that the lending of money was inimical to friendship, there as elsewhere.

Having resided in Harlem before, a return to living in the area required only minor adjustments on my part. And although newcomers now replaced the people I knew, in a strange kind of way the streets and the aura of Harlem remained for me hardly changed. My familiarity with the neighborhoods and with their customs and expectations contributed in no small measure to my ability to pursue my objectives.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Kingsley Davis, "Sexual Behavior" in Rober K. Merton and Robert A. Nisbet, (Ed) Contemporary Social Problems, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1961 and 1966, p. 324.

<sup>2</sup>Bettie Wysor, The Lesbian Myth: Insights and Conversations, (New York: Random House, 1974), p. 114. Wysor quotes Dr. Margaret Mead.

<sup>3</sup>Charlotte Wolff, Love Between Women, Harper Colophon Books, (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1971), p. 6. Wolff does not state it this way but says: "The idea of male superiority does not allow men and man-ruled society to accept homosexuality among women as either a serious threat to their sexual needs or to the interests of the state..."

<sup>4</sup>David Ward and Gene C. Kassebaum, Women's Prison: Sex and Social Structure, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965), p. 221.

<sup>5</sup>Roger S. Mitchell, The Homosexual and the Law, (New York: Arco Publishing Company, Inc., 1969), pp. 8-10.

<sup>6</sup>Freda Adler, Sisters In Crime: The Rise of the New Female Criminal, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1975), p. 240. Adler notes: "In the United States, as well as in other countries, courtroom chivalry has time and again resulted in decisions for acquittal which were more faithful to accepted attitudes than accepted evidence."

In the April 1977 Volume 23, Number 2 issue of Crime and Delinquency, the theme was "Criminal Justice to Women: Not Fair!" and indicates some controversy over this view. However, in the articles by Ray R. Price, "The Forgotten Female Offender," pp. 101-108 and Gail Armstrong, "Females Under the Law-'Protected' But Unequal," pp. 109-120, there are contradictions in their arguments. Price admits there is "general leniency all along the line from original complaint to imprisonment" (p. 104); and Armstrong allows that many female juvenile delinquents are not arrested but are turned over to the courts by their own parents or close relatives (p.115). She complains of the inherent unfairness to women of the indeterminate sentence. But this sentencing procedure is practiced in only 13 states wherein sentencing discrimination against males is practiced in the balance of the states (pp. 109, 110, and 119).

<sup>7</sup>See Alan P. Bell, "Black Sexuality: Fact and Fancy," a paper presented to Focus: Black America Series, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, October 14, 1968, p. 2.

<sup>8</sup>It is well-known that the Civil Rights Movement had to face the sexual issue. The white Viola Liuzzo was shot to death simply for riding

in a car with a 20-year old black male civil rights worker, although she was old enough to be his mother. See "Alabama: The Trial," Time, May 14, 1965, pp. 27 and 28.

<sup>9</sup>Isadore Rubin, "Transition in Sex Values-Implications for the Education of Adolescents," In Anne McCreary Juhasz, Edition, Sexual Development and Behavior: Selected Readings, (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1973), p. 205.

<sup>10</sup>Richard D. Lyons, "Psychiatrists in Shift, Declare Homosexuality No Mental Illness," The New York Times, December 6, 1973, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup>"Gay Day OK'd in Hackensack," New York Post, June 18, 1974, p. 3. The first such U.S. city to adopt such a resolution was East Lansing, Michigan. Hackensack, New Jersey was thought to be second. See also Patrick J. Buchanan, "Gay Pride...It's Nothing to Brag About, Either," Daily News, July 1, 1976, p. 66. "As part of its bicentennial celebration, the City of Los Angeles is officially observing Gay Pride Week."

<sup>12</sup>Barbara Trecker, "Homosexuals in New York," Article V, New York Post, March 29, 1974, p. 49.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Robert J. Stoller, "Does Sexual Perversion Exist?" The Johns Hopkins Medical Journal, 134, 1 (January 1974), p. 56. Also see Robert Stoller, "Transsexualism and Transvestism," Psychiatric Annals, 1, 4 (December 1971), p. 62.

<sup>15</sup>Arno Karlen, Sexuality and Homosexuality: A New View, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1971), p. 224.

<sup>16</sup>Owen Moritz, "A Serious Look at Gay Rights," Sunday News, New York, May 12, 1974, p. 32.

<sup>17</sup>Arno Karlen, op.cit., p. xiii.

<sup>18</sup>R. E. L. Masters, The Homosexual Revolution: (New York: The Julian Press, Inc., Publishers, 1962), p. xiv. See also Morton Hunt, Sexual Behavior in the 1970s, (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc. 1974), p. 303. Hunt sees no increase in actual homosexual behavior.

<sup>19</sup>Albert Ellis, The American Sexual Tragedy, (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1954). Book Review in The Psychiatric Quarterly, 28, 1 (1954), pp. 153-154. This review notes: "Ellis Writes (page 80) The American Sexual Tragedy): '— the probability is that the vast majority of all males at some time desire to participate in homosexual activity, but many refrain from doing so out of guilt or fear.'"

<sup>20</sup>See Chapter VIII, this work. Also see William Simon and John Gagnon, "The Lesbians: A Preliminary Overview" in John Gagnon and William Simon, Edition, Sexual Deviance, (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1967), p. 267.

<sup>21</sup>John I. Kitsuse, "Societal Reactions to Deviant Behavior," Social Problems, 9 (Winter 1962), p. 249. Also see Howard Becker, Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance. (New York: The Free Press, 1963), p. 8.

<sup>22</sup>Arno Karlen, op.cit., p. xviii.

<sup>23</sup>Charles Winick, The New People: Desexualization in American Life (New York: Pegasus, 1968), p. 270.

<sup>24</sup>Carried in Alexander's Department Store, 58th Street and Lexington Avenue; New York City, among others.

<sup>25</sup>Donald Singleton, "Makeup for Males Is Fashion's Newest Wrinkle," Daily News, New York, May 3, 1976, p. 4.

<sup>26</sup>Confirmed through personal correspondence with such authorities as Lionel Ovesey; Ms. Sylvia Lyons Render, The Library of Congress; Charles Socarides; Michael Winston, Moorland-Springarn Research Center, Howard University; Aljosie Yabura, The Institute of the Black World; Daniel Williams, Tuskegee Institute Library; Ms. Ann Shockley, Fisk University Library; and many more. See Bibliography.

<sup>27</sup>Rita Bass-Hass' article, "The Lesbian Dyad: Basic Issues and Value Systems," The Journal of Sex Research, 4, 2 (May 1968), pp. 108-126, is usually cited as the lone exception. However, her article deals with "Non-Whites" as distinct from blacks and is discussed in Chapter II, this work.

<sup>28</sup>J. T. Terhorst, "Ford: A Man For This Season," Daily News, New York, August 11, 1975, p. 8. He speaks of Winston Churchill.

<sup>29</sup>Valerie Solanis, "Excepts From the SCUM (Society For Cutting Up Men) in Robin Morgan (Ed), Sisterhood Is Powerful, (New York: Random House, 1970), pp. 514ff. Solanis writes: "It is technically possible to reproduce without the aid of males--- and produce only females. We must begin immediately to do so --- the male is an incomplete female, a walking abortion, aborted at the gene state."

<sup>30</sup>Margaret Otis, "A Perversion Not Commonly Noted," Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 8 (June-July 1913) pp. 113-116.

<sup>31</sup>David Ward and Gene C. Kassebaum, op.cit., dust jacket. See also Rose Giallombardo, Society of Women: A Study of a Women's Prison, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), p. 123.

<sup>32</sup>Ward as Kassebaum, op.cit.

<sup>33</sup>Rose Giallombardo, op.cit.

<sup>34</sup>David H. Ward and Gene G. Kassebaum, "Homosexuality: A Mode of Adaptation in a Prison for Women," Social Problems, 12 (1964), pp. 159-177.

<sup>35</sup>Mabel A. Elliott, Review of David A. Ward and Gene C. Kassebaum's book, Women's Prison: Sex and Societal Structure in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 368 (November 1966), pp. 232-233.

<sup>36</sup>Ward and Kassebaum, Women's Prison, op.cit., pp. 58-59 note: About 5% of persons who commit crimes known to the police are eventually sent to prison and these cases reveal the strong bias in favor of confining lower class and minority group persons.

<sup>37</sup>See Rose Giallombardo, op.cit., "Glossary of Prison Terms," pp. 204-213.

<sup>38</sup>Harlem; Bedford-Stuyvesant; South Bronx; South Jamaica and environs.

<sup>39</sup>Ward and Kassebaum, Women's Prison, op.cit., pp. 118-126.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 96. Their estimate was 5%. See also Esther Heffernan, Making It in Prison: The Square, The Cool and the Life, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1972), p. 97. Her estimate was 6%.

<sup>41</sup>Ward and Kassebaum, Ibid.

## CHAPTER II

## PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Female homosexuality as a derivative of prison life has been a source of anxiety to prison officials for at least three quarters of a century and as such has been shrouded in silence and suppression. What record we have of it in the early scientific literature comes down to us through the indignation of moralists who may have been incensed over its interracial aspects and outraged over the sexual expression in what is supposed to be a homosexual atmosphere. The very idea that white female prisoners could share sexual intimacies with black women in the institutional setting met with moral repugnance. The emotionality of interracial coupling took precedence over other facets of the issue. Sociological analyses of the situation were rare and for the most part, when attempted, tended toward rudimentary over-generalizations. Race was believed to be a mysterious factor in determining the masculine and feminine partners and quite inexplicably black girls were seen by the white girls in this kind of environment as potentiating the missing other sex. Interestingly enough, most of the early speculations -- dispossessed of venom and now sociologically stated -- have evolved into the prevailing orthodoxies. Peter Buffum's recent U. S. Department of Justice publication attempts to summarize the present conceptualizations surrounding the phenomenon:

The overt homosexuality [in female prisons] derives somewhat from the conventional sexual content role definitions of husband and wife, but also partially from the fact that a certain proportion of females who came into these institutions may well have experience with

lesbian relationships through experience with prostitution in the free community....<sup>2</sup>

Buffum continues:

Even in southern segregated institutions, cross-racial sexual feelings between the females are quite apparent. In these kinds of situations, a complex family constellation is created by females in the institution and in practically all of the cases the Negro females are defined as male and the white females defined as females. The masculine partner is described as a "stud" or a "daddy" and the female one is described as a "baby", a "vot," or "wife."<sup>3</sup>

Socialization of the two racial groups in terms of the emotional investment in the sexual experience was seen by Buffum as being the primary source of violence by jealous white women whose internalization of the dominant white culture led them to expect commitments from the "man" at the point of sexual surrender. However, sexual surrender in the outside lower-class black community probably never carried the same connotations. The reasons are more historical than racial and a later chapter will examine the circumstances which make the sexual activity for black females (to use Buffum's phrase) "less affectively loaded."<sup>4</sup> But for the present, it might serve us better to go back in the past and trace the inception and development of the present concepts.<sup>5</sup>

To a substantial degree, the study of female homosexuality was tied to a Victorian rectitude which denied that female eroticism existed. For example, Dr. William Acton's Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs, in 1865, stated that "the majority of women (happily for them) are not very much troubled with sexual feelings of any kind. What men are habitually, women are only exceptionally."<sup>6</sup> A few disagreed but Acton's book was accepted as an authoritative work on the subject and endured well into the 20th Century.<sup>7</sup>

Naturally, it always had been "known" that the human species casted off from time to time sexually flawed individuals whose dark desires stemmed from their genes. Lombroso's theory of the "born criminal" was one such version involving prostitution and loose women. Many investigators believed that homosexual behavior reflected a perverted need for dominant/submissive relations. The ancient Egyptians, for example, regarded anal intercourse as "female submissiveness" and it was their practice to deprive defeated enemies of their genitalia, thus making them more "woman-like."<sup>8</sup> The immensely powerful Dowager Empress of China was said "to have forced visitors to perform cunnilingus in token of submission."<sup>9</sup> The psychiatrist, Richard Von Kraft-Ebing, writing his magnum opus in 1886, described cases of supposedly congenital lesbianism in which he seemed more fascinated by the masculine dominance of one woman over another than in the pleasures that could be derived from the activity.<sup>10</sup>

All during the nineteenth century, reformers and humane committees had been in the forefront of efforts to establish special institutions and homes for the moral rehabilitation of delinquent young women who were not seen as wayward so much as misguided.<sup>11</sup> Relative to this need, Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, who was a commissioner of the New York State Board of Charities, wrote:

In neither jail, poorhouse, nor penitentiary, will they find anything to help them turn back; on the contrary... every door to virtue is closed... To rescue these unfortunate beings...reformatories should be established to which all women under thirty should be committed.<sup>12</sup>

The reformatories of which she spoke were intermediate between prisons and the already established reform schools. The staffs -- particularly of the juvenile institutions -- directed their attention to re-creating "standards of decency" among the ostensibly fallen girls. Lesbianism was observed in these schools<sup>13</sup> but rarely disclosed to outsiders. Disclosure might have jeopardized hard-won reforms.

In 1913, the first article relating to female homosexuality in corrections was published.<sup>14</sup> Dr. Margaret Otis, its author, might never have exposed the practice at all if she had not been appalled by what she considered the training school's baleful black influence. Otis was a true child of her time, distilling from the prevailing sentiments a tone of shocked morality. She wrote of this "form of perversion" involving love-making between "white and colored girls" and managed to insert into her article such derogatory remarks as "animal instinct," "passionate love of a low-order," "nigger-loving," and "see the coons get excited." The white girls claimed that the black girls "seemed the man," and reported they experienced "crazy" feelings being in their presence. Nor could racial separation, Otis found, dampen the allure. The inaccessibility of the banished black girls only increased the attraction. In Otis' pre-occupation with cross-racial sexuality little attention was given to the meaning of what she called "these practices, some of [which are of] so coarse a nature that they cannot be written down [and] seem to be part of the system, for system it must be called so thoroughly ingrained it is in the school life."<sup>15</sup>

Interpretation of Otis' data must be set within the context of her day, with its strong unstated fear of blackness and its sexual symbolism. A black mythology was created in order to justify coupling "black peril"

with "sexual menace." The sentiments of that time have been carefully sifted by I. A. Newby.<sup>16</sup>

If we are to accept Newby, such pioneering giants as Herbert Spencer used their ideas to defend racial inequality. Nor was the practice sexist. For a Miss Ellen Churchill Semple published in 1911 a well-received pseudo-scientific tract in which she contended that geographic influences operating upon "Negroes of the equatorial belt" caused their qualities to "degenerate into grave racial faults."<sup>17</sup> And a Dr. Mary O'Malley in 1914 wrote in the American Journal of Insanity, "A psychosis in an obviously lower race, such as the colored race really is, must necessarily offer some features from a mental standpoint,<sup>18</sup> which distinguish it in a general way from a psychosis in a higher race. But perhaps the sexually-loaded racial bigotry acquired a certain halo of respectability, through the efforts of the famous sociologist, Lester Frank Ward, who posited in 1907 that black men raped white women due to a "biological imperative" toward improving their offspring, while white men lynched accused black rapists because of a "biological law of self-preservation" which "impelled" white action.<sup>19</sup> American society thus pictured black males as ready to pounce upon and ravish white women. In such an atmosphere, it was not surprising that black girls exerted a mesmerizing effect upon pentup and highly impressionable white girls. Nor is it surprising that these girls would simply transfer the popular projections from the unavailable sexually-threatening black males to the the only blacks in their environment. Otis' paper, despite its short comings, was a germinal one and enormously influential. Though neither so devised nor intended, it set forth, explicitly or implicitly, just about every major idea on institutional lesbianism which was to reach maturity in the 1960's.

Discernable is Otis' influence upon Ford (1929)<sup>20</sup> Selling (1931),<sup>21</sup>  
 Moreno (1934),<sup>22</sup> and Kaiser and Schaffer (1949).<sup>23</sup> All of these re-  
 searchers dealt with the practice of cross-racial female homosexuality  
 in reform schools, singling out and elaborating upon features suggested  
 by Otis' work. Substantive literature directed solely to institutional  
 lesbianism among black women was, and still is, apparently non-existent.

Charles A. Ford, writing of homosexual problems in a female school  
 of a corrective type, found conditions there similar to those described  
 by Otis. "The colored relations, the martyr feelings, the notes, the  
 sexual significance, and the jealousies have all persisted " he observed.<sup>24</sup>  
 Familial relationships also were noted. A conjugal pair might have  
 "children" and when the "children" or some other third party became  
 involved, violent fights and jealousies ensued. Strangely, the durability  
 of the affair depended inversely upon the degree of accessibility  
 enjoyed, affairs lasting longer when physical contact was sharply limited.  
 Amorous relationships between roommates appeared to terminate almost at  
 once. Ford came to believe that the element of danger was the operative  
 ingredient in a "friendship". Since many of the girls had been institu-  
 tionalized because of sexual indiscretions, he felt that the anti-  
 social aspects of homosexuality added some zest to the situation. He  
 stressed the ephemeral nature of this kind of interest, saying that the  
 activity did not represent "the sexual desires of a lifetime" but "a  
 temporary or psuedo inversion."<sup>25</sup>

Two years later, Lowell Selling confirmed the existence of Ford's  
 familial configurations in a school for female delinquents. Entitling  
 his article, "The Psuedo Family," and remarking upon the annoying ad-  
 ministrative problem of interracial intimacies, Selling distinguished

four different levels of homosexual interactions: 1. Lesbian, 2. Pseudo-homosexuality, 3. Mother and daughter, and, 4. Friendship. Working backwards, two girls could have an inseparable but innocent relationship which might result in their being classed in civil society as "best friends." Then on level 3, the best friend assumes the nourishing role of mother or perhaps that of the daughter. On the next level, pretended conjugal roles are added to the mother/daughter relationship. A couple might play at being husband and wife, the acting stopping just short of actual sexual expression. And on the last, or level number 1, the conjugal couples do, in fact, engage in overt lesbianism, the dominant member of the union often affecting the insignias of masculinity. Selling believed that no more than 10 girls out of his population of 500 were so engaged and those so engaged were ostracized. In Selling's view, all but this last stage of "homosexuality" were "non-pathological" "since they existed in the realm of play and on a family plane."<sup>26</sup>

In 1934, J. L. Moreno, a psychiatrist, unknowingly replicated phases of Otis' and Ford's works. Ostensibly creating his own device for tracing the movements of people, Moreno developed sexual sociograms<sup>27</sup> for every member of a reform school for girls in Hudson, New York. He was amazed at the high level of homosexual behavior:

It is different and without parallel in a normal environment when white girls have crushes on colored girls, not only as individuals, but collectively en masse ... We have rarely found the bizarre behavior to be mutual... The white girl goes through all the gestures of courtship ... As long as it lasts, she is as if in a trance... The colored girl plays a different role in this game. While overtly she responds with affection she almost invariably ridicules the courtship... It appears that the blacker she is the more she despised the courtship.<sup>28</sup>

Moreno contended that in the correctional one-sex environment, the black girl offered the relief of being something "utterly different." The white girl took the black girl as a substitute for a boy. Because the black girl was a young woman herself, she needed to be wooed and plied with gifts as an inducement to play the boy's role as best she could. The illusion persisted quite well at a distance, but once the black girl was moved into the white quarters, the psychological attraction faded. Whereas Ford saw the loss of the element of danger as the determinant in ending the affair, for Moreno the act of living together reinforced the similarities of the same sex and destroyed the psychological fiction. Whereas Otis saw both black and white girls initiating these affairs, for Moreno it was a onesided activity, the instigators always being white.

The last of what one may characterize as the early group of studies specifically involving blacks presented perspectives on the tough, aggressive, fighting girls -- usually black -- who, while institutionalized, selected the male role, yet harbored an agonizing need for an idealized psuedo family to replace the one they had never had. Kaiser and Schaffer believed that these girls were "overcompensating" to escape any feelings of femininity. Ever since infancy, the role of female had brought them nothing but rejection by-everyone. Identifying with a fantasized loving father whom their hated mother had driven off, they often selected in reform schools sweet and passive white girls upon whom to shower love.

Some important facts emerged from these four studies. All of the writers seemed to agree that for most girls homosexuality under conditions of confinement was but a temporary sexual aberration. The white

girls, deprived of males, transferred their affections to the black girls. Opinion was divided as to why. Some investigators, such as Moreno and Ford, inferred that the homosexual phenomenon arises as an institutional product and cannot be eradicated through custodial means. Others such as Keiser and Schaffer implied that individual vulnerability was created by outside forces and brought into the institution. Keiser and Schaffer's explanation of "over-compensation" and "escape from rejection" is reminiscent of Simone de Beauvoir's assertion that homosexuality for a woman can be "a mode of flight from her situation or a way of accepting it."<sup>30</sup>

Foreshadowed by these opposing positions was the looming controversy that developed in the 1950's. Since this controversy, which relates to the nature of the inmate social system, is in many respects germane to the thrust of this dissertation, two studies on male prisons which helped to guide later research on female prisons will be cited.

In 1958, Gresham Sykes' book, The Society of Captives, appeared. Sykes argued that all prison communities arise in and of themselves along similar lines stemming "from attempts to solve much the same problems."<sup>31</sup> Central to his thinking was the concept of the "pains of imprisonment" which he declared male prisoners must undergo. Upon entering prison, all men are confronted by five major deprivations or frustrations "in the areas of social acceptance, material possessions, heterosexual relations, personal autonomy, and personal security."<sup>32</sup> The response to these deprivations creates the inmate social system. Because the "pains of imprisonment" are lessened for the inmate population as a whole in direct proportion to the degree of inmate

solidarity, a so-called inmate code evolves almost sui generis from the prison community. This code is aimed at creating a cohesive set of behavior patterns and values by which inmates can counter the values and goals of the authorities.<sup>33</sup> Ipso facto, all inmate social systems derive from a common source and assume like structure. Sykes' thesis represents one of the finest arguments on the side of inmate culture as an institutional creation, but it did not go unchallenged.

The chief countervailing argument on the side of the pre-prison experience was presented by John Irwin and Donald Cressey in 1962.

They elaborate the point with clarity:

It has become common to discuss "prison culture" and "inmate culture" in terms suggesting that the behavior systems of various types of inmates stem from the conditions of imprisonment themselves. Use of a form of structural-functional analysis in research and observation of institutions has led to emphasis of the notion that internal conditions stimulate inmate behavior of various kinds...<sup>34</sup>

The joint authors examined the character of the inmate code and concluded that it was in reality the norms of the free world criminal code transplanted to the prison environment and adjusted according to the kinds of life experiences, social identities and subcultural backgrounds the men brought into the prison with them. In this perspective, the outside criminal code conferred a certain amount of prestige upon those who disdained any cooperation with the police. It likewise exalted he-man assertive violence, approved of manipulative personal and sexual relations, while denigrating the "stool pidgeons" or those who were easily used. Irwin and Cressey described three latent subcultures which they said were operative in the prison community: the thief, the convict, and the legitimate subcultures. The first of

these was supportive of the "right guy," the second valued utilitarian and manipulative actions, and the third sprang from the accepted value system of the dominant free society which the relatively law-abiding obey except in instances of impulsion or desperation. Socialization in the values of any one of these free-world subcultures determined an inmates' behavioral response during his period of incarceration. Thus, for Irwin and Cressey, the preprison experience created a disjunctive blend of co-existing values rather than one unitary inmate social system.

Despite the persuasiveness of both arguments, or maybe because of it, one is forced to wonder why an obvious synthesis of the two paradigms has not been effectively worked out. For example, in prisons men eat, sleep, and work together and this gives rise to what Sykes described as a common inmate social system, derived from the needs of the imprisoned to solve much the same problems. Different subcultural values, nevertheless, exist side by side, mitigated by calculated self-interest. Since the physically violent men invariably rise to leadership, and since they as part of the more violent subcultural majority, gain power, the dissenting views of other subcultural groups either are muted or go underground. Hence, the inmate culture from prison to prison, in a general sense, presents a surface similarity which is undergirded by the opposite of cohesion — the threat of coercion. Beyond the veneer of solidarity, however, probably no unitary inmate social system exist. This would become apparent if the law were ever to decree commitment of, say, white collar offenders to a prison of their own. In all likelihood the inmate social configuration would assume a different form. In effect this is the case with women.

Female prisons are qualitatively different from men's institutions in treatment, in theory and in architectural form. Too much that is peculiar to the female obtains in the custodial situation. Although men with pregnant wives or girlfriends can and do enter prison, this is by no means comparable to the fact that pregnant women are imprisoned, do give birth and retain the infant for a time in the penal institution. Females are permitted cottages centered around family-styled living, something unusual except for male juveniles (not officially called prisons) and for a few minimum security prisons for adult males. Only in female prisons are sanitary napkins among the most prized possessions, being used for everything from currency to powder-puffs to cigaret lighters.<sup>38</sup> Only women cannot be transferred to "closer-custody of maximum security institutions,"<sup>39</sup> as these do not exist for them. And while some people have challenged this,<sup>40</sup> a great number of women who write in the field of corrections, note that the criminal justice system treats women far more leniently than men, particularly the offending young girl, or wife, or mother.<sup>41</sup> From these different starting points, one must expect different results and, as far as can be determined, no one has argued the contrary. Women in prison respond to their environment as women prisoners, not merely as prisoners.

It has long been suspected that female institutional behavior deviated substantially from the usual male prison behavior. The previously cited early studies of training schools for girls seemingly pointed to different needs among committed girls. Then, in 1952, Joan Henry contended, in an autobiographical account of her interment in English prisons, that while bribery was the paramount problem among male prisoners, homosexuality was the major problem in adult female

correctional facilities.<sup>42</sup> The psychiatrist, Frank Caprio,<sup>43</sup> took up her views and disseminated them among his lay and professional readerships. Seizing upon some of Henry's statements, Caprio characterized lesbianism as almost a norm of prison life, centering around pairs who act out the roles of husband and wife and those jealousies and violent scenes greatly disrupt prison routine.<sup>44</sup> Caprio, a compiler more than a prison investigator, gathered quotes from a variety of sources, some of them showing the lingering dominance of the interracial problem,<sup>45</sup> although Henry's work was based on a virtually all-white or mono-racial institution. Thus it might be said that Frank Caprio, perhaps more than any other of the pre-1960 authors, crystalized the issue and sent out the clarion call for more systematic study: "We have only begun," he wrote, "to scratch the surface of this subject. Much work yet remains to be done before we can say that we have grasped a clear and full understanding of the nature of lesbianism among female prisoners."<sup>46</sup> No one heeded the call for almost a decade, and the intriguing leads furnished by Caprio and Henry dried up. Perhaps such exploration in the 1950s appeared to researchers and to correctional officials to be both politically sensitive and professionally unwise.

With the peaking of the civil rights movement in the early 1960s, there was a wide-scale liberalizing of American racial attitudes, at least on an overt and manifest level. Blacks suddenly were cast in a better light. The white public, at least for a while, became more curious and interested in the needs of blacks, and the spillage covered black prison life as well.<sup>47</sup> Under the promptings of the new interest a handful of prison officials opened their gates for a few serious investigators. Three major, eventually-published female prison

studies, each independent of the others, managed to get under way. Although two of the studies focused directly upon the topic of homosexuality, the third approached it only incidentally. All three explored its interracial aspects, but usually by implication rather than by making specific racial distinctions. These three studies, in order of date of publication, were by David Ward and Gene Kassebaum in 1965;<sup>48</sup> Rose Giallombardo in 1966;<sup>49</sup> and by Esther Heffernan in 1972.<sup>50</sup> While they have different publication dates, all three studies were conducted roughly about the same time.

Ward and Kassebaum's Women's Prison: Sex and Social Structure, made a logical progression through the early literature to springboard in the direction suggested by Caprio. Researching Frontera, a state prison for women in California, Ward and Kassebaum appeared surprised to find that homosexuality was the most salient factor in the informal inmate culture there.<sup>51</sup> The analysis uncovered the oft-suspected existence of dyadic homosexual partnerships among grown women, as previous research had shown it to be among juveniles. Male/female conjugal roles were acted out, the male role incumbents adopting an exaggerated and often erroneous interpretation of masculinity. Called "butches," in contrast to their more feminine-acting partners who were called "femes," they wore their hair short, walked in a slumping, humpbacked posture, scorned make-up, wore longer skirts, and "dropped the belt" low on the waist as a badge of male sexual orientation. The butch was the aggressive partner of the pair, exacting obedience from her "wife." The femme, on the other hand, was a more retiring figure in the manner more often associated with females of old. She exhibited feminine wiles and homemaking abilities, and cultivated an aura of

attractiveness to entice and to hold a partner. The two assumed roles were social statuses as well, the butch's position carrying far more prestige among the prisoners than the subordinated femme role. In the highly competitive atmosphere where the femmes outnumber the butches by about two to one, the feminine partner often had to resort to what amounted to buying and holding affection through the use of gifts, services and commissary items. Powerful claims were placed upon loyalties and affections thus purchased, and when they began to waiver, hostilities, suicide attempts and jealous fights resulted.

To incorporate this activity into the female prison structure, Ward and Kassebaum turned to Gresham Sykes' "pains of imprisonment" as a starting point. In addition to suffering the five basic deprivations, Ward and Kassebaum found that most women also suffered the unique female anguish of being dispossessed of the mother role. For 68 percent of them were at that very time mothers of minor children. The authors insisted that separation from children, husbands and lovers was far more traumatic for women than for men. They further stated:

In prison, then, some of the problems of adjustment faced by inmates may be countered with a normative position brought from the free world. This position permits the inmate to maintain self-esteem and provides guide lines for action in a threatening environment.<sup>54</sup>

In short, homosexuality in prison arises among women as the major mode of adaptation to the deprivations of confinement and becomes a device for mitigating the "pains of imprisonment" by creating a parallel conjugal structure using male stand-ins from the single-sex community. A kind of conversion process takes place which provides the rationale, supportive traditions, initiation rites and remission from guilt needed

to allow formerly heterosexual women<sup>55</sup> to become the kind of temporary homosexuals referred to as "jailhouse turnouts."<sup>56</sup> Cassel and Van Vorst, writing on the personal needs of imprisoned women in general, lists a "need for ego status among a small group of intimate peers and some degree of sympathetic understanding of their personal problems."<sup>57</sup> Secondly, they list "exaggerated symbiotic needs,"<sup>58</sup> meaning the overriding desire for a mutually advantageous close mother/child relationship. And finally, they list psychosexual needs which involve a continuous intimate interaction with a spouse or partner.<sup>59</sup> Citing Cassel and Van Vorst in their work, Ward and Kassebaum were saying in effect that the temporary lesbian relationship delineated in their paradigm<sup>60</sup> provides a smattering of all three, even down to the suckling infant.

Largely in agreement with Ward and Kassebaum was Rose Giallombardo's own investigation of Alderson, the Federal Reformatory for Women in West Virginia, which was published the following year.<sup>61</sup> In general, she found a more cohesive informal social system among women than Ward and Kassebaum found at Frontera. Giallombardo observed that:

the system of roles and statuses is imported into the prison setting, not merely the values and attitudes of the individuals who enter the prison world... The deprivations of imprisonment may provide necessary conditions for the emergence of an inmate social system, but they are not in themselves sufficient to account for the structural form such systems assume in adult female and male prisons.<sup>62</sup>

The unique structural form of the informal inmate social system in women's prisons must be understood in terms of the normative socialization in the external culture and in the nature of female role expectations, both of which Giallombardo explored:

The cultural orientation of the female...begins at a very early age. [Jules] Henry states that in American culture, by the time the schoolgirl is twelve she must validate herself as a female by proving that she can attract boys. Consequently, this discourages the formation of female groups and encourages the development of predatory interpersonal patterns of behavior among females, with gossip serving both as a potent weapon of defense and as a negative sanction.<sup>63</sup>

Jules Henry, Giallombardo's main source for this, elaborates more fully in Culture Against Man:

In boys' groups the emphasis is on masculine unity; in girls' cliques the purpose is to shut out other girls... girls do not have teams but cling closely to "best friends," fighting (using gossip as a weapon) to hold them against other girls who might steal them in order to make them their best friends...<sup>64</sup>

Numerous writers have noted this propensity among women. Cynthia Epstein in quoting Helen Hacker indicates: "that women everywhere refer to female 'cattiness' and disloyalty. They claim to dislike otherwomen, assert they prefer to work for men and profess to find female gatherings repugnant..."<sup>65</sup>

Thus it is not hard to see that the male conception of an inmate code would not serve women very well. Ward and Kassebaum and Giallombardo therefore agree on what is perhaps central to both studies: affective needs among female prisoners are paramount. These needs are secured through an informal inmate social system which is organized into situationally patterned, temporary homosexual alliances. There the consensus ends. Ward and Kassebaum see the resultant social system as a "non-cohesive aggregate of homosexual dyads and friendship cliques,"<sup>66</sup> whereas Giallombardo sees it as an integrated structure, the aggregates really being tied together through "marriages,"

matrifocal "families" and overlapping kinship bonds, all of which help mediate jealousies and suspicions. These "families" contain consanguine as well as conjugal roles and involve a wide array of surrogate grandparents, parents, children, aunts, uncles, and cousins. Kinship ties often span "racial lines and cut across differences in social class."<sup>67</sup> Theoretically, if Giallombardo's slotted formulations are correct and prove to be indispensible structures in all female prisons, a generalized theory of stability emerges. There can be no doubt that these structures do exist in Alderson. The political prisoner, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, described, with ill-disguised distaste the homosexual bonds, the amorous exploitations, jealousies and fights<sup>68</sup> at Alderson which Giallombardo later systematically analyzed. And the dignified stockbroker and accused embezzler, Edna O'Brien, although breathing not a word about homosexuality during her stay at Bedford Hills, New York, inadvertently dropped the hint that she had been the "Daddy" back in the mid-1930s and that a younger woman had been her "son."<sup>69</sup> Joan Henry mentions families in English Prisons,<sup>70</sup> and the call girl, Virginia McManus, ridiculed what she insisted were constantly shifting<sup>71</sup> familial relations and incest patterns. Still the evidence is scanty and not at all conclusive. Ward and Kassebaum were convinced that the "play family" was not an indispensable unit before the problem was even raised by Giallombardo:

While 65 percent of the women at Frontera came from officially known broken homes, there were no family constellations reported...

In sum, inmate "families" are found in institutions for girls and in situations where girls and women are housed together... In prisons for adult women, stress derives from separation from the conjugal rather than the

consanguine family. When they substitute roles, they substitute husbands, lovers and boyfriends.<sup>72</sup>

The major flaw in the argument of Ward and Kassebaum is internal inconsistency. Earlier, they had stated that women suffer more than men when separated from their children. In prison, therefore, it would seem reasonable to suppose that a substitute "child" would give psychological satisfaction. Since degrees of helplessness and despair could render a grown woman child-like, it would not matter that Frontera housed older inmates than Alderson.<sup>73</sup>

The major flaw in Giallombardo's argument is that she says, "... once kinship ties are formed they are binding in terms of primary social relations and mutual aid."<sup>74</sup> Yet, elsewhere, she notes, "most couples tend to remain united for only one to three months and then secure new partners."<sup>75</sup> Thus, logically, these binding ties would make everybody related to everybody else and mutual aid available everywhere.

Dissonance between the studies centered around another area too -- the amount of homosexual activity in the respective institutions. Ward and Kassebaum observed that "it appears that about fifty percent of the inmates...were sexually involved at least once during their term of imprisonment."<sup>76</sup> Giallombardo's figure soared to 86 percent, including 215 "studs" and 336 "femmes" which she personally counted during a cottage by cottage search.<sup>77</sup> How she was able to distinguish between "femmes" and nonhomosexually involved inmates is not made sufficiently clear. Moreover -- and this is crucial to scientific study -- one must wonder why she nowhere defined her unit of measure: homosexuality itself. A clear-cut conceptualization of the term is one of the strengths of the Ward Kassebaum study. Homosexuality was taken by them to mean:

"Kissing and fondling of the breasts, manual or oral stimulation of the  
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 genitalia and simulation of intercourse between two women." Their  
 definition did not include emotional arousal or any other act which was  
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 "not followed by overt sexual behavior."

It is surprising that almost every other study alluded to, rather than explicated, the term. Lowell Selling was the lone exception but his interpretation was so broad as to be self-defeating. To him homosexuality was any affective relationship between unrelated members of of the same sex.<sup>80</sup> Selling's 1931 article takes on renewed significance once we consider the research conducted by Heffernan in the District of Columbia Women's Reformatory at Occoquan, Virginia. Sister Heffernan, a nun, set out around 1963 to replicate Wheeler's test of Clemmer's concept of prisonization and discovered at least three types of pre-prison identities that had to be reckoned with in forming the informal  
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 inmate social system. Tangentially, and as a by-product, she not only confirmed the existence of familial configurations at Occoquan but also attempted to replicate in the adult female prison the four levels of "homosexual" involvement depicted by Selling. This proved impossible to do. Consequently, she made no attempt at separating those who were merely pretending to be conjugal partners from those who were in fact enjoying full sexual access. Two rates of homosexuality at Occoquan are frequently cited by reviewers of Heffernan's book, and neither is technically correct. The 37 percent quoted by the staff and the 50 to 60 percent estimate by the inmates both refer to the practice of "tying in," a nebulous term which can mean either playing at marriage or  
 82  
 actually engaging in the complete lesbian union. Nowhere does Heffernan offer an estimate of homosexual involvement in the sense

advanced by Ward and Kassebaum. The confusion points up the need for stricter definitions. Heffernan found, as did Selling, that "real sex" was abhorrent to the inmates and that ostracism quickly isolated those who were functioning in overt lesbian alliances. Nevertheless, the existence of "familying" was universally acknowledged at Occoquan, although there was some dispute over whether the younger women used it as a device to economically exploit older inmates. <sup>83</sup> However, buried in a footnote was an item of tremendous importance. Heffernan, briefly noted that Loretta Moran of the New York Women's House of Detention was of the opinion that "familying" occurs in juvenile homes in New York but only infrequently in the House of Detention because, as she phrased it, "our women are not so dependent as the younger girls, not so in need of a family." <sup>84</sup> If Moran is correct, homosexuality and "play families" do not necessarily have to operate concomitantly in the female informal inmate social system. Thus Sister Heffernan's study managed to lend some support to both sides.

The idea that preprison lesbian experience could be a significant variable in inmate homosexual behavior was suggested by Catherine Nelson in a 1974 dissertation. Conducting interviews and administering questionnaires to prisoners at two different female penal institutions, she hypothesized that more black women than white women were likely to engage in homosexuality before and during incarceration. They were also, she posited, more likely to assume the male role in prison during cross-racial affairs. <sup>85</sup> Although Ward and Kassebaum, in part, had indicated otherwise, <sup>86</sup> Nelson's research seemingly supported her hypotheses. <sup>87</sup> However, certain of her methodological procedures, such as collapsing the Spanish-speaking and black populations together, tend to detract

from the salience of the work. She established the existence of  
<sup>88</sup>  
 "familying" at Muncy and Clinton. Nelson, too, did not carefully de-  
<sup>89</sup>  
 fine her terms relating to homosexuality.

One of the most striking observations about the three major published studies and Nelson's dissertational research is their emphasis upon the preprison thesis in adult female prisons. Speculation is even offered that the women may have been introduced to homosexuality through prostitution in the free world. Prison theory-building thus is based upon a dearth of preprison data, although this data is necessary if one is to examine the question of "importation" or "pressure-cooker" models. Assumptions are made that may be completely false. Scientific reports of the sexual lives of interned black women are rare indeed, but systematic investigations of lower-class black lesbians are practically non-existent. To be sure, George Henry and his associates published two  
<sup>90</sup>  
 massive volumes entitled, Sex Variants, in 1941, but out of a total of 80 male and female case histories, only a few recorded details of those homosexually-inclined, middle-class, black women whose lifestyles happened to be interwoven with the lives of white women. Henry's research was purely descriptive. Furthermore, the whole complement of 80 subjects was selected and screened by a mysterious "Miss Gay" whose use of this  
<sup>91</sup>  
 homosexual euphemism suggest a pseudonym. She devised the general plan of approach embodied in the project and her control over the se-  
<sup>92</sup>  
 lection of subjects may have prejudiced the study.

The sole published account which presumably examines lower-class black lesbianism in civil society appeared in Rita Bass-Hass' 1968 com-  
<sup>93</sup>  
 parative study of white vs. "non-white" female homosexuals. I consider the study to be a meaningful one but, no matter how intended, her use of

the term "non-white" give birth to a hybrid creation -- one that cannot, in my opinion, be utilized as a reliable measure for blacks. We have seen from Nelson's combining of the black and Puerto Rican prisoner categories that the black population must be strictly defined. Investigators tend to forget that there are black ethnics -- those raised in a totally different culture, such as Hispanics or Caribbean nationals, whose inclusion could greatly bias the results. The demands of precise and exactitude must be met. Obviously, the "non-white" population is not coterminous with the black population. Data on the religious mix of the respondents in question,<sup>99</sup> the inordinate high rate of high school graduates among them (46%),<sup>95</sup> the secure financial position of their largely blue-collar occupations,<sup>96</sup> raise doubt about the composition of the group. Bass-Hass, using age, education, occupation, and religion as baseline data, concluded that "non-white" respondents tended to initiate<sup>97</sup> lesbian relationships at a later age than whites. The sexual behavior presented an "anti-thetical pattern" in that they had engaged in extensive sexual relations with men compared to the limited heterosexual experience of white lesbians who found this activity distasteful.<sup>98</sup> Contrary to popular belief, 87 percent of the non-white lesbians indicated that they were sadly disappointed with their present sexual relationships and found that their past sexual lives had been more gratifying.<sup>99</sup> Yet, despite their disenchantment, nonwhite lesbians chose the life as a way of avoiding a hand-to-mouth existence and of gaining economic viability within a stable and cooperative companionship.<sup>100</sup>

Three years before the Bass-Hass article, Ethel Sawyer's Master's Thesis was submitted to Washington University and in it she analyzed a public black lesbian "community."<sup>101</sup> Examining the patterned inter-

actions observed in certain bars and nightclubs, Sawyer was able to recognize five accepted levels of social status hierarchy. "It was noted previously" she wrote, "that the single most important criterion for ranking persons directly above them is that of the ability to get along with one's mate. [the individuals] having maintained a homosexual relationship through time."<sup>102</sup> This ability, of course, was deemed to increase with a rise in a person's economic fortunes. Thus the largely lower-class patrons of Jim's Bar suffered constant mate turnover, were caught up in highly unstable love affairs, and were locked into heavy "role-playing" of the butch/femme variety. Curiously, no bonds of pretended kinship were exhibited. "Studs" or "butches" were as rakishly masculine in manner and appearance on the outside as were their prison counterparts, and like them were valued higher than were the "femme" or "fish."<sup>103</sup>

In summarizing this chapter, several important points stand out. It slowly began to dawn upon correctional investigators that the lesbians pairs noted in female reform schools were not confined to young girls. Three major studies of adult female prisons in the 1960s presented systematic evidence that female homosexuality among grown, incarcerated women was the primary mode of adaptation to the "pains of imprisonment." It was assumed that the latent identities of men-and women influenced the form of adaptation. Thus women, responding as daughters, wives or mothers, sought familial structures which paralleled marriage and family on the outside and converted temporarily to homosexual dyads. The predominant model was that of the "pressure cooker" situation. Catherine Nelson, in her dissertation, was one of the few dissenters. She found a high percentage of black women who admitted to preprison homosexual

activity in her samples. But Nelson had done no outside research to offer supporting evidence.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Peter C. Buffum, "Homosexuality In Prisons," Washington, D. C., Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1972, p. 1. According to Buffum, "It was not until 1937 that the term 'homosexuality' first appears in the Index of the Proceedings of the American Prison Association, now the American Correctional Association."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.,

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Carl Degler, "What Ought To Be and What Was: Women's Sexuality in Nineteenth Century," American Historical Review, 79, 5 (December 1974), p. 1467.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 1469, 1470, 1472-3.

<sup>8</sup>Vern L. Bullough, "Homosexuality As Submissive Behavior: Examples From Mythology," The Journal of Sex Research, 9, 4 (November 1973), pp. 283-286.

<sup>9</sup>Ethel Person and Lionel Ovesey, "The Transsexual Syndrome in Males," American Journal of Psychology, XXVIII, 2 (April 1974), p. 179. It is assumed that both sexes were under this obligation.

<sup>10</sup>Richard Von Krafft-Ebing, Psychopathia Sexualis: A Medico-Forensic Study. Translated by Harry E. Wedeck (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1965) Re-issue of 1886., pp. 414-479.

<sup>11</sup>One home for "Wayward Girls" which is still in existence after over 130 years is located on its original site at 110 2nd Avenue in New York City. It was founded by John T. Hopper in 1845. See W. David Lewis, From Newgate to Dannemora: The Rise of the Penitentiary in New York 1796-1848 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1965), p. 168. Lewis quotes from D. S. Volume II, No. 74, pp. 10-11, 56th Session of the New York State Legislature: "Let us not suppose that a woman, however debased or degraded, ever becomes thoroughly hardened," the Committee contended in 1833. "Such a being must be as rare as a monster in the physical world."

<sup>12</sup>Clifford Young, Women's Prisons Past and Present and Other New York State Prison History, (Elmira Reformatory: The Summary Press, 1932), pp. 28-29.

<sup>13</sup>Margaret Otis, op. cit., p. 113.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.,

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 116.

<sup>16</sup>Idus A. Newby, Jim Crow's Defense: Anti Negro Thought In America 1900-1930 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1965), p. 48.

<sup>17</sup>Ellen Churchill Semple. Influences of Geographical Environment on the Basis of Ratzel's System of Anthro-Geography (New York: Russell and Russell, 1968 and 1911), pp. 120, 122.

<sup>18</sup>Alexander Thomas and Samuel Sillen. Racism and Psychiatry, (New York: Brunner/Mazel, Publishers, 1972), p. 13.

<sup>19</sup>Idus A. Newby, op.cit., p. 48

<sup>20</sup>Charles A. Ford, "Homosexual Practices of Institutionalized Females," The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XXIII, 4 (January-March 1929), pp. 442-448.

<sup>21</sup>Lowell Selling, "The Pseudo Family," American Journal of Sociology, 37 (1931), pp. 247-253.

<sup>22</sup>J. L. Moreno. Who Shall Survive? Formulations of Sociometry, Group Psychotherapy and Sociodrama. Revised Ed. (Beacon, New York: Beacon House, Inc., 1934 and 1953).

<sup>23</sup>Sylvan Keiser and Dora Schaffer, "Environmental Factors In Homosexuality In Adolescent Girls," The Psychoanalytic Review, 36 (July 1949) pp. 283-295.

<sup>24</sup>Charles A. Ford, op.cit., p. 442.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., pp. 442-448.

<sup>26</sup>Lowell S. Selling, op.cit., p. 253.

<sup>27</sup>Moreno called his diagrammed pattern of interaction between individuals a "sexual sociogram." "It displayed a strong resemblance to the tracking device utilized by Selling.

- <sup>28</sup>J. L. Moreno, op.cit., pp. 412-415.
- <sup>29</sup>Sylvan Keiser and Dora Schaffer, op.cit., p. 287
- <sup>30</sup>Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex. Translated by H. M. Parshey, (New York: Bantam Books, 1961 and 1952), p. 381.
- <sup>31</sup>Gresham Sykes, The Society of Captives: A Study of a Maximum Security Prison (New Jersey) Princeton University Press, 1958), pp. xii-xiv. See also for earlier views, Donald Clemmer, The Prison Community, (Boston: Christopher, Inc., 1940); Lloyd W. McCorkle and Richard Korn, "Resocialization Within Prison Walls," Annals of the American Association of Political Scientists, 293 (1954), pp. 88-98; and Erving Goffman, Asylums, (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961), among others.
- <sup>32</sup>Gresham Sykes, Ibid., p. 106.
- <sup>33</sup>Ibid., pp. 106-107.
- <sup>34</sup>John Irwin and Donald R. Cressey, "Thieves, Convicts and Inmate Culture," Social Problems, 10, 2 (Fall 1962), p. 142. See also Lloyd E. Ohlins, Sociology and Field Corrections (New York: Russell Sage Foundations, 1956), p. 28 for his excellent definition of the inmate code.
- <sup>35</sup>Irwin and Cressey, Ibid., pp. 148, 153.
- <sup>36</sup>Ibid., pp. 146-148.
- <sup>37</sup>The newspaper accounts of John Ehrlichman's confinement to the Swift Trail Federal Prison at Safford, Arizona described the inmate population there as largely composed of Mexican aliens and American white collar offenders. In a letter to the superintendent, I inquired as to the structure of the inmate social system, stating my hypothesis. Mr. John T. Hadden's reply partially confirmed my hypothesis but noted the unique structure of the population made conclusions highly inconclusive. Letter, dated November 12, 1976
- <sup>38</sup>Joan Henry, Women In Prison, (New York: Doubleday, 1952), p. 26.
- <sup>39</sup>Joy S. Eyman, Prisons for Women: A Practical Guide to Administrative Problems, (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1971), p. 149.
- <sup>40</sup>See footnote number 6, Chapter 1.
- <sup>41</sup>Vergil L. Williams and Mary Fish, Convicts, Codes and Contraband, (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Pub Company, 1974), p. 99. See Joy S. Eyman, Ibid., p. 38. Also Edith de Rham, How Could She Do That?

A Study of the Female Criminal, (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1969), pp. 1 and 2. In addition, see Freda Adler, Sisters in Crime: The Rise of the New Female Criminal, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1975), p. 239. Adler cites several examples: "A North Carolina Statue makes it unlawful to require women to work in chain gangs," p. 238. And, "A 1972 Circuit court decision overturned an Oklahoma statute which allowed female offenders aged 18 and under to be processed as juveniles, while males 16 and under could be similarly processed," p. 217. See also Kitsa Burkhart, "Women In Prison," Ramparts, 9, 11 (June 1971) pp. 21-29. A paper by Walter Reckless and Barbara Ann Kay spoke of the "chivalry factor" as the reason for not holding women accountable for their crimes.

<sup>42</sup>Joan Henry, op.cit., p. 49.

<sup>43</sup>Frank S. Caprio. Female Homosexuality: A Psychodynamic Study of Lesbianism, (New York: The Citadel Press, 1954), pp. 77-78.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., pp. 78-85 and Joan Henry, op.cit., p. 82.

<sup>45</sup>Frank S. Caprio, Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Newspapers carried highly sensationalized stories of homosexual rape which resulted in at least one systematic study of these charges. See Alan J. Davis, "Sexual Assaults In the Philadelphia Prison System and Sheriff's Vans," Trans-Action, VI (December 1968), pp. 8-16. Other studies were made of all forms of prison sexuality. See "Conjugal Visits in Prison Hailed," New York Times, August 15, 1967, p. 26. See Columbus B. Harper, "The Conjugal Visit at Mississippi State Penitentiary," Journal of Criminal Laws, Criminology and Police Science, LIII (September 1962), pp. 340-343

<sup>48</sup>Ward and Kassebaum, Women's Prison, op.cit.,

<sup>49</sup>Rose Giallombardo, op.cit.

<sup>50</sup>Esther Heffernan, op.cit.

<sup>51</sup>Ward and Kassebau, Women's Prison, op.cit., p. v.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 70. The idea that women suffer more than men in prison swiftly came under attack by other writers such as Rose Giallombardo in The Social World of Imprisoned Girls: A Comparative

Study of Institutes for Juvenile Delinquents, A Wiley-Interscience Publication. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974), p. 6. However, Mrs. Edna Goodrich, Superintendent of the Purdy Treatment Center for Women in the State of Washington endorses the Ward and Kassebaum assessment, stating: "I think women in prison have a much harder burden to bear than men because of their children." Quoted in Freda Adler, op.cit., p. 199. Also see John M. Murtagh and Sara Harris, Cast the First Stone, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1957), p. 273. They state: "Every Woman who has ever gone to prison, regardless of how tough she appears, will remember to her dying day the first hours of incarceration, the sick, numb feeling and the overwhelming fear, always more prevalent in women than in men..."

<sup>54</sup>Ward and Kassebaum, Women's Prison, Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., 114.

<sup>57</sup>Russell N. Cassel and Robert B. Van Vorst, "Psychological Needs of Women in a Correctional Institution," American Journal of Corrections, 23 (January-February 1961), pp. 22-24.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.,

<sup>60</sup>Ward and Kassebaum, Women's Prison, op.cit., p. 76

<sup>61</sup>Giallombardo, Society of Women, op.cit.,

<sup>62</sup>Giallombardo, The Social World of Imprisoned Girls, op.cit., p. 4.

<sup>63</sup>Giallombardo, Society of Women, op.cit., pp. 100-101.

<sup>64</sup>Jules Henry, Culture Against Man, (New York: Random House, Inc. 1963), pp. 150-151.

<sup>65</sup>Cynthia Fuchs Epstein. Women's Place: Options and Limits in Professional Careers (Berkeley, California; University of California Press, 1971), p. 25. Also see Simone de Beauvoir, op.cit., p. 345.

<sup>66</sup>Ward and Kassebaum, Women's Prison, op.cit., p. 78.

<sup>67</sup>Giallombardo, Society of Women, op.cit., p. 159.

<sup>68</sup>Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, The Alderson Story: My Life as a Political Prisoner, (New York: International Publishers, 1963), pp. 21 and 160.

<sup>69</sup>Edna O'Brien. So I Went to Prison, (London: Laidlaw Books, 1938), pp. 171, 178, 200, 208, 209, 216, 223, and 262.

<sup>70</sup>Joan Henry, op.cit.

<sup>71</sup>Virginia McManus, Not For Love, (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1960), p. 234.

<sup>72</sup>Ward and Kassebaum, Women's Prison, op.cit., pp. 139-140.

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Note that Giallombardo, Society of Women, op.cit., pp. 82-83, presents a full breakdown on the age range of Alderson and Ward and Kassebaum do not. Fifty-three girls out of a population of 653 at Alderson, ranged in age from 15 to 19 upon commitment. Equally important there was a great disparity in ages, 136 women having been 40 to 69 years old upon commitment.

<sup>74</sup>Giallombardo, Society of Women, op.cit., p. 162.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., p. 151

<sup>76</sup>Ward and Kassebaum, Women's Prison, op.cit., p. 92.

<sup>77</sup>Giallombardo, Society of Women, pp. 151 and 152.

<sup>78</sup>Ward and Kassebaum, Women's Prison, op.cit., p. 80.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid.

<sup>80</sup>Lowell Selling, op.cit., pp. 247-253. Also see Esther Heffernan, op.cit., p. 89.

<sup>81</sup>Heffernan, Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., pp. 89, 103.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., pp. 87, 92.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>85</sup>Catherine Nelson. "A Study of Homosexuality Among Women Inmates At Two State Prisons," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1974. Much of the previously cited literature has also suggested these points.

<sup>86</sup>Ward and Kassebaum, Women's Prison, op.cit., p. 136, found that a slightly higher proportion of the butches at Frontera were white and a slightly higher proportion of non-homosexuals were "Negro."

<sup>87</sup>Nelson, op.cit., pp. 147-151.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., pp. 104 and 162-163.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., pp. 139-143 and 167. She stated that homosexuality could not be "defined simply as sexual relations between two women." Yet elsewhere, she called this "real homosexuality."

<sup>90</sup>George W. Henry. Sex Variants: A Study of Homosexual Patterns, (New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1941 and 1948).

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., 1948 Edition, p. xiii.

<sup>92</sup>Eugene Kahn, "Forward," in George W. Henry, Ibid., pp. V and vi.

<sup>93</sup>Rita Bass-Hass, "The Lesbian Dyad: Basic Issues and Value Systems," Journal of Sex Research, 4, 2 (May 1968), p. 109.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., pp. 118-119.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., pp. 111-112, 115.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., p. 112.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>101</sup>Ethel Sawyer, "A Study of a Public Lesbian Community," Unpublished Master's Thesis, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, 1965.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>103</sup>See Robert R. Bell, Social Deviance (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1971) pp. 301-303. And, Arno Karlen, op.cit., pp. 545-548, 552. Both authors give good summaries of Sawyer's thesis.

CHAPTER III  
METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Originally, the plan for this study was fairly straightforward. A certain number of black adult female prisoners of lower-class backgrounds was to have been interviewed and an attempt made to trace back salient behaviors to outer reference groups. It was believed that such lines of orientation might help explain prison phenomena observed by myself or by others. I had intended to research: conjunctive prison and outside role models; female inmate preference for male ascendancy; some correlation between lesbianism and prostitution; the myth or reality of black/white revulsion/attractions at least insofar as lesbianism might be a reflection of this; the causes of impermanence in relationships, if indeed there was impermanence; the reason for the weak and atomized female prison structures; the genesis of instrumental and exploitative approaches to interpersonal relations; the familying syndrome and the causal acceptance of homosexuality by the prison community.

These themes were abandoned, however, after repeated failures in convincing prison authorities to permit homosexual research.<sup>1</sup> Eventually, I considered it a lost cause and launched my ghetto study, using an entirely different perspective. Why was it so difficult to engage in this kind of research? One of the reasons may have been a 1957 book by a New York City judge John Murtagh and Sara Harris. While Murtagh and Harris wrote on the subject of prostitution, they nevertheless, managed to polemicize the lesbian issue at New York State's Westfield State Farm Prison for Women:

If you listened to prison women, you would think there was not a sexually normal officer in the whole sad, strange prison world.

Although it is certainly not true that every one they stand to accuse is a lesbian, some officers doubtless are. This place they have chosen to live in is, in the last analysis, manless, and so if their interests and feelings had not been centered on women, whether overtly or not, they might never have elected to come there at all.<sup>2</sup>

Blanket denials of lesbian activity at Westfield were released to the media by the State Correctional authorities. These were followed by embarrassed retractions and partial admissions.<sup>3</sup> Then Westfield's female superintendent was retired.<sup>4</sup> A new "get-tough policy" at the prison backfired into open rebellion.<sup>5</sup> A riot squad from Sing Sing Prison had to be rushed in to quell the disorder.<sup>6</sup> The repercussions quite possibly so thoroughly succeed in closing New York's female institutions to sexual research that most investigators did not even bother to ask. Political fears apparently developed in other states as well.

None of the above is meant as a reflection upon the integrity and legitimate fears of correctional authorities, or even upon Murtagh and Harris. Judge Murtagh's credentials for public service were impeccable. But well-intended concerns occasionally inadvertently place distinguished and constructive prison careers under a cloud. Certainly, correctional authorities have the right to defend themselves against what they perceive to be unjust attack. And yet the fundamental question has never been resolved as to how to effect a true balance between freedom of research and protection against crusading fervor at custodial expense.

Almost a year later, in April 1975, a friend managed to locate a prison that was consistent with my needs plus a receptive administration but he cautioned against raising the homosexual issue. Rather than risk

another failure, I decided it was best to de-emphasize that part of the research, although I never concealed it or lied about it. The authorities there were told simply that the project was a study of many aspects of the lives of lower-class black women, including those who had become prisoners.<sup>7</sup>

The Research Setting and Background Factors:

In physical layout, the Kokely Institution for Women resembles most other American state and Federal women's correctional facilities. It possesses none of the menacing qualities of a Hollywood movie. No fortress-type architecture is evident. There are no tower guards, no criss-crossing spotlights, and no overwhelming displays of force. Reminiscent of a small, very isolated college campus, the institution is, in fact, referred to as "the campus."

The dominant edifice on the "forward campus" is an ivy-covered Administration Building, where the superintendent and her staff have offices. To the left of it, a chapel is easily spotted. To the far right is situated the officers' housing complex and, in between these two landmarks, lie various buildings of single and multi-purpose: medical center, mess hall, gymnasium, several maintenance buildings, school, activities center and commissary. Located on the "rear Campus" are residential cottages for inmates who are drawn from both small towns and major metropolitan areas. The cottage plan, as opposed to the congregate type of mass living available in men's prisons, typifies a correctional rehabilitative philosophy which encourages female family-style living and small-group households headed by cottage officers or "housemothers." The cottages are racially integrated. The inmate

distribution reveals that blacks are the most numerous group, followed by whites and then by women of Spanish culture.<sup>8</sup> Kokely's inmate capacity falls quite short of the midway point between America's largest distaff correctional center, the California Institution for Women which houses 878 females,<sup>9</sup> and Nevada's tiny Women's Prison, which accommodates only 33.<sup>10</sup> But the ratio of staff to inmates in female prisons, is appreciably better than the national average for all prisoners combined -- one to seven.<sup>11</sup>

It cannot be denied that in some ways women prisoners, being fewer in number, often are treated shabbily. They sometimes do not have the programs that are available to men, or proper equipment<sup>12</sup> or modern facilities. Their prisons, like the men's, seldom are centrally located and they are located in places that are often inaccessible to family and friends. Some female facilities, unlike the ones for males, however, do not even have a library or a legal aid unit.<sup>13</sup> Planners say that the cost per capita is pivotal in their inability to upgrade these institutions.<sup>14</sup> To grasp the magnitude of the problem, Joy S. Eyman, a former warden, informs us that the first separate facility for females in the United States, the Indiana Women's Prison, opened its doors only about 100 years ago, in 1873.<sup>15</sup> Eyman further informs us that:

During the next 40 years, only 4 more were opened: the Massachusetts Prison (Massachusetts Correctional Institution for Women) at Framingham in 1877, the New York Reformatory for Women...in 1901, the District of Columbia Women's Reformatory in 1910, and the New Jersey Reformatory for Women in 1913. Fifty-one years later there are only 29 separate institutions for women, including 1 in Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia Reformatory for Women and one Federal institution. Of the 29 existing facilities for

women which are completely separate and having their own warden and superior, 19 institutions have less than 200 inmates, 10 have less than 100 and the remaining 10 range from 200 to 878.<sup>16</sup>

In the more than a decade since the above enumeration, other female facilities have opened but women's prisons chronically suffer from economic insufficiency and tremendous overhead.

According to Freda Adler, about four percent of all Federal and State prisoners are women. Thus a four percent rule of thumb developed which, some believe, governs the allocation of correctional system funds.<sup>17</sup> Since the "Advance Report" from the U.S. Department of Justice estimates that 283, 145 prisoners were incarcerated as of the end of 1976,<sup>18</sup> the four percent rule would indicate that about 11,000 of them were women. Unfortunately, queries to the Justice Department reveal that it does not yet have a breakdown as to sex.<sup>19</sup> But if we utilize the latest available statistics for both sexes (1974), there were 210,881 total prisoners of which 7,324 were women,<sup>20</sup> or about 3.4 percent.

Illustrative of the plight of female inmates is the first separate adult female facility in the State of Washington's history, the Purdy Treatment Center for Women which was erected at a cost of over four million dollars in 1971, only after a similar experiment involving men proved viable.<sup>21</sup> Designed to resemble an ultra-modern apartment complex, the Center's physical plant has a potential for 150 "clients"<sup>22</sup> -- all the convicted female felon in the state. Every resident has her own room and private key. Purdy also allows its "clients" to attend outside social functions where they mix with male prisoners.<sup>23</sup>

Oddly, although the arrest rate among women is rising three times faster than among men, the female prison population continues to decline.

The drop can be attributed to crowded court calendars, new sympathy for the decriminalization of drugs, Women's Liberation, and the increasing tendency of law-makers to redefine prostitution as a harmless offense.<sup>24</sup> Most prisons now seem to be getting hard-core isolates. This is true of Kokely also. The superintendent at Kokely estimates that a plurality of the inmates are committed for homicide, murder and manslaughter. The next largest number of commitments involve narcotics. The superintendent of the Muncy State Prison for Women in Pennsylvania is convinced that a younger, more rebellious breed of adolescent has emerged. The new breed often parodies "male machismo competitiveness" in her crimes, attitudes and deportment.<sup>25</sup> Freda Adler cites the warden at the Alderson Federal Prison as believing that a new sort of woman is coming into the prison, her personality altered by the general activism outside. Open aggression is on the upswing, particularly among blacks.<sup>26</sup>

Kokely obviously is better than the worst in terms of institutional life, but is it good enough to measure up to the best? Arguments can be mustered on both sides of the question. While it does not allow its inmates to attend outside social mixes with male prisoners, and while it does not, like Muncy, integrate male prisoners into its female population,<sup>27</sup> it apparently is well-run. It has over 60 programs for its inmates, including classes in high school equivalency skills, college courses, typing, vocational training, business education, beauty culture, food services, physical education, data processing and many others. Inmates may apply for "friendly visits,"<sup>28</sup> furloughs,<sup>29</sup> job release,<sup>30</sup> and transfers to "half-way houses."<sup>31</sup> Impending motherhood is treated humanely. Inmates give birth in an outside hospital and return with the infant. To relieve the monotony a special festival featuring floats,

outside refreshments, bands, freedom of the grounds and Mardi Gras type costumes called "Carnival Day," is offered to the inmates once a year. These programs compare favorably with those at Purdy.

In the cleavage between staff and inmates may be found some cruxes of major dissension. At Purdy, inmates and counselors "dress alike and stroll the area in Casual clusters." Purdy has dispensed with guards, barbed wire and uniforms.<sup>32</sup> It is trying to overcome problems that seem rooted in the very nature of the prison system itself. The approach at Kokely is more pragmatic. The assumption of total power by the administration causes countervailing strategies which create a chasm of mistrust. The inmates sense that some officers live in fear of impending violence, and these inmates constantly test the officers. The fearful officers are subjected to severe psychological strain.

The strong denunciation of the term "girls" in referring to female prisoners is, in part, a test of some of the white officers. The term has been in vogue for at least 40 years.<sup>33</sup> And since it was first used for predominantly white prison populations, it probably carries no hidden racist content. In addition, black women use the term among themselves in prison, and even today it is a complimentary form of address in the outside black community.<sup>34</sup> Black women do not equate it with the degradations suffered by black men who were called "boys" to demean them in the South.

Issues relating to the whole American justice system generate enormous heat. Many inmates profess to believe that the criminal justice system itself is ineffective and wrong and contributes to what former U.S. Attorney General Levi called "perceived injustice."<sup>35</sup> Studies by the American Association of University Women support the belief that black

female offenders are treated more cavalierly than white women by the courts.<sup>36</sup> Some inmates feel that the color of the victim dictates which standard of justice will prevail. They say that transgressions against a white person by a black increases the offender's sentence three to five fold over what it would have been if the victim had been black. The vagaries of regionalism and the indeterminate sentence intensify the sense of racial injustice. Two women from two different counties can receive vastly different sentences for the same crime.<sup>37</sup> If it is an indeterminate sentence -- that is, if it sets a maximum but no minimum such as a "zip-4" (0 to four years) -- the women are apprehensive and upset. Scholars and knowledgeable prisoners cite the case of Armando Betrante, who received an indeterminate sentence for breaking a store window and then spent 22 years trying to get out of prison.<sup>38</sup> Each offender feels it could happen to her. The women are reinforced by a recent report of the Twentieth Century Fund, headed by former California Governor, Edmund G. Brown, which urges the abolition of indeterminate sentencing as a practice which helps undermine the entire criminal justice structure.<sup>39</sup>

There are at Kokely three separate inmate factions among the black women, each one warily recognizing and accepting the other two. The first faction is headed by a 35-year-old fairly well educated woman of striking good looks and haughty demeanor. Quick in intelligence and an excellent orator, she is equally well known for a voluptuous body which no one dares touch. She looks down upon lesbian activity and maintains social distance from the "ill-bred criminals" in the facility. She follows an iron discipline and describes herself as "all woman". Being, in the eyes of the administration, the most subversive force

in the prison, she never sullies her hands but operates behind the scenes through "hot heads," "martyrs," and "sacrificial lambs." Leader number two derives her status from successful aggression against authority figures and from an amorphous black nationalist rhetoric. Number three garners prestige from her overall prison savvy, sundry crimes, and consecutive sentences for homicides. The latter two are deep into the prison's "gay" culture, each playing opposing roles -- but not with each other. There is no way to adequately describe the inmate followers who polarize around these leaders. How their philosophies are interpreted has a lot to do with the composition of the various groups. But leader One seems to attract more gullible inmates, prisoners who can be dominated by a strong personality. All three of these leaders granted interviews and supported the research project without being fully apprised of the exact nature of the investigation. They willingly served as guides and furnished entre into the correctional process.

The Kokely sample was compared and contrasted with a black lower-class lesbian group of nonprisoners. The black ghettos of every borough of New York except Staten Island<sup>40</sup> and, on occasion, the environs of the City, served as research areas for locating this target population. Pivotal to the study was the McAdams family -- an influential family based in Harlem. Of the eight McAdams children, ranging in age from 20 to 36, two of the four girls and two of the four boys are homosexual, and one boy and one girl show outward signs that would arouse suspicion in a stranger.

The McAdams Children are a handsome group. All of them were born in New York City of southern migrants who, themselves, according to pictures, had been quite good-looking. A tragic automotive crash had taken both parents.

Cindy, my original contact and link to the McAdams, had a permanent butch/femme relationship with Jane McAdams who had named one of her three daughters after Cindy. Only 20 years old, Jane, the femme, was a fashionable dresser who "boosted"<sup>41</sup> her garments from the best female shops in mid-Manhattan. She had never been married and pursued a singing career. Her sister Dawn, a secret butch lesbian of 22, always wore dresses but fancied herself a ghetto tough. Her voice has the rough edge exhibited by bellicose people. Dawn is married to a successful numbers runner more than twice her age and had lived with him on and off since the age of 12. Her husband is said to be unaware of her sexual propensities even though she had a reputation as a fighter, and other girls were afraid to take her on in a brawl. Two older sisters have long since married and moved out of Harlem.

The four McAdams boys are six foot two or taller, have violent tempers, and three out of the four have served prison terms. The effeminate one displays only some slight sibilant speech patterns, but the secretly "gay" one is always "on stage," playing to an audience. He obtains his extensive wardrobe the same way his sister gets hers. Three of the brothers share an apartment which became my main interviewing center.

The family's power on the block is truly formidable, and relatives strategically placed in nearby tenements bolster its authority. Dawn's husband is thought to have connections with the Mafia which gives would-be challengers pause. In addition, the McAdams are the center of a friendship network which takes in scores of people from all the boroughs and at least another 10 to 13 females who are, or have been, involved with women. At the time of this study, the "straight" McAdams brother

was living with a black woman who formerly engaged in homosexual relations, Nadine. Both feminine and tough, she was the one girl in the area who could make the taller Dawn McAdams back down.<sup>42</sup> Nadine worked daily and was fully self-supporting. Yet, she worried incessantly over the possibility that she might die a violent death in Harlem. But her greatest fear was of sterility since she, at the age of 21, had never given birth. Some of the interviews also took place in her apartment.

Nadine's best friend is a loud-mouthed woman in her mid-twenties, named Sina, whom she had conquered in a fight. An unabashed money-grabber, Sina deliberately cultivates the pose of a con-artist show-off, but is actually good-hearted. She lives with her two and three-year-old daughters and her apartment served as another corner of a four-part hub of apartments where many of the interviews took place. Apparently, none of the network people trusted one another -- not even family members or best friends. I learned never to give someone else's money to a brother, sister, or a purported friend to hold. Cash had no relatives in this network.

Cindy, who had had a child at thirteen and sent it South, lived with Jane McAdams and her children in the apartment of Jane's aunt. This aunt, a kindly soul, drank heavily and frequently passed out on the floor. Her husband was a self-proclaimed ex-homosexual and sexual oddball. Their apartment formed the last corner of the hub and much of the interviewing of the older generations was accomplished there.

Data Collection:

For the prison study, a 52 question structured and unstructured guide was developed, a revision of a questionnaire from previous research which I had conducted on narcotics use at a male prison.<sup>43</sup> In order to explore any special circumstances involved in interviewing female prisoners, however, some routine questions were tested at a female institution in New York State. Then research at Kokely began in July 1975 and continued into the Fall. Thirty-five visits were made to the institution and correctional officers and parolees were often met outside.

An incentive, in the form of \$2.25, was offered for inmate volunteers,<sup>44</sup> with the consent of the superintendent. This fee, which I termed an "honorarium", much to the delight of the inmates who found Webster's definition of it pleasing, could not be given to respondents personally but had to be donated in the respondent's name to "Carnival Day." The decision by the superintendent made sense in that only black women could earn the honorarium, as I was confining my study to black prisoners. This way, the funds were made available for an event that would be useful to all prisoners. Recriminations and dissension thus were avoided by this approach.

The desire not to be overly explicit about my research goals at Kokely spawned several formidable problems. It introduced into the study the possibility of exposure and expulsion from the institution. It exacerbated the already well-known shortcomings of self-selected samples. And it increased the threat of electronic surveillance and/or inmate plants. Both the ethical and methodological problems were met by integrating the sexual queries casually into the larger content of the study. Then other problems were eased unknowingly by the

superintendent herself who acquiesced to wide latitude in permitting me to solicit and persuade undisposed prisoners. She also made available to me a glass-enclosed office at the entrance to the gym so that the duty officers could exercise visual control without any need to violate the closed door. Nevertheless, many apprehensive inmates challenged the conversational integrity of the room by searching in vain for "bugs."

Sixty girls were interviewed, irrespective of sexual orientation, and the homosexual distribution noted. Other than the fact that the women were black and sprang from the black subculture, no special criteria were applied. Rather, the selection of the subjects was quite simple. Notices proclaiming my mission were posted on all the bulletin boards in the cottages -- and this inspired talk and curiosity. I then compiled a list of names from the interviewees' anecdotal remarks, including who were the trouble-makers, provocateurs, and interesting persons. With knowledge of who did what to whom and when, I often asked for special inmates by names and their curiosity as to why they had been called usually was enough to bring them to the gym to look me over. At other times, I asked the officers to approach the girls as they passed through the area. If they were in a hurry, I took their names and an officer contacted their cottages later. In all, there were 57 valid interviews. The other three did not prove valid. One inmate turned out to be an Hispanic who could barely speak English, the second had been reared in the West Indies, and the third disposed of every question with, "None of your business."<sup>45</sup> While the sample was not a random one, it contained a sizable cross-section of the black population at Kokely. For

I had personally persuaded more than 75 percent of the subjects to participate.<sup>46</sup> Unfortunately, the superintendent never permitted me to review the official inmate records.<sup>47</sup>

In the ghetto study, 42 women who admitted to homosexual relations, either sporadically or frequently, were located mostly through the snowballing technique which started with the McAdams and radiated into areas already mentioned. My commitment to pay every respondent a \$10 fee, plus another \$10 for the solicitor -- taken from special funds reserved for this purpose<sup>48</sup> -- went a long way toward helping me establish a credible ghetto presence and develop leads. Money, as the best of lode-stones, often drew out the usually inaccessible. But I had to be constantly on guard against those who peddled lies or dogmas. The pilot study had shown that the more familiar a candidate was with the various Liberation movements, the more manipulative were her responses. I took two steps to counter, as best I could, conscious or unconscious efforts on the parts of the subjects to dissemble. First, over 160 questions in multiple sections, which took three to four hours to answer, were widely scrambled to prevent respondents from remembering a pattern of response. Secondly, emphasis was placed upon obtaining subjects who not only met rigid rules of selection in terms of class membership, unfamiliarity with interviewing techniques and homosexual experience, but who were what these girls called "undercover" or "secret." The solicitation of subjects in bars, nightclubs, homophile organizations, drug programs, alcoholic associations, or among students, previously interviewed persons or prostitutes, was expressly avoided.

Although literacy was not a serious problem in terms of the sub-cultural language in which the questions were posed, either in prison

or out, I still found that I could give the respondents more time to think by asking questions and writing their answers myself.

Determinants of Social Class:

Social class categorization is always problematic. It was handled in the following manner:

Two different committees -- one comprised of five correctional officers and officials and the other of five recent parolees -- rated each member of the sample according to a chart on class structure.<sup>49</sup> Fifty of the 57 respondents were labeled lower-lower socioeconomic class, five upper-lower, and the remaining two middle-class. There was excellent agreement between the two committees. Most important, one could hardly question that the inmate sample was overwhelmingly lower-lower socioeconomic class.

Definitional difficulties became acute in attempting to clarify the terms "poverty" and "lower-class" on the outside. Oscar Lewis equated both with a "culture of poverty,"<sup>50</sup> which, if carefully examined, might just as easily be named "cultures of poverty" since the poverty of the blacks and that of, say, the hoboes, lack cultural universals. Theoretically delineated, but seldom seen in print, is the distinctive term, "pauperism," which means what the term "poverty" often is taken to mean: "A category of people unable to maintain themselves at all or [unable] to maintain themselves at the level conventionally regarded as minimal without outside assistance." This is the group with which we are concerned, both in prison and out.

I began this study in the most deteriorating slum area in all of Harlem where life was squalor in the

streets; customary orientation to vice; crowds of shouting, sometimes rootless people, crumbling tenements; contentious teenage gangs; hawkers and hustlers; street pass-the-bottle drinking; wide-open crap games; cutthroats; "bad-niggas," flaunted conventions; and a bewildering array of black power symbols adopted by ad hoc exhorters. Even in this environment, the population was dichotomized into Hylan Lewis' "respectables" and "nonrespectables,"<sup>52</sup> or into what Drake and Clayton trichotomized as broken families that are by no means habitually criminal, the church-folks or strivers, and the denizens of the underworld.<sup>53</sup> Upon closer inspection, one could even detect the four-part subdivision among the poor noted by S. M. Miller et al: "the stable poor, the strained poor, the coper/skidders and the unstable poor."<sup>54</sup> I attempted to recruit my respondents from this last classification, the unstable poor, to make sure that I was getting the lower-lower class. In effect, pyramiding from this starting point allowed these subjects to select their own friends, acquaintances, and relatives — a kind of peer-group judgment that provided a double check.

Two other terms require definition. In the context of this thesis, a "slum" denotes a deteriorating impoverished area, usually within a ghetto, where lower-class people live in overcrowded and squalid housing, either public or private. And a "ghetto," in the same context, is an urban community which came into existence through legal or de facto segregation. In this study, the ghetto is black. A ghetto need not be all slums, since a small middle-class often resides there. I will, however, employ the two terms interchangeably.

### Interviewing Technique:

The successful researcher has to find ways to encourage inmates to talk, and I discovered that certain techniques helped in this study. The researcher should never lie to inmates. The naked truth often can sway initial resistance. Never did I intimate to the prisoners at Kokely that their cooperation would make "a contribution to science." I believe that black, and probably other people who are at the bottom of the social heap, see such an appeal as up to no good, when he couches his pitch in platitudes. Instead, in addition to the small fee, I came right out with the self-serving plea, "Give me an interview and help me get that sheepskin." They seldom refused. Why? Because poor blacks rarely have been able to wield power within legitimate channels of society. Their ability to influence the researcher's destiny strikes them as an exercise in real power -- which, of course, it is. There are other incentives for prisoners to volunteer and cooperate. Often it breaks the monotony of prison life or makes them feel important.

In the ghetto, especially among the McAdams, one had to have a recognition for the "craftsmanship in crime." For example, I got the "boosters" to demonstrate how they walk out of a department store with items such as a clock radio cached under their dress, up near the crotch. They were sometimes so carried away by their own performances and my appreciation of them, that they would reach out and touch me on the arm. This bodily contact implied no undue familiarity but is a device for focusing attention and is ubiquitous in the black lower socioeconomic class.

It is interesting to note that the prison and non prison samples are quite similar, not only in the lifestyles of lower-class blacks,

but the non-prison sample, while not homicidal, was not very law-abiding either. Many who were engaged in lesbian behavior made their way by perpetrating instrumental crimes. Small-time narcotics dealing among them was almost a norm. Involvement in the sale of narcotics led to other forms of quick money-making schemes.

Analysis of the Statistical Data:

The data in this study will be analyzed and tested and then an index will be constructed from clusters of key questions. If the formulations prove valid, they should lead to a predictive statistical device of high potential.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Refusals were usually effected through silence. Letters of inquiry simply went unanswered or referrals were made to others who did not reply.

<sup>2</sup>John Murtagh and Sara Harris, Cast the First Stone (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1957), p. 276.

<sup>3</sup>"Commissioner Denies Charges About Prison," Patent Trader, Mount Kisco, New York, April 6, 1958, clipping. See also "'4 or 5' Homosexual Cases Admitted At Women's Prison," Patent Trader, Mount Kisco, New York, April 6, 1958, clipping.

<sup>4</sup>Dave Balch, "Get-Tough Policy Resented," Patent Trader, Mount Kisco, New York, June 9, 1958, clipping.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. Also see Robert McCarthy and Jack Snee, "Sing Sing Guard Unit Quells Women's Riot," Daily News, New York, June 9, 1958, p. 2.

<sup>7</sup>It was emphasized that the Kokely research was a continuation of a study began in the ghetto communities.

<sup>8</sup>The superintendent revealed that she was watching very closely what appeared to be a national trend toward an increase in the number of white female prisoners.

<sup>9</sup>Joy S. Eyman, op.cit., pp. 123 and x.

<sup>10</sup>Directory: Juvenile and Adult Correctional Institutions and Agencies of the United States of America and Canada, 1974-1975, (College Park, Maryland: The American Correctional Association, 1974), p. 57.

<sup>11</sup>Tom Murton and Joe Hymans, Accomplices to the Crime, (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1969), pp. 62-63.

<sup>12</sup>Personal correspondence, Sister Dr. S. Esther Heffernan, Edgewood College, Madison, Wisconsin, January 6, 1976 and Beth Fallon, "Prison Bars Cast Long Shadows on a Family's Life," Daily News, New York, April 27, 1973, p. 54.

<sup>13</sup>Beth Fallon, Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Joy S. Eyman, op.cit., p x.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. ix and x.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Freda Adler, op.cit., p. 185.

<sup>18</sup>Advance Report from National Criminal Justice Reference Service, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U. S. Department of Justice, undated.

<sup>19</sup>Phone call, April 13, 1977 to L. E. A. A. Reference Service, Washington, D. C. These figures are not yet available.

<sup>20</sup>National Prison Statistics Bulletin, U. S. National Criminal Justice Information and Statistical Service of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, dated June 1976.

<sup>21</sup>Personal Correspondence, Superintendent Sue E. Clark, Purdy Treatment Center for Women, State of Washington, January 14, 1976. See "Treatment Center," Perspective, Spring 1971, pp. 20-24.

<sup>22</sup>See "Treatment Center," Perspectives, Spring 1971, pp. 20-24. For the use of the word "clients" as opposed to "inmates" see Freda Adler, op.cit., p. 196.

<sup>23</sup>Freda Adler, Ibid., pp. 24-25.

<sup>24</sup>Margaret Converse, "New Day Dawning for Women Prisoners at Bedford, Albion?" The Reporter Dispatch, White Plains, New York, September 15, 1971, p. 45.

<sup>25</sup>Freda Adler, op.cit., pp. 97-98.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., pp. 181-182.

<sup>27</sup>Personal communication, dated February 18, 1976, Kenneth Robinson, Pennsylvania Bureau of Corrections. Eighteen men are incarcerated at Muncy, a female prison. They are housed in separate quarters from the 204. The men are on the honor system.

<sup>28</sup>For a good description of this program see John M. Murtagh and Sara Harris, Cast the First Stone, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1957), p. 289. The authors state: "She has introduced a service whereby kindly-disposed people, most of them bright, well-educated women, come to see and talk with inmates at regular intervals... there is no question but that Friendly Visitors render a valuable

service --- so lonely is prison life that the women, even those who act hostile, feel grateful." Also see Joan Henry, op.cit., who describes this program in Britain as early as 1950.

<sup>29</sup>In certain cases, the inmates are permitted to leave the premises on passes for several days. They are examined upon return for alcohol and other drugs in their system and for communicable diseases. However, no one can determine a possible pregnancy upon the inmate's return.

<sup>30</sup>This program permits qualified inmates to work in town during the day but returns them to the facility every night.

<sup>31</sup>Inmates nearing the end of their sentences may be transferred to a location within the outside community to prepare them for release.

<sup>32</sup>Freda Adler, op.cit., p. 195.

<sup>33</sup>Edna O'Brien, op.cit., p. 103.

<sup>34</sup>David A. Schulz, *Coming Up Black: Patterns of Ghetto Socialization*, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), pp. 55 and 179.

<sup>35</sup>"Levi Suggests Abolishing Parole, Jailing Criminals for Full Term," New York Times, February 3, 1976, p. 13.

<sup>36</sup>Kitsi Burkhardt, "Women In Prison" Ramparts, 9, 11 (June 1971), p. 22.

<sup>37</sup>Paula Bernstein, "Ex-Mafiosa: Out of Prison, and into Prison Reform," Daily News, New York, January 12, 1976, p. 38.

<sup>38</sup>Wayne King, "Man Jailed 22 Years in Smashing of a Window Sues Pennsylvania," New York Times, February 23, 1973, p. 2.

<sup>39</sup>Murray Schumack, "End of Indeterminate Sentences Urged," The New York Times, April 13, 1976, p. 20.

<sup>40</sup>New York County, Kings County, Queens County, and Bronx County.

<sup>41</sup>To "boost" means to shoplift. Jane McAdams, Cindy, etc. are all pseudonyms. The identities of all respondents and locations have been altered to protect individual privacy. These data, however, have not been altered in any way that could affect substantive content.

<sup>42</sup>Nadine says of Dawn McAdams, "I can beat her ass and she knows it. You don't hear her talking to me the way she does to the others."

<sup>43</sup>Adolescent Reception Detention Center, Department of Correction, Rikers Island, New York City, Morris Oslyn, Warden. This research was conducted in May and June of 1974.

<sup>44</sup>I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Catherine Nelson who mentioned this use of a monetary incentive in prison research both in her dissertation, op.cit., p. 88, and in personal communications.

<sup>45</sup>The latter inmate was the only one to answer in such a pugnacious style in the entire sample. The cultural differentiation from American blacks of the one West Indian and the one Hispanic precluded their acceptance in the study.

<sup>46</sup>See Chapter IV.

<sup>47</sup>See Chapter IX for the effect upon the statistical analysis.

<sup>48</sup>These funds were obtained from an independent source and were not connected with the University, the government, or private industry. Depletion of funds, due to unanticipated expenses involving Kokely, reduced this original number.

<sup>49</sup>The elements composing the various class categories have been taken from various sources but represent my own conception of these categories.

<sup>50</sup>Oscar Lewis, The Children of Sanchez: Autobiography of a Mexican Family, (New York: Random House, 1961), pp. xviv-xxv.

<sup>51</sup>E. J. Hobsbaum, "Poverty," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1968, Vol. 12, p. 399.

<sup>52</sup>Hylan Lewis, Blackways of Kent, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955), p. 3.

<sup>53</sup>St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945), p. 600.

<sup>54</sup>S. M. Miller et.al., "Poverty and Self-Indulgence: A Critique of the Non-Deferred Gratification Pattern," in Louis Ferman et.al., Poverty In America, (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1965), pp. 416-432.

## CHAPTER IV

## PROFILING THE KOKELY SAMPLE

The interview guide administered at Kokely was designed to group answers into four separate categories configurative of early background, adulthood, prison experience, and sexual proclivities. Only 13 of the 52 questions related to sexual matters as such but these 13 yielded a sizable amount of information relating to the incidence of lesbian activity. In fact, it was learned that 31 inmates had engaged in homosexual behavior prior to prison, with another inmate listed as highly probable. Four prisoners had started this activity after incarceration, and four prisoners had begun in the free community but did not practice it in prison. Out of the entire sample of 57 respondents, only 21 women had had no homosexual experience at all. It should be noted that interviewees were listed as homosexual whose experience ranged from one time after puberty to many, from preferring men but accepting women as partners to having a strong preference for, and a greater satisfaction with, women. Although there are very sharp distinctions and perhaps two or more continuums, for analytic purposes I have divided the behavior itself into a yes or no classification.

While each of the measures of central tendency has its own strength, consistency requires that only one be utilized. I have chosen the mode which, in this case, appears to me to afford maximum explanatory power.

Early Background Factors:

Criminal justice data in the United States suggest a heavy preponderance of offenders in the youthful age brackets. Yet my sample reflected

only a 31-26 edge for the below-30 as opposed to the above-30 age group. There was such a scattered distribution, however, that ages had to be placed in intervals in order to gain any meaning. Thus 15 respondents (26.3%) fell into the 22 to 25 modal age interval. But if that interval were extended from 22 to 28, 24 inmates (42.1%) would be included. And if it were extended again, from 22 to 32, 37 of the 57 inmates (64.9%) in the sample would be covered. Only two teenagers were in the lower end of the age spectrum and just a single woman in her seventies was in the upper end.

Ward and Kassebaum have observed that "the incidence of homosexuality tends to decrease as age at commitment increases."<sup>1</sup> The present sample is consistent with this view in reflecting a diminution of the activity during the middle years. Three women in their 40s, but none in their 50s, admitted to sporadic sexual engagement with other inmates, and of these three women in their 40s, only one was new to the practice.

Contrary to expectations regarding the lower social class position of inmates, most of the prisoners had not been raised in slum areas (63%). Fifty-eight percent came from families of orientation which contained four or more other siblings and their mothers overwhelmingly were employed outside the home for varying durations of time (78.9%). Slightly over half of those who engaged in homosexual activity had working mothers. But the anticipated record of public assistance and jobless fathers simply did not materialize. Two-thirds of the total respondents denied that their families had ever been on welfare. There also was adamant denial that their parents, at times, had left their growing children under the care of others (57.8%). However, many of the subjects in the sample seemingly had taken care of themselves or

had been tended by slightly older siblings or by female relatives.<sup>2</sup> Thus adjusted, their "seldom/never" score on this question dropped in favor of a begrudging "yes" (63%). Under these circumstances, it is reasonable to hypothesize that children who often were not under direct parental supervision may have become vulnerable to adult seduction or experienced a curiosity for sexual experimentation that was acted out later in life.

Education is usually considered a strong indicator of class background. In the entire sample, not a single inmate was a college graduate. Three had graduated from high school prior to prison and another four had earned some college credits. The majority had been high school dropouts (73.6%). The suspicion is raised that some of these prisoners had not even progressed this far but had embellished their records by claiming credits earned in the institutional setting.

Among many inmates at Kokely, there was a history of familial disension, involving physical assaults between the parents (54.4%). This proportion is especially significant considering that no father was present in 10 of these homes. Although fathers were said by inmates to have been largely skilled workers (52.6%) and permanently employed (68.4%) the arguments usually were caused by financial burdens. Twenty of the 36 women with homosexual experience had witnessed physical violence between their parents, and another six in this group had been raised without benefit of a father or father substitute. The non-homosexual group did not differ all that sharply. Seven of them had witnessed infrequent to frequent violence in the home, 11 had seen none and three had been raised with fathers.

Religiosity might be expected to mitigate against physicality in the home, but it did not. The inmates were reared in a religious atmosphere when young (87.7%), the influence toward pious expression being exerted almost entirely by the mother (70.1%) in contrast to the father's extremely weak commitment. Since strong religious influence seems to have been a fairly common parental approach to the environmental vice, crime and corruption which surrounded the family, it apparently failed to insulate the growing child against these evils as the response to a question shows. For example, those who answered "No" (59.6%) to the question, "Were sex, violence, stealing and drugs a common thing out on the streets?" came largely from the rural South and the small town areas whereas those who answered in the affirmative (40.3%) were usually large city dwellers.

Area played a large part in exposing inmates to friends who had experienced some form of institutionalization on the juvenile or teenage levels. The 28 inmates who had no friends in this category (49.1%) were overwhelmingly from the South and small towns, while those who did have such friends were almost always from the metropolitan regions where the effects of ghetto living generate a different outlook toward law enforcement agencies. Possibly the most destructive influence upon the growing child was the knowledge that one or more of her own close relatives had undergone institutionalization. Over half of all the sample (56.1%) knew of some member of her family or close relatives who had been in training school, jail or prison. Usually the imprisoned individual had been a brother or a father, but sometimes a sister, aunt, or other female. When this question is answered in the affirmative, together with affirmation in the two previous questions, the ring of circumstances constricts the inmate's future considerably.

What do the prisoners think of their poverty and its influence upon their lives? An avowal to steal rather than to continue eating mayonnaise sandwiches into adulthood was voiced by one. But in the main, respondents did not see poverty as an inciting force. Forty-four out of 57 (77.1%) said that their crimes had not sprung from their economically disadvantaged position in life. A few "hated to be poor" or wanted to be rich, but the question indubitably carried a heavy load of psychological baggage. Some inmates rejected the very idea that they were impoverished and were amused by sociological explanations of the crime/poverty tie-up. They tended to subscribe to a harsher reality, agreeing with Joan Henry's argument that "the majority of women in prison are weak characters who become the victims of circumstances,"<sup>3</sup> and that the incarcerated female knows "the difference between right and wrong...but she is a present dweller. The urge of the moment overcomes the knowledge of possible punishment. There is a time lag in her reasoning apparatus."<sup>4</sup> Interviewees, however, saw themselves as the exceptions. Many insisted that they had made a stupid mistake the last time and would not be caught again. Romantically minded, they agreed with a number of authorities and Women's Liberationists that the men in their lives were to blame for their plights.

#### Adulthood:

The tribulations attending lower-class black womanhood are the focus of the second group of variables. As adults, 68.7% had lived in slum areas. It is possible that greater weight must be given to residence in slum areas after maturation as opposed to residence during the growing-up period. The inmates were in this particular prison because

their crimes were committed in this state. Wherever they may have been born, they migrated to this jurisdiction, often ending up in the dilapidated housing of the ghettos. This seems to have been especially true for those who were to eventually engage in homosexual relations since only four out of the 36 homosexually-involved women in the sample had neither lived in a slum area, nor passed a considerable portion of their time there. The anonymity of the metropolitan areas was particularly appealing.

The fertility patterns in the available sample conform to social class expectations. Very few of these women had more children than their parents. Large families of procreation declined drastically once these women left the South and the small towns. Nevertheless, 74.4% of the prisoners had children of their own and at least 84.3% either had children or had lost a baby through miscarriage. Among the women with homosexual experience, 27 had had children and nine had not. It was not possible to determine exactly how many of these nine, if any, had ever been pregnant. The barren black woman of child-bearing age seems to view infecundity as a personal affront which diminishes her worth. Pregnancy, even out of wedlock, may pacify anxiety states over this primal issue. A black adolescent girl often will submit to seduction in order to let the fact of conception resolve her identity crisis. To give birth is believed to be the mightiest of the female, if not of all the human potencies. Some indication of this can be found in the difficulty experienced by prison officials in trying to convince pregnant inmates to give up their babies for adoption.<sup>5</sup> The modal inmate in the Kokely sample had but one child (28.8%), while 14% of the sample had four or more.

In the group of 57 respondents, the prisoners differed far less than expected from their mothers in terms of occupation. Thirty-five percent of the inmates worked as unskilled laborers, 21% as skilled, 8.7% as clerical help, and 5.2% as owners of businesses. A mere 7% functioned as full-time housewives, a considerable drop from the 24.5% scored by their mothers. This latter difference was absorbed by a relatively new category, "no occupation or function at all,"<sup>6</sup> and 23.8% of the inmates belonged to this category, a trend which many identify with general restlessness, dissatisfaction and/or role confusion. Of the 13 inmates selecting this category, 11 were, or had been, involved homosexually.

Connected to the overall picture of occupation is the prisoners' employment record just prior to interment. Whereas 38 women out of the total sample (66.6%) had not been working at all when jailed, 13 (23.8%) had a pattern of continuing employment. Unenviable record though this is, more respondents never had been on public assistance (35%) than had stayed on it (26.3%). Still, some 64.9% had accepted welfare at least once as an adult.

Highly significant was information relative to illegal income. Inmate admissions for this study probably are reliable but such damaging information could not be expected to typify prisoner response under normal conditions. For example, more than half of the sample (56.1%) divulged illegitimate income anywhere from the sale of drugs and bootleg whiskey to prostitution and armed robbery. Illegitimate income, however, is not a particularly great source of pride to lower-class black females; the ability to smite a man with their charms so that he is willing to surrender all his money or earthly goods is. The essence of this notion is embodied in the responses to the question about whether the inmate had

had "help" from another person. The "yes" replies outdistanced the "no" replies by a sizable three to one. Invariably the claimed support came from a man to whom the woman was not necessarily married but with whom she was sexually involved. Even a "jackleg preacher"<sup>7</sup> among the inmates exhibited the same pride of accomplishment. In the world of lower-class black females, monetary gifts from their lovers establish them as one-hell-of-a-woman. While it also exposed the instrumental nature of some of their relationships, it does not usually rule out love. Perhaps this philosophy of life has something to do with the way the informal prison social structure is formed. Maybe this manner of gaining stature and prestige is continued in a penal analogue.

#### The Custodial Experience:

The third group of variables examined select features of the institutional experience. The modal age of first arrest was between 16 and 18 (29.9%), and possession/sale of narcotics (28%) was the modal first offense. Trafficking in narcotics, larceny,<sup>8</sup> prostitution, welfare fraud, etc. (unlike violence per se) are instrumental crimes in that they use people for personal gain. Almost two-thirds of all first transgressors in the sample as a whole (65%), and 28 out of the 36 homosexually active women, had perpetrated first crimes of this nature.

At the time of this research, the vast majority of the respondents (78.9%) had spend only one or two years in prison. Some incongruities the criminal justice system are dramatically evident in sentencing patterns. The 0-3 sentence (17.5%), then the 0 to 5 (15.7%) seem to be individual favorites among judges. Homicide, murder and manslaughter, which together were the single most frequent category of crime in Kokely,

and also rated first in my sample (35%), rarely received the 10-year sentence that the Twentieth Century Fund reports as the national average.<sup>9</sup> Crimes of this category typically received at Kokely a 0-3 year sentence, while the sale of narcotics to willing customers often brought a more severe sentence. Interviewees claim that recidivism is high and the data do reflect that 64.9% of the inmates had previously suffered some form of incarceration. One respondent had gone to training school several times for "messing with a grown woman," and, in fact, had once attempted to throttle the woman in a jealous rage. What apparently was uncovered here is that those who had killed, at least among the lower-class black females, often had previous criminal records. But murderers are seldom recidivists. Thus what was reflected in my data was a possible previous incarceration in a juvenile institution or in a local lockup. I probably had more information on this area of their lives than was to be found in the official Kokely inmate records since juvenile offenders often have their youthful offenses sealed by the courts.

Prison, no matter how rationalized, is lonely. To gain some appreciation of the degree of isolation or neglect felt by the prisoners, several questions addressed the amount of identification they had with the institutional and outside worlds. Before coming to Kokely conjecture concerning the nature of the prison experience frightened a number of the women. They wondered if they "could cope, could survive." They had heard tales that girls "cut one another...wrap a piece of glass and use it for a knife." Others had heard that "the heavier your case, such as murder or armed assault, nobody will bother you." In the whole sample, only one woman was truly grieved over the life she took. Not

occasionally, the chief emotion was one of relief. "I was facing 25 years to life and only five sounded good to me. I stabbed the butch three times and she died. Wasn't my fault. She started beating up on me over this chick and I had to protect myself." A substantial number of inmates insisted they had been framed -- sometimes by the police.

The loss of children and family was the most acute deprivation the inmates claimed to suffer (63%). Fear of losing their "man" (17.%) was next and one inmate even despaired of losing "my family, my wife, my husband and my woman." Close to 78% of the homosexually-involved respondents in the sample ached for the trinity of children/man/family. These data, if taken alone, or with isolated other responses, seemingly account for the consistently advanced proposition by other investigators that prison homosexuality is a substitute or compensatory activity.

A vast amount of loners and individuals who are suspicious of others reside at Kokely. Often respondents will say that they have made no trustworthy friends since being institutionalized (37.7%). Another 40.3% counted only one or two. Sometimes they pointedly said "none" when, in fact, they admitted to an ongoing sexual attachment to another woman. Many made derogatory remarks about their inseparable companions and disparaged those with whom they shared sexual favors. This divisive set of attitudes naturally affected inmate solidarity and kept devotion to a supposed prisoner's code to a minimum.

Letters received and written reflect dimensions of inmate bitterness and self-pity. The battering of the inmate's ego is extreme when she must admit to herself that no one "out there" remembers her. For that reason, cards and letters assume a special place in the hierarchy

of statuses at Kokely. The ability to hang about the cell a tremendous amount of mail symbolizes continuing love and interest from the outside world and therefore underscores the value of the emotions over the material. Mail volume is a form of conspicuous consumption proclaimed to those who had not noticed it. Thus the modal 11 or more letters the inmates claimed to received each month (33.3%) probably was an exaggeration, although the next highest claim of one or two letters (24.4%) appears more likely. The number of letters written by the prisoners themselves probably is a better indicator of true seclusion because familial neglect can be more easily masked by an inmate's professions of detest for the letter-writing chore. Thus the modal answer to the question of how many letters the inmate wrote reversed the above two figures. What they were saying, therefore, was that they wrote to only one or two people but got back replies from 11 or more. There was no way to verify these responses since the Kokely authorities would not allow me to peruse the official inmate records. But on occasion, the prisoners revealed their own anguish: "It is heartbreaking to write and get no answer." Or, "I stopped writing. That way I'm not dissappointed for not receiving any." Or, "I get none. I block out the free world now in my mind."

The most sovereign status symbol of all is the number of monthly visits a woman receives from relatives and friends. The modal reply here, sadly, was "none" (35%). Another 28% gave one or two. Over nine-tenths (94.7%) of the sample had no more than three visits per month and these included visits from civic-minded matrons who habitually devoted their time to easing the lot of imprisoned females. This program, known as "the friendly visits,"<sup>10</sup> is a sort of personal interest

program whereby "ladies of culture and breeding" -- usually white -- chat with the same lonely inmate on a regular basis. Correctional authorities suggest that if blacks could be persuaded to join the program, particularly black males without police records, rehabilitative results would improve considerably. Heffernan, in her study, took a somewhat analogous stand: "The necessity of having close relationships within the institution, however, may well be a function of the amount of affective support available from outside."<sup>11</sup> Here again is another of those signs that steer investigators toward the "jailhouse turnout" conclusion. But this in no way is indicative of preprison experience. While my research guide was not designed to test this dimension of prison life, the data do show that faithful affective support by a male friend was accorded to only one prisoner in the whole sample. Her friend was there unfailingly. The recipient of his attention, an older woman, was greatly envied, and commanded audiences after every visit. Although it is known that she did not engage in unconventional intimacies with other inmates, age as a possible intervening factor cannot be ruled out.

Visiting time can be exceedingly painful, even to those who witness it.<sup>12</sup> In Kokely, some of the biggest, most masculine-appearing tough women completely transform themselves on that particular day, going breathlessly and expectantly to the meeting room wearing wigs, false eyelashes, fingernail polish and high heels, and then they later returned with their bodies quivering, tears streaming through their mascara, and their fists balled into their mouths to stifle conscious outcries. When no one visits, it is worse. Living with memories from the free world is what the inmates refer to as "doing hard time."

In much of the professional literature on the female prison community, it has been noticed that the argot terms and roles used apparently derive from the outside black lower-class subculture. The black women at Kokely were able to quickly identify and give their own ideas as to the origin to these terms. Many of these terms I selected Rose Giallombardo's glossary,<sup>13</sup> some were taken from terms learned during the pilot study, and a few were deliberately appropriated from the colorful ghetto street language to see if they could be placed in the prison context:

<u>Argot Term</u>	<u>Credited by Kokely Black Inmates To</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
Bad, Tough	Blacks	Something desirable or good
Boost	Blacks	To steal from a store or retail outlet.
Boss understanding	Blacks	Best type of understanding.
Bulldagger	Blacks	A woman with an enlarged clitoris which she uses as a penile substitute. Whites often believe blacks are saying "bulldyer" and have adopted this corruption of the term. Now, by extension is often used to describe a muscular mannish type of woman.
Charity goods	White	A female role player who is so easily seduced that she is said to donate it to charity.
Fay broad	Blacks	A white woman
Go upside your head	Blacks	To hit someone on the head
Gray broad	Blacks	A white woman
Hand job	White	To masturbate another woman
He found a home	Black	Such sexual prowess on the part of a man or butch that the woman who experiences it can not bear to let him or her go.
Her box	Blacks	The vagina
Her snatch	Blacks	Her sexual organs
A Hooker	White	A prostitute
A Lay	White	A female role player good only for giving some temporary sexual relief.
Money-maker	Blacks	A prostitute's expression for her sexual organs such as "I'm sitting on my money."
My people	Blacks	One's homosexual partner in a meaningful relationship.
Play the dozens	Blacks	In the pure sense, to berate another's mother or close female relatives, usually in a rhymed version of how she and the speaker engaged in some outlandish sexual act. The offended person has to be able to rhyme an effective retort.

<u>Argot Term</u>	<u>Credited by Kokely Black Irmates to</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
Queer	White	Derogatory term for a homo- sexual.
Suede broad	Blacks	A good-looking black woman
Take care of business	Blacks	To handle whatever is waiting to be done. It could be a job or sexual responsibilities
That's not my shot	Blacks	Not what I like to do
To go off	Blacks	To go crazy, commit irrational acts
To drop the belt	Uncertain	The switching of argot roles from the feminine to the mas- culine. To become a butch. A prison <u>rite de passage</u> .
To scarf	Blacks	To eat a meal in the black sub- culture. By extention to perform cunnilingus. Younger blacks often do not know the term.
Trick baby	Blacks	A baby accidently conceived by a black prostitute with a white customer. By extension, any baby thus conceived.
Use an equalizer	Blacks	The use of a knife, or gun to make up for one's small size.

The respondents thoroughly enjoyed this word game and what they took to be a black consciousness-raising session and, indeed, it had been inserted for that purpose. The 60 argot terms in question ended the interview and often left them feeling good. They apparently enjoyed the double entendre of these heavily sexualized terms. The view that irmates possess limited attention spans and that they exhibit signs of boredom during long interviews is perhaps both falsely stereotypic and inaccurate. When the word about the research got around, the women were eager to talk. Once convinced of the purpose and confidentiality of the project, the sessions proved extremely enlightening to both sides.

For want of a better word, it was sensed that they actually enjoyed the questioning. Frankly, as the termination of the interview brought about a visible reluctance to leave, I began placing more emphasis upon the promise of "interview enjoyment" than upon the \$2.75 honorarium.

Why were the inmates so eager to talk and in some instances confess hair-raising acts that had been concealed? Bravado or the attempt at calculated shock were perhaps involved. A number of these women were intelligent and accomplished performers. Some made flattering and unflattering admissions that had a ring of authenticity about them and which tended to fit the other facts. And again, an interview in prison is an exciting escape from the monotonous, regimented prison routine. But underlying it all probably was their desire to examine the "soul-brother" who had managed to escape from a lower-class background himself by somehow slipping past the white dragons that guard the entrance to the bountiful life. Maybe they expected a sense of identification and conspiracy. And finally, no one had ever come to Kokely before and focused solely upon the black population. Quite a few remarked that the whites were jealous.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Ward and Kassebaum, Women's Prison, op.cit., p. 153.

<sup>1</sup>Ward

<sup>2</sup>Joyce Ladners, Tomorrow's Tomorrow: The Black Woman, Anchor Books, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1972), p. 70. Ladners says: "Mothers and Fathers in the Black Community are often forced to leave the child in the hands of older sisters and brothers, neighborhood children or alone because they are unable to afford regular baby-sitters or nursery schools."

<sup>3</sup>Joan Henry, op.cit., p. 49.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 60-61.

<sup>5</sup>Kitsi Burkhardt, "Women In Prison," Ramparts, 9, 11 (June 1971), p. 23.

<sup>6</sup>Rose Giallombardo, Society of Women, op.cit., p. 84, reported 45 inmates in this category.

<sup>7</sup>Someone who does not have his or her own church, and is not specifically trained for the ministry but feels inspired to assume the cloth in building up a following.

<sup>8</sup>Lawrie Mifflin, "The Pros in Con Game Are Usually Women," Daily News, New York, January 14, 1976, p. 25. Sgt. John Murphy, head of the Police Department's pickpocket and confidence game squad said, "We always speak of con men. But there are far more con women than con men ..."

<sup>9</sup>Murray Schumach, "End of Indeterminate Sentences Urged," The New York Times, April 13, 1976, p. 20.

<sup>10</sup>See footnote 23, Chapter III.

<sup>11</sup>Esther Heffernan, op.cit., p. 101.

<sup>12</sup>Murtagh and Harris, op.cit., p. 287.

<sup>13</sup>See Rose Giallombardo, Society of Women, op.cit., pp.204-213.

## CHAPTER V

## PRISON PSEUDOHETEROSEXUALITY\*

Alfred Kinsey and associates applied a complicated three-tier model to explain sexual orientation which involved psychological arousal and/or action set on a heterosexual-homosexual continuum. He then classified at the same points on a continuum individuals who had never engaged in any homosexual behavior and individuals who were homosexually very active "provided that the heterosexual and homosexual elements in each history bear the same relation to each other."<sup>1</sup> Irving Bieber completely disagrees and views the two as distinctive and mutually exclusive categories which cannot be placed on a single continuum. "A man is homosexual if his behavior is homosexual," he says. "Self-identification is not relevant."<sup>2</sup>

Curiously, Paul Gebhard, who became a close associate of Kinsey in the later's second work (the volume on females), in which the original Kinsey continuum was used, now would like to create two continuums and use the scale numbers of each in the manner of fractions.<sup>3</sup>

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\*The term "pseudoheterosexuality" was used by both Helene Deutsch and Frank Caprio in different contexts. Deutsch saw it as one woman's homosexual attraction for a rival who appears on the scene constantly to interfere with the first woman's interest in a man. In this case, the homosexual attraction of the first woman to the second antedates her interest in the man and the man represents only a secondary or "psuedoheterosexual" attraction. Caprio believed that many prostitutes are latent homosexuals who resort to sexual excesses with many men to convince themselves of their own heterosexuality. To him, the term represents a flight from homosexual repression. See Helene Deutsch, *The Psychology of Women: Volume I-Girlhood*, (New York: Bantam Books by arrangement with Grune and Stratton, Inc., 1944), p. 341. Frank Caprio, *op.cit.*, p. 93. In this thesis, the term is used to denote a simulation of the heterosexual world by a monosexual population.

Ward and Kassebaum got around these problems by moving from who is homo-sexual to what is homosexuality. For them, homosexuality is "kissing and fondling of the breasts, manual or oral stimulation of the genitalia and the simulation of intercourse between two women." This is the definition of lesbian activity, conduct or behavior that I shall be using here.

Epitomizing this behavior at Kokely was a muscular white woman who wore a thick brown mustache and claimed to be a female-to-male transsexual. She certainly looked the part and it was not hard to accept the story that she had been surgically fitted with testes and penis. Known as "Hercules" and a unique phenomenon at Kokely, she was surrounded by fawning females who admired her cock-of-the-barnyard strut.

"I think I done it," the grapevine claimed she bragged.

"Done what?"

"I came in her and now I think she's pregnant."

Hercules did not have to worry. Her anatomical splendors differed not a wit from the standard equipment of other females. She had never undergone a sex change operation, did not take androgens as rumored and secretly got regular menses.<sup>4</sup> How did these facts come to light? A disappointed black inmate who had expectantly yielded to her was the primary source of this information, as were some scornful black butches. Nevertheless, Hercules remained a pivotal figure in this study for she allowed me to approach the topic of homosexuality through my credentials in transsexual counseling. There was a lot of interest in how sexual reassignment is performed.

Williams and Fish have conceptualized the female prison as both a sub rosa economic system and an enclave of poverty where scarce goods and services are provided, consumed and bartered.<sup>5</sup> They took the major

studies on lesbian activity in adult female prisons and formulated an economic model of inmate culture. Thus they viewed men as the scarcest commodity of all, a commodity which created an extreme supply and demand imbalance and helped explain the physical attraction of substitute men. Correctional institutions differentiate their one-sex population by sorting out women for available roles. Female prisons need men, so female prisons fabricate "males."

Giallombardo and Ward and Kassebaum provide a more definitive description of the "man-making" process. Females may become masculine by taking on the outlook one usually associates with men.<sup>6</sup> They wear no make-up, clip their hair short, lower their hemlines<sup>7</sup> and often affect mannish attire, walk and posture. According to Giallombardo, sometimes their fixation on masculine puissance becomes an obsession, and they pretend to be manipulating a penis in their slacks.<sup>8</sup>

Most female prisoners, however, prefer to remain in a role that they consider gender-appropriate, that is, one which matches genetic makeup with socially expected gender. They want to retain their outside feminine identities and select the stereotyped attributes of females. These include personal grooming, attractive attire, dependence, accommodation, physical allure, and housekeeping responsibilities.<sup>9</sup> For example, they are supposed to take care of their "man's" things and in general cater to "his" masculine prerogatives.<sup>10</sup> The women playing this role are called "femes" and they woo butches assiduously, showering them with commissary items and services, thereby hoping to establish a "husband and wife" relationship that would perpetuate in prison the outside marital order. Thus we are back to Williams and Fish's economic

conception of the inmate informal social structure. Many elements of their economic model are visible at Kokely, but whether these elements mean what Williams and Fish impute is debatable. For as we will see, butches are elevated in esteem on the outside too, where men are available, and butches receive goods and services there also. Some women who cannot cope with more coquettish competition can reverse their fortunes overnight by abandoning the feminine for the masculine role.<sup>11</sup> But neither is role switching confined only to prison life.

Does inmate homosexuality under certain conditions have any redeeming social value? Surprisingly, there is some qualified support from leading figures in the field of criminal justice that it might. Ward and Kassebaum say, "Institutional deviance can be justified as appropriate, considering the circumstances."<sup>12</sup> The Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry; as far back as 1955, said much the same thing.<sup>13</sup> The utilitarian aspects of it are often described in the terms of strengthening the prison's formal structure. Roger Mitchell openly asserts that homosexuality is sometimes "encouraged by the guards, who know that a sexually occupied inmate will have less energy to make trouble."<sup>14</sup> Variations on this theme are offered by a host of others.<sup>15</sup> Some wardens see it as a palliative to a restive population, and prison administrations not infrequently work out a form of accommodation with it unless the activity is flaunted.

When a new inmate enters Kokely, she is likely to be choked with feelings of confusion and fear. Separated from her supportive system of being a daughter, wife, mother or some other unknown role, she grieves over her loss. She cries often as her loathsome new identity assails her sense of worth. This results in the aforementioned "hard

time." "Easy time," in contradistinction to "hard time," is when an inmate learns to liberate her mind from those outside memories which can only bring her pain.<sup>16</sup> Both constructs probably are rationalizations for outside neglect. The most accessible path to "easy time" is through a friend who cares. It is here that the conversion experience is thought to take place and the initiate is led timidly and dependently into the ranks of the "jailhouse turnouts," accepting the present expediency in accordance with the accumulated wisdom of the prison's normative system.<sup>17</sup> She then "has people" -- prison argot for a reciprocating partner in a meaningful relationship. To "have people" permits the new and presumably feminine girl to work her arts of attraction on an admirer in prison as she did on a man on the outside, and also aids in avoiding prison distress.

What would happen to a pretty, flagrant inmate tease? Would she be raped? Probably not. Homosexual rape, despite a few opposing views such as those of Weiss and Friar,<sup>18</sup> seems to be quite rare in female prisons. Not only have most prison investigators, including Ward and Kassebaum, failed to find it,<sup>19</sup> but a Communist leader like Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, in exposing the seamy side of her imprisonment at the Federal penitentiary at Alderson,<sup>20</sup> certainly would have exploited a scandal of that sort. At worst, if the undocumented statements of Weiss and Friar are true, then they apply to local lockups, not to state and Federal prisons.

The nearest thing to rape happened at Kokely during the time of these interviews. An attractive new white entry was claimed immediately by a hulking, weight-lifting black butch. "You mine's," she told the

terrified girl; "if'n you don't give it up, I'll beat it outta ya." Trembling from head to foot, the white girl burst out in tears and wailed, "I wanna get outta this place!" Instantly, both an older woman and a "nicer" butch sprang to her defense. Within three weeks the white girl had been seduced thoroughly and willingly by the "nice" butch. The inmates estimate that such threats of sexual aggression at Kokely are almost totally without substance but sometimes the bluff pays off.

Lately, researchers have been giving thought to the traumatizing effects of childhood rape,<sup>21</sup> molestation and incest, in the childhood of girls who later turned to lesbianism. In the Kokely sample, the incidence of preprison rape was high. Over a third of the inmates had experienced it. Of the 20 (35%) who reported being victimized, 15 (26%) were in the lesbian group. One girl, now 21, had been violated by her own father at eight. Then within months, she was "turned out" by her girlfriend's mother who taught her the lingual caress. Child molestation in the ghetto seems especially prevalent, and the bulk of it goes unreported.<sup>22</sup> In a number of cases, women were the initial seducers. Acting maternally, they allayed suspicion while pitting their age and worldliness against an immature mind.

Beset by sexual hazards on all sides, there is little wonder that the low-income girl becomes willingly sexually active at an early age.<sup>23</sup> All except two inmates in the sample of 57 had engaged in heterosexual intercourse before the age of 16, and three of the latter group had been initiated sexually by other females as early as eight. Their answers probably do not reflect the true amount of precocity since some of the inmates did not feel comfortable in making the female sexual

admissions until later in the interview and cautiously confined their admissions to sex with males. Undoubtedly, the phrasing of the question had been ambiguous or not placed in the proper sequence.

A strong hint to the long-proposed instrumental nature of interpersonal relationships is captured in the general response to the question relating to impromptu exchanges of sexual favors as a resolution to money problems. In other words, did the inmates at any time, while caught in the snare of circumstances, allow themselves to be maneuvered into bed and ravished -- no other word describes it -- by drooling male admirers who had repeatedly offered them "anything I got for a shot of that?" For the inmate who did, seldom did she see it as authentic prostitution. The man had wanted her for a long time. He had offered money before and was refused. She liked him mildly, if not romantically. No price had been set, nor had any money changed hands until after the deed was done. Only then had she activated manipulative strategies of chagrin and remorse to jack-up the "donation." Twenty of the respondents (35%) said they had been caught in these fixes often and another allowed that it had happened to her once or twice. Both Kingsley Davis and Ned Polsky support these women's claim that this type of sexual surrender for a consideration is not true prostitution. Davis says that the prostitute "trades promiscuously" and with indifference.<sup>24</sup> Polsky states that the woman has to pursue this kind of activity as an occupation to be classed as a prostitute.<sup>25</sup> Sometimes, of course, the bargain the girls made was of a more determined kind. And notably, all of the fully avowed prostitutes in the sample admitted to experimenting sexually with women.

The next three questions were central to the research and the results have already been reported. I phrased the questions so as to leave

nothing to chance. I asked directly to the point, "Did you ever have sex with a female? If so, where did it take place for the very first time -- inside a correctional institution or in the free world? And if so, at what age? By sex, I mean, did you suck her breasts, touch her naked pussy with your hand or with any part of your body, including your mouth, or did she do any of that to you?" In all, 26 women (45.6%) out of the 57 in the sample admitted to the activity on the outside prior to incarceration. This figure later adjusted by other information was corrected to 31 with another highly probable (56.1% combined.) In addition, four more prisoners entered the practice for the first time while in some form of detention. Thus there were only four true "jailhouse turnouts" in the entire sample. Another four inmates who had been homosexually active on the outside claimed to have completely abstained in prison. Twenty-one prisoners denied ever having engaged in this type of activity and no one suspected otherwise.

How are these figures explained? I believe that some part of it had to do with rapport and interviewing technique. A second part had to do with the easing of the homosexual stigma which previously forced inmates to lie, to adjust, to deny -- even to themselves -- although as we shall see, this still goes on. A third part of it might well have been tied in to the flux and flow of social protest which permits the dilettente to sample revolutions, including the homosexual one, before moving on. And, finally, the last part may be inextricably bound up in the lowerclass black lifestyle as a coping mechanism of great import. A lot of women do what they have to do in order to emotionally and physically survive. Catherine Nelson suggests that

"females do not equate sexual behavior with their sense of self worth as men do. Therefore, a woman may engage in either heterosexual or homosexual behavior without a loss of self-esteem or a depreciation of her femininity." <sup>26</sup> This expands the black female's range of weapons against the encroachments of poverty. Yet, at this point, there still is no answer to the question of the apparently widespread practice of lesbianism on the outside.

Evidently, females in prison do not reveal their outside experimentation with women as readily as supposed. The "jailhouse turnout" status probably is accepted by most as indigenous to prison life because they believe what others say. By a count of 33 (57.8%) to 19 (33.8%), inmates favor this view, although my own data will indicate that it is highly inaccurate:

The black women in Kokely start that nonsense right in here. Only about 10 of them did it on the outside. Those who were like that on the outside don't like for women to touch them. They do it like a man. <sup>27</sup>

It starts in prison. You see someone who reminds you of a dude you know and you become attached.

In prison. Jailhouse lovers. My own mother was a butch in prison.

The question pertaining to the physical and psychic roles of the respondents during the sexual experiences was charged with a high degree of reticence. A conscious effort on my part to select a visual balance between butches and femmes also may have contributed to some biasing of the results. Five prisoners reported that they took both parts, depending upon their latest partner: The balance, with one abstention, was split 19 (33.3%) to 11 (19.3%) in favor of the femme

role. Appearances were deceiving, however. A very pleasant butch, outwardly so masculine that she had a thick mat of hair on her chest, enjoyed both roles, although she was a special case. Possessing an extreme masochistic bent, she trained her lovers to dispense physical torture which for her culminated in superior ecstasies.<sup>28</sup> In fact, she narrated to me, in talking about her crime, that she had killed in the grip of this emotion.

Few of the other inmates in the sample were advocates of sexual satisfactions in this unrelieved form. Some of the other replies, nevertheless, are worth mentioning:

I like both parts. They say I'm a faggot<sup>29</sup> because I don't treat my woman the way a butch should. I share with her and do her clothes when she's busy. Sometimes I'm passive and let her be the aggressive one. Both the butches and the femmes get mad.

A fragile, petite and feminine inmate reported:

I like the femme role. The first girl I ever was with on the outside told me that making love to a woman would make me feel more like a woman because once you can deal with your own sex, the other sex is easy. I think she was right. Men are easy for me. But take this agressor I got right now. She won't let me touch her. Aggressors say you should respect their role and position. But I know how to get to her and I will. They want you to show jealousy. I never do. This girl has a wife but I will break them up. I know just how to handle her.

Inmate thinking as to why some black women never get involved in the prison gay culture furnishes some provocative cameos. It was emphasized by one sexually-active inmate that the non-homosexually-involved woman never had to do it, which indicates an element of compulsion rather than fundamental nature. Another active one said, "They got respect for theirselves" which suggests a perceived weakness

in those who submit -- an unspoken theme in many of the replies. The term "aggressor," as an implied threat against the femmes, is significant. Many inmates in the sample attribute the non-engagement of other women to: masturbation; having a "deep inner feeling against it"; being afraid they might like it if they tried it; having only a short sentence which permits them to hold out; being a man's woman which no one can knock for that; and bafflement over the pleasures two women can get out of "rubbing pussies."

The original commentator above put it like this:

They're raised that way. Afraid of not being normal. They never had to do it in life. Your position plays a big part in that. But a lot who pretend to be so feminine are doing it at times. The saying goes, "Watch the girls with the curls."

Often a lot of the black, less popular women claimed that they had not jumped into the butch role but had been pushed, frequently, they said, by the white inmates. Havelock Ellis' theme of "compensatory unlikeness" which Ellis believed to be the basis of the attraction between males and females,<sup>30</sup> probably explains this as well as any other. Margaret Otis, back in 1913, saw it but did not pursue the matter for analysis. Moreno echoed Ellis in emphasizing how much stronger and more muscular the black girls at Hudson looked to the white girls.<sup>31</sup> Keiser and Shaffer told of one of their adolescent fighting girls who was resentful over being forced into the butch role because she was "colored."<sup>32</sup> And Elizabeth Gurley Flynn wrote that Claudia, her black Communist sister prisoner, lectured the "Negro women" pointing out to them "how some southern white women at

Alderson behaved with Negro women there as they did with Negro men in the South," chasing after them, intimidating them, and taking advantage of them with "what appeared to be a crude and vulgarly offensive form of white-supremacist attitudes, or what we called 'white chauvinism' masquerading as 'love...'"<sup>33</sup>

The ambivalence of some black butches over assuming the role may reveal a revenge factor. The butch attempts to annihilate all resistance in the femme and inflict upon her humiliation, physical punishment and vilification interspersed with moments of devoted and tender concern. The butch, despite her ability to treat the femme as a subjugated caste, is, in a way, a sad and lonely figure. The love for which she hungers is often foreclosed. Conversely, the femme frequently enjoys the soap opera tragedies in which she stars, indulging in plots and intrigues, and gaining sexual satisfaction with or without self-condemnatory participation. Some femmes find sexual reciprocation repugnant and only permit passive submission. This results in the practice reported by Ward and Kassebaum, termed "giving up the work."<sup>34</sup>

The "giving of work" refers to the butch's one-sided efforts in bringing the femme to orgasm. Therefore, "giving up the work," means the butch receives nothing in return. By sexually exciting and satisfying the femme, she hopes to gain an emotional hold over her and eventually make the femme beg to reciprocate. But reciprocation places the butch in danger of developing an emotional commitment greater than that of the femme and the femme would then be the controlling figure.<sup>35</sup> Secretly, the butch fears being used, fears opportunistic feminine gloat and infidelity. Hence partners are

changed often and the war between the "sexes" is martyred by fights and suicide attempts.<sup>36</sup>

There is some validity to the Ward and Kassebaum concept but there are other factors that may not have been taken into account. This does not imply that the protective process described above does not function at all. It does. This was exemplified by a black inmate at Kokely whose need for sexual attention overcame her deep-seated feelings of revulsion for lesbian activity. She was about to take the plunge and had selected a white butch to initiate it. Why white? "Because she will eat me and I don't have to do nothing. Black butches always want to get on top of you like a man. How could I live with myself if I let one do that"<sup>37</sup> The quarrel I have with the Ward and Kassebaum concept is admittedly a tenuous one, hanging on frail evidence. The widespread use of "giving up the work" as a tactic is cast in doubt by the previously reported inmate's remark that the black women of Kokely start that "nonsense" [lesbianism] in prison as only about 10 of them had done it on the outside and, like men, do not like to be touched. Assuming the inmate to be knowledgeable in her ability to cite a figure, the very rarity of the practice would seem to indicate that there is something of a more fundamental nature involved than merely a tactic. I will return to this again in the ghetto study.

The butch/femme rivalries at Kokely used slander as a weapon, and inmates had to contend with the pejorative impulse. In the zero-sum situation where one partner gained as the other declined, the inmate code suffered and there was no sign of the stabilizing kinship structures discovered by other researchers.<sup>38</sup> Family networks were

said to have existed at Kokely in a minor way about five years before my research, but even these had gone into decline. The "true homosexual" was not scorned in any kind of relationship<sup>39</sup> and was more doggedly pursued than the butches who had not established any outside homosexual identity.

The significance of bare breasts under a thin blouse did not dawn upon me until late. Many black butches dispensed with the brassiere. The purpose was to defeminize the female form.<sup>40</sup> The brassiere was invented by a woman, Caresse Crosby, not a man, in 1916.<sup>41</sup> Ida Rosenthal, co-founder of Maidenform, popularized and improved it to accentuate the breasts.<sup>42</sup> Men were never the culprits in forcing women into the bra. The issue, a deliberately spurious one, was meant to be a powerful attention-getter during the time of "radical chic" and was used not so much to rebel against "male domination" in the free world but to make breast-jangling women into the thing they supposedly be-moaned — super sex objects. Newspapermen avidly watched and described bra-burning protests, especially when the protesters divested themselves on the spot and added to the barnfire.<sup>43</sup>

Black female prisoners claim that the bra-less look was originally a lesbian predilection among black inmates who preferred to function in the male role.<sup>44</sup> From there, the practice was carried to the outside world by multiracial converts who politicized it and eventually carried it into the women's movement. Many of the popularizers presumably were jailed white, middle-class protesters of various causes.<sup>45</sup>

What are we to make of all we learned at Kokely? How can what happens to the black women there during the correctional process be

summed up? The prison system may be likened to a special mirror which shows where the warps in the society really are. One such warp is the inferior and patronizing treatment of women in American society, and the recent rise in social protest is geared to changing this attitude. Women are challenging on all fronts. The stereotyped feminine role is under attack. Male control of sex is blamed for shackling women to the status configuration of wife, mother and housekeeper. Most of all, the feminists want masculine/feminine interchangeability and the re-evaluation of these ascriptive terms.

Now consider the revealed distortions in the female prisons. Condemned women enter and undergo the stripping procedure. They feel threatened by this new life which is so different. In self-protection, they attempt to reproduce in the prison culture the familiar life to which they had previously related. Their core wants and needs now apparently spring to the fore. The outside movement toward societal flux, breakneck change and androgynous roles involving blurred masculine/feminine distinctions are all reversed. What they want during this period of unrelieved stress is not change, but security and stability. These are found only in the stereotyped roles that permit survival in a hostile environment. They, in short, create an ordered world of pseudoheterosexuality, a world that may be defined as an illusionary form of the standard male/female interaction, altered as little as possible by the special conditions that obtain. The key to this world is validated womanhood. Proof that an inmate is a full woman is displayed by the same cluster of feminine traits that is in disrepute in the wider culture. The femme's need to attract and win a "man" is

complicated by the limited supply of "males".

These "males" -- often less able to cope in the traditional role -- furnish the necessary "other sex" orientation in the inmates' world of pseudoheterosexuality. Rights and privileges that would stagger the minds of staunch male supremacists are freely bestowed upon them by amorous femmes.

Acknowledging all of this, prison pseudoheterosexuality poses agonizing questions to researchers. For unlike outside rhetoric and demands for full equality, females in prison commence their terms under the admirable principle of strict equality -- which they soon relinquish to the image, if not the substance, of manhood. Is then what we see in this extreme situation merely image-distortions or is it the revealed true nature of women -- at least of a certain socio-economic class? The claimed superiority of lesbian love over the male variety resides in the assumption that lesbians, being women, know best how to satisfy other women. Does it also hold that prison butches, being women, know what truly excites and stimulates other women? Does the existence of patriarchal and male chauvanistic models -- reigning supreme in female prisons -- indicate the kind of concealed cravings in women that detractors imply and defenders vehemently deny?

Some of the most respected investigators in the area of homosexuality doubt that prison, "a unisex total institution," can tell us much "about the outside gay world."<sup>46</sup> But perhaps it can.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Albert C. Kinsey, et.al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Female, (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1953), pp. 446-501.

<sup>2</sup>Philip Blumstein and Pepper Schwartz, "Lesbianism and Bisexuality prepared paper to be issued in Eric Goode (Ed) Sexual Deviance and Sexual Deviants, (New York: William Morrow Press, 1974), p. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Paul H. Gebhard, "Incidence of Overt Homosexuality In the United States and Western Europe," in John M. Livingood (Ed), National Institute of Mental Health Task Force On Homosexuality: Final Report and Background Papers. (Rockville, Maryland: National Institute of Mental Health, 1972), p. 26.

<sup>4</sup>A female-to-male transsexual would not be interned with women, quite obviously. Since this category is quite visible in prisons presently, what is apparently meant is someone who desires to undergo sexual reassignment surgery. Such a person, in my opinion, is more aptly described as a "transsexual candidate."

<sup>5</sup>Williams and Fish, op.cit., p. 120.

<sup>6</sup>John Money and Anke A. Ehrhardt, Man and Woman; Boy and Girl, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), pp. 4 and 284. See Gender identity and gender role. Also see Charlotte Wolff, op.cit., p. 49.

<sup>7</sup>Some of the women who adopt masculine roles now ridicule the practice of dropping the hemline although it is still practiced widely perhaps by the majority of butches in my sample. See also Giallombardo, Society of Women, op.cit., p. 138.

<sup>8</sup>Giallombardo, Society of Women, op.cit., p. 139.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 148-149.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 150.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 152.

<sup>12</sup>Ward and Kassebaum, Women's Prison, op.cit., 198.

<sup>13</sup>Linda Norris, "Comparisons of Two Groups in a Southern State Women's Prison: Homosexual Behavior Versus Non-homosexual Behavior,"

Psychological Reports, 34, 1 (February 1974), p. 77.

<sup>14</sup>Roger Mitchell, The Homosexual and the Law, (New York: Acro Publishing Company, Inc., 1969), p. 67.

<sup>15</sup>Giallombardo, Society of Women, Op.cit., p. 43. Also see Sally Anderson and Jeanne Cordova, "Inside Terminal Island, California Federal Penitentiary; Gay Life, Women's Liberation, and Prison Culture," The Lesbian Tide, 2, 6 (January 1973), pp. 3, 18-30, 33.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 134.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 142.

<sup>18</sup>Carl Weiss and David James Friar, Terror In the Prisons: Homosexual Rape and Why Society Condones It, (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1974), p. 15.

<sup>19</sup>David A. Ward and Gene G. Kassebaum, "Lesbian Liaisons," Trans-Action, 1 (January 1964), p. 28. Also see Giallombardo, Society of Women, op.cit., p. 98

<sup>20</sup>Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, op.cit.

<sup>21</sup>personal discussion, Edward Sagarin, 1973, who is examining a possible correlation between female homosexuality and childhood rape.

<sup>22</sup>Robert Staples, "The Sexuality of Black Women," Sexual Behavior, 2, 6 (June 1972), pp. 4-15. Staples reports that, "One study of 646 cases of rape in Philadelphia reveals that black girls between the ages of 10 to 15 are most often the victims." See also Joyce A. Ladner, op.cit., p. 62 who writes, "For example an eight-year old girl has a good chance of being exposed to rape and violence ---" See also Chapter VIII, this work.

<sup>23</sup>Lee Rainwater, "Crucible of Identity: The Negro Lower-Class Family," Daedalus, 95, 1 (Winter 1966), pp. 184-7. Kenneth B. Clark, Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power. Harper Torchbooks. (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1965), pp. 70-73. Joyce A. Ladner, Ibid., pp. 198-212. See Also David A. Schulz, op.cit., p. 46.

<sup>24</sup>Kingsley Davis, op.cit., p. 350.

<sup>25</sup>Ned Polsky, Hustlers, Beats and Others (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), p. 193.

<sup>26</sup>Catherine Nelson, op.cit., p. 169.

27 This peculiar view of men is often expressed by women.

28 Some authors, notably Ann Aldrich, Take A Lesbian to Lunch (New York: Macfadden-Bartell Corp., 1972), p. 130, deny that lesbians engage in sadism/masochism (S and M). There is a lesbian paper, however, which reveals that these yearnings are not limited to males or to blacks. The paper describes "female power needs" and dispenses its philosophy wholesale:

Quite naturally, we [women] are intrigued by S & M: we've been made to shove shit for so long, we'd love to have someone else eat it. (Both literally and figuratively).

See Echo of Sappho, Sisters for Liberation;, P. O. Box 263; Brooklyn, New York, p. 17. The Dulenspiegel Society furnishes lectures on this subject and holds weekly meetings which are usually closed to men.

29 Derogatory term for the male homosexual who serves as the insertee, i.e., accepts the female role.

30 Leo Choll, "Advances in Modern Sex Research, A Survey of," in Albert Ellis and Albert Abarbanel, (Eds), New and Revised Second Edition, The Encyclopedia of Sexual Behavior (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1967), pp. 25-34.

31 J. L. Moreno, op.cit., pp. 413-414.

32 Sylvan Keiser and Dora Schaffer, op.cit., p. 291.

33 Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, op.cit., pp. 178-179.

34 Ward and Kassebaum, Women's Prison, op.cit., p. 179.

35 Ibid., pp. 186-189.

36 Ibid., pp. 155-162.

37 This would-be femme had not yet had an homosexual experience but was trying to make contact on her terms. I therefore listed her under the homosexual group.

38 Giallombardo, Society of Women, p. 159 and Esther Heffernan, op.cit., pp. 88, 89.

39 The homosexual with outside experience was said to have been ostracized in Giallombardo, Ibid., pp. 123-124 and Esthel Heffernan, Ibid., pp. 89-98. This did not appear to be the case at Kokely.

40 This practice was described by Ward and Kassebaum, Women's Prison, op.cit., p. 106. By Giallombardo, Ibid., p. 138. And by

Heffernan, Ibid., p. 95. Sister Heffernan also identified the speaker on page 95 as black in personal correspondence. None of these authors, however, ascribed this practice to a racial perspective.

<sup>41</sup>"Ida Rosenthal Co.- Founder of Maidenform Dies: Popularized Wearing of Bras As An Aid to Fashion," New York Times, March 30, 1973, p. 42.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Susan Brownmiller, "Sisterhood Is Powerful," New York Times Magazine, March 15, 1970, p. 27.

<sup>44</sup>This view was expressed by a chic black woman who was interviewed in the ghetto sample. With her excellent figure and heavy makeup, she appeared to be a showgirl type. She claimed, however, to have been at the Hudson Training School for Girls, New York State, in 1933, when 13 years-old. Around 55, she looked about 40, But she confirmed the bra-less tradition among black butches of that time. Many inmates in this study maintained that the bra-look started among blacks.

<sup>45</sup>Esther Heffernan, op.cit., p. 27, states that the political prisoner was highly visible in prisons during the civil rights and peace movements. Heffernan gives several citations in her Notes. See also Barbara Deming, Prison Notes. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1966, The story of jailing of "Freedom Walkers" at Albany, Georgia.

<sup>46</sup>Carol A. B. Warren, "Observing the Gay Community," in Jack Douglas, Edition, Research on Deviance, (New York: Random House, 1972) pp. 142-143.

CHAPTER VI  
BLACK WOMEN IN THE GHETTO

The NARYCU Report concluded in 1964 that, "A central reality of the ghetto is ferment, paradox, conflict and dilemma."<sup>1</sup> Alvin Schorr, in noting the punishing environment that surrounds black life, spoke of its creating what he called "a syndrome of mutually reinforcing handicaps."<sup>2</sup>

In this chapter, I will attempt to examine parts of this "ferment, paradox, conflict and dilemma," explore this "syndrome of mutually reinforcing handicaps," and analyze the processes by which the ghetto black woman adapts to her oppressive circumstances. I will focal primarily upon her and only in the second part of the chapter upon the black lesbian since the latter is also a black woman and functions in the same social context. For example, black lesbians display racially distinctive patterns of coping which probably make them differ from other lesbian groups.<sup>3</sup> While socially defiant, they are still oriented to, and controlled by, the black cultural heritage. The key dimensions of their lifestyle evolve out of its attitudes, social structure and antecedent roles and models. To understand black lesbian behavior, then we need to know more about the black woman-herself.

The lower-class black woman's world is a terribly restricted one, rooted in the stress-filled search for resources — both material and emotional. In this search, she has had to come to terms with her own sexuality as shaped by socioeconomic and historical necessity.<sup>4</sup> Since her introduction to America in chains, she has had little choice but

to define herself -- and ultimately her worth -- in terms of erotic symbolism; and while many would say white women too must so define themselves, their experiences in America has been qualitatively different.

The sexualization of the black woman and, quite possibly of the entire American society, started during slavery. The "peculiar institution" was rigged to provide sexual access to women in bondage and such access required the destruction of the slave family. Since the purpose of marriage and family is to provide heirs through the sanctity of the marriage bed, by prohibiting marriage and undermining societal supports for the protection of progeny, the slavemaster reduced slaves to mere laborers and breeders of human livestock.<sup>5</sup> The exigencies of the system acted to restrict emotional commitments between slaves to a succession of longer or shorter sexual liaisons.<sup>6</sup> In addition, the female slave not only worked the fields, kept her own cabin, reared a large brood often by herself but tended the white man's children, serviced his family and satisfied his sexual needs. Through the multiple sexual demands upon her, she learned to invert the white woman's love process by stimulating sexual interest, proving herself exotically pleasing, using sexual skills to bind the man -- be he master or slave -- to her, and, finally, winning him over by converting his physical commitment into an emotional one.

To handle the perils of slave life, the black woman developed a form of family which was dominated by females and only minimally dependent upon males. She also salvaged from white religion certain pain-deadening techniques which allowed her to turn her eyes toward

the rewards of the next world in compensation for the misery suffered in this one.<sup>7</sup> Thus the church became her only hope -- a rich lode of ore which she mined constantly for emotional resources.

Very little changed after emancipation except in name; and sharecropping, slavery's brutal successor, continued to hold blacks in thrall.<sup>8</sup> Sharecroppers' wives, living in ignorance, abject poverty and perpetual servitude, often were required to perform domestic chores in the "big house"<sup>9</sup> where material enticements and economic intimidations continued to make them sexually vulnerable to their white bosses,<sup>10</sup> but gave them the opportunity to purloin food for their family.

Numerous writers have indicated that these patterns in the South remained essentially unchanged into this century.<sup>11</sup> For example, Meier and Rudwick wrote, in 1966, that as blacks migrated North, they brought with them their two basic institutions of survival -- black matriarchy and emotional religion.<sup>12</sup>

The question of southern "black matriarchy" transplanted to Harlem and other urban ghettos commanded national attention in 1965 with the publication of the "Moynihan Report." Describing the lower-class black family as "crumbling" and a "tangle of pathology"<sup>13</sup> -- the principal source but not the cause of most of the ills that affect lower-socioeconomic black people -- this controversial government document called for national action to stabilize the black family along white middle-class lines. Moynihan's view was not singular. It, in fact, resurrected the black sociologist E. Franklin Frazier's matrifocal family which Frazier had termed "black matriarchy,"<sup>14</sup> instead of the more engaging name of "mothercraft."<sup>15</sup> Frazier, of

course, used the term to depict heightened female influence in family matters due to the importance of her earnings.

How does the so-called "black matriarchy" work in its urban and industrial manifestations? The underlying constant is the economic crippling of the black man. This kind of unit is usually characterized as a single-parent, mother-headed, poor family in which the father becomes such an economic burden that he has limited authority or absents himself altogether. Often the deserted mother and her children move back in with her own mother and join her single brothers and her sisters in like circumstances. All adults in the household then pool resources from welfare payments, child support, gifts from boyfriends, clandestine jobs and rent contributions from the brothers. Such a household may easily gross several hundred dollars a week.<sup>16</sup> The harried women of the family, denied conjugal attention, sometimes succumb to a succession of amatory entanglements which prove emotionally, although often not physically, sterile. Additional children may be born.

Angry critics seized upon Moynihan's disorganization statements and defended the mother-centered family as a unit of considerable strength in the ghetto.<sup>17</sup> But it would be folly to deny that the broken family causes some problems. We can recognize that the matriarchal structure has been an indispensable factor in preserving and carrying forth the black people in America. Yet this incomplete or "uterine family"<sup>18</sup> as Ovesey and Kardiner refer to it, is a survival unit, not an achieving unit. Under impossible odds, it provides sustenance for the body; still, it is not prepared to foster the delayed gratification patterns which authorities claim are essential to

middle-class success.<sup>19</sup> Considerable research shows that most lower-class black families attempt to copy middle-class values but are "frustrated victims" in that pursuit.<sup>20</sup> A study by sociologist Hyman Lewis presents strong evidence that lower-class black families want for their children what middle-class parents want for theirs, yet this "basic strain toward conformity" is circumvented by "pragmatic adjustments to external and internal stresses and privations."<sup>21</sup> Hyman Rodman conceptualized this as "the lower-class value stretch."<sup>22</sup>

Unfortunately, recent Census Bureau statistics would seem to indicate that the female-headed poor black family has risen to about 66 percent of all poor black families in America.<sup>23</sup> Later figures showed that the number of illegitimate births in Washington, D.C., a city heavily populated by blacks, surpassed the number of births recorded for married women.<sup>24</sup> This may well be reflective of a general trend toward family dissolution or instability throughout American life, in which Moynihan's "stable white family" itself may be crumbling. For example, newspapers report that the new teen status symbol is the "love child."<sup>25</sup> Movie stars, beauty queens, famous generals, and even congressional leaders, have children out of wedlock. In 1974, some rabbis expressed great concern over the fact that two out of five Jewish families, always considered one of the strongest of family units, are now headed by a single parent.<sup>26</sup> Very few blacks would find any of this poetic justice and fewer still would advocate the broken family if given the choice. A look at this unfortunate aspect of black life explains why.

The first thing that stands out is the loosening of the parental/

child intimacy bonds and the diminishing period of childhood in the ghetto,<sup>27</sup> creating a disproportionate peer-group influence. As Betty Yorburg notes:

Lower working-class mothers, overwhelmed by numerous closely spaced children to care for and by unremitting problems of physical survival, spend less time talking, smiling and playing with their infants. Later they spend less time reading to children. They are more apt to issue orders without explanations. They use concrete language. Their sentences are short, with little use of qualifying phrases. Their spoken language is less like written language, grammatically and syntactically, than in the middle-class. They extinguish curiosity and question-asking behavior...<sup>28</sup>

Mothers who are often absent or working usually leave their older daughters in charge of siblings. These responsibilities falling upon a child as young as five are awesome.<sup>29</sup> They must ward off predatory grown-ups, dispense adult wisdom and gain influence over brothers near their own age. From my own observations, a terrible price is paid by these girls. It seems that an inordinate number of them fall prey to insecurities that cause "morbid obesity" in adulthood and/or the urge to surreptitiously suck their thumbs into their late teens or early twenties. Quite a few feel overburdened and have expressed this to me in terms almost as poignant as those of Ethel Waters:

I was never a child.  
 I was never coddled, or liked, or understood by my family.  
 I never felt I belonged.  
 I was always an outsider.  
 I was born out of wedlock, but that had nothing to do with all of this. To people like mine a thing like that just don't mean a thing.<sup>30</sup>

Nevertheless, it does seem reasonable to suppose that the interplay between the sexes over the female's position in the family greatly contributes to sexual estrangement during adulthood and results in what appears to be a more contentious sexual rivalry among blacks than among whites. Much of it is apparently manifested in the teens. The all-important peer group pressures which operate among lower-class white males too -- lead black adolescent boys to sexually exploit young girls and brag to gain stature as a "man."<sup>31</sup> But the social meaning of this action among blacks is probably more complicated than they understand. In certain sexual practices, lower-class blacks are often much more rigid and restrictive than middle-class or even lower-class whites. Black parents, for example, usually do not walk about unclothed before their children. Masturbation is frowned upon.<sup>32</sup> Both black boys and girls frequently think of it as an admitted failure in sexual attractiveness and will often deny the practice. Consequently, sexual experience among lower-class blacks tends toward the more concrete act.<sup>33</sup> Kinsey, noting this propensity among males of the "lower-level" attributed the greater acceptance of masturbation among "upper level" whites to a strong class prohibition against premarital intercourse.<sup>34</sup> In my opinion, this is the pattern of delayed gratification in the truest sense of the term.

But the sexual action described above, and pursued by blacks as adults in more concentrated form, is even more complicated. Lower-class blacks have never cast out of their mores the slavery relic of tying both the male and female's value to prolific reproductive capacity. It is ironic that the crippling influences of the past remain so firmly entrenched in the folkways that black men and women squabble between themselves instead of concentrating upon common oppression. Some lower-

class black men, unaware of the mark of slavery upon them, continue to validate their manhood by flaunting sexual conquest, by siring babies, or by boasting of their financial exploitation of women. And lower-class black females, still responding to slave survivals, both exploit sexual surrender and use it to vault into womanhood. Unlike a young male, a 13-year old girl is imprisoned in the bitter seeds of her act. If she is "with child" while still only a child herself, she has to settle for whatever relationship she can get. Often it means periods of snatched intimacy while her baby is asleep. The fatigued mother, living in a crowded apartment, finds that this kind of vigilance contributes in no small way to added unwanted pregnancies. The black man is usually considered to be society's victim. But in the end, the woman becomes the victim's victim, her relationships with black men armed truces and struggles in the coils of mistrust. For she must often accept love on the man's terms, mainly because black males of marriageable age are a scarce commodity.<sup>35</sup> The low ratio is further depressed by a large number of wandering or jailed men, drug abusers, military servicemen, and, according to one black female psychiatrist, the "racist social system" which causes the now "epidemic proportions" of black males who turn to passivity, effeminacy, transvestism, bisexuality and homosexuality...<sup>36</sup> So acute is this shortage that Robert Staples has found that there exists in New York City only 75 black men for every 100 black women.<sup>37</sup> Black females therefore need to utilize the entire range of romantic prospects, accepting both older and younger suitors,<sup>38</sup> marrying white men more often than supposed<sup>39</sup> and, in extreme cases, even yielding to female seduction until a suitable male comes along.

If one has examined the panoply of black movements, one observes that the black woman has become the staunch upholder of black consciousness and has moved to barricade the black man within the concept. The advent of black consciousness permitted the black woman to throw off three centuries of white-accepted norms of beauty and opt for an Africanized version of this elusive quality. She began, too, to articulate some strong views against white women/ black men amatory alliances.<sup>40</sup> Lower-class black women are often anti-Women's Lib,<sup>41</sup> see the decision to contracept as racial genocide,<sup>42</sup> and are angered by white usurpation of the term "Ms," since it has been used by humble blacks over the centuries to address indiscriminately married or single white women.<sup>43</sup> Pronounced "Mizz," many black women have deliberately altered the spelling to "Mz" to proclaim their pride in blackness. Some of these arguments do seem rather sophisticated for ghettoites but there is a cross-fertilization that occurs between lower-class females and the middle-class black female intelligentsia. It is obviously a two-way street since middle-class black women would hardly aspire to multiple and unplanned pregnancies.

In the ghetto, hostile eruptions and crimes of passion are prevalent because the pursuit of love is of central importance in the fragmented existence of poor black people. For as Wolfgang and Ferracuti point out, violence is part of lower-class life, and the ghetto is lower-class.<sup>44</sup> I have often observed that femininity and petite size are no guarantee at all that a black woman will not retaliate when provoked, even against an apparently much stronger man. The ghetto female has internalized its precipitous behavior and its emphasis upon toughness, brawn and violent solutions to problems. She might get in

several good blows before being subdued by superior muscle. When vanquished, she will seldom give the man the satisfaction of tears.

Physical pain is endurable. Yet, she becomes a sobbing wildcat over the psychic pain incited by her man's involvement with another woman.

Only during coitus is there true respite from this intense male/female rivalry, although both long to let go but are afraid of each other. Here, at last, in the sexual embrace, they are permitted to soften, to let down defenses without shame, advantage or disadvantage. Black women, during the sexual act are said by Staples to be more aggressive than white women.<sup>45</sup> They expect to be satisfied. They are also willing to please their man, avoiding, however, the "white" sexual improprieties, such as oral-genital relations. They do not necessarily reject these activities but are wary of offending a lover who might consider such practices repulsive or a slur upon his virility.<sup>46</sup>

Most lower-socioeconomic black women who have given themselves will try to wheedle money out of the man. It is as much a part of the mores as the virility/fertility cult. Money has symbolic significances that transcend financial gain. Cash is a ritual excuser, an absolute absolver of all the woman might do that is unlady-like, bitchy, shocking, out-of-character, whorish, unfaithful, two-faced or just painful to her conscious. For example, suppose a lower-class black female met a man with whom she was hopelessly smitten. After spending the night with him once or twice, she might come right out and ask him for "help" -- say \$100 to pay her bills. Should he give it to her, the news would be disseminated over the grapevine. What she is asking is his assessment of her value to him and his sharing his money is the ultimate persuader. If successful, she will elevate her request. Her reasons are

two-fold. The more he invests in her, the more serious his intentions. And, if perchance he should be merely a sampler of new flesh, she saves face by acting the role of the fleecing woman. Elliot Liebow, in Tally's Corner, presents an excellent portrait of this phenomenon in action:

Men and women talk of themselves and others as cynical self-serving marauders, ceaselessly exploiting one another as use objects of income. Sometimes, such motives are ascribed only to women: "Them girls...they want finance, not romance." But more often, the men prefer to see themselves as the exploiters, the women as the exploited...<sup>47</sup>

Charles Keil, in Urban Blues, discusses the "finance-romance" equation in exploitative relationships between black lower-class men and women, basing his observation, evidently, upon Esther Newton's paper, "Men, Women and Status in the Negro Family."<sup>48</sup> John H. Rohrer and Munro S. Edmonson write of conversations with black women in New Orleans:

Men are beasts. That is the constant theme of these women. It follows that men are not to be trusted in or out of wedlock, and that you should have nothing to do with them except when it is clearly to your own advantage.

The authors continue:

Mrs. Lewis asks, "What's love? Ain't no sech thing as love. I love this here (pointing to the baby). I love what's part of me -- what came out of me. But love a man? Ain't no sech thing. I tell my girls: don't hear what no man say, but see how much he got."<sup>49</sup>

Disillusionment with men more than occasionally causes some lower-class black women to seek an alternate form of affection which, outwardly at least, offers respite from the "war between the sexes." This alternate form of affection is to be found in the arms of other women and is

readily available because of the apparently integrated character of homosexuals and "straights" in lower-class black society. Lesbianism especially seems to be more accepted there and not nearly so ostracized as among whites. Thus the black lesbian does not need the support of any outcast or bounded group, special apologetics or what Frank Caprio called "herd-security."<sup>50</sup> She is looked upon with a kind of fatalism by the people of the ghetto and judged odd perhaps, or idiosyncratic, but nobody makes a "dramatization of evil" out of her, to use Frank Tannenbaum's phrase.<sup>51</sup> Moral entrepreneurs, as Howard Beck dubbed them,<sup>52</sup> do exist in the ghetto. But since they are not able to flee, or exercise power, they find it expedient to remain silent.

Lower-class black lesbianism is laden with heavy role playing and divided, as in prison, into masculine and feminine roles. It does not want for Humphrey Bogart types -- cigarettes dangling from the lips and the smoke causing the left eye to remain half-shut. Nor does it want for the masculinized dresser rather than those in complete "drag." Male regalia, evidently, is a badge many wear to make the inner self outwardly visible. It also pressures the inner self not to deny what the outer proclaims. It is a walking advertisement for curiosity-seekers and can save valuable time by laying out the bait for a nibble. Lower-class black lesbianism seems to have been caught in a "culture lag" preserved from the Radclyffe Hall era.<sup>53</sup> The butch character, considered an anathema to the movement people,<sup>54</sup> is a fixture on the ghetto scene.

There is little of the purported white lesbian hatred of men<sup>55</sup> among lower-class black butches, and, if the report of white lesbians is to be believed, this is a crucial difference and distinction between

the two races. Black butches, as a whole, are unusual in this respect. They make forays into the same bars and clubs as the "straights" and rarely travel in packs. Instead, they hang out frequently with men, drink with them, shoot craps with them, sell a few bags of heroin to them, go marauding with them, engage in female conquest with them, and often even solicit women for the enjoyment of their male friends. In a sense, they join forces with the males and socially and psychologically become one of them, almost as if they were attempting to displace their hatred of men by visiting it upon other females. Their loyalties are not to women, but rather, they identify with men. In this way, they make themselves useful to men and buy acceptance in the male fraternity. An extremely large number of butches have winning personalities when dealing with males.

The femmes, on the other hand, rarely feel as secure with women lovers as they originally thought they would. They, as well as the butches, almost invariably have had love relations, sex, and orgasms with men, and have often been pregnant and have had children. The battles in their heterosexual relations which they thought they had left behind were similar to the battles and travails in their homosexual relations. The femmes jockey for advantage; the butches adopt the sexual and economically exploitative stance of the males. In the ghetto, as in prison, several psychological and pragmatic factors apparently tip the scales in favor of the butches. First, a love relationship with a man probably left bad memories and a vow never to trust a man again. Secondly, butches are fewer in number than femmes. Thirdly, down to their next to last alternative, the femmes struggle to hold their butches just as they struggled to hold their men. The

last alternative, of course, is the progression from femme to butch as commitment to the life increases. What is extremely important here is the enforced shifting identities. It has to be done because often becoming a butch is the only way they can get a partner.

The ghetto seldom allows butch or femme to transcend gender, as in a sense, can be done in prison. Sexual polarity reaches its zenith in the slums. There are deference pattern demands which are ultimately enforced by brute strength. A man may legitimately beat his woman under certain of the lower-class mores but butches are, in the final analysis, still women in the ghetto. And just as the smaller and feminine Nadine could defeat the larger and masculine Dawn McAdams, so too can many others. "You gotta bring ass to whip ass," is a saying of women as well as men.

Lower-class black lesbianism is ringed with pitfalls and is highly unstable and insecure. The mate turnover rate is high and jealousies and fights endless. Except in the case of an apparently small number of what Money and Ehrhardt call "obligatory homosexuals,"<sup>56</sup> being "in the life"<sup>57</sup> sometimes represents a self-imposed temporary exile from men. Consequently, there is much shuttling back and forth between men and women. At times, I was almost tempted to deny that this is lesbianism in the white sense of the word, or even bisexualism. I saw it as a state of constant becoming, not a fixed identity or a master trait that obscures all else.<sup>58</sup> The behavior was what they did, not what they were. For their unattainable preference, in most cases, did seem to be for the conventional life and the mystic symbols of procreation. Wilhelm Reich, as far back as the 1930s, described a type of behavior that could be appropos to this situation and termed it "emergency homo-

sexuality."<sup>59</sup> By and large, lower-class female homosexuality frequently is the product of ghetto forces, the articulating principle of which is, as with lower-class black women in general, a relentless search for resources, both material and emotional. Female-to-female sexual activity apparently is a substitute and instrumental choice.

Cindy, my lesbian contact, as earlier noted, introduced me to the McAdams and I established a beachhead among members of that family and their network of friends which consisted mostly of "straights" and at least 12 or 13 other women who frequently were in and out of homosexual involvement. Cindy and Jane McAdams lived openly as "butch and wife" in the apartment of Jane's aunt. In appraising the "feeling tone," "aesthetic atmosphere," or "living style" of the household, the operative words would be grime, poverty and threadbareness. Using Chapin's "Living Room Scale" the recommended 17 items of living room equipment and evaluating condition of repair, cleanliness, and orderliness, the aunt's apartment would have been listed as "destitute," rating between 0 to 24.<sup>60</sup> The omnipresent TV set periodically required several kicks to function. The one stuffed chair, with cotton and springs exposed, rested leglessly on the splintery floor and looked to be an incubator for lice. No curtains or drapery covered the windows. Upon moving to the other rooms, the white sheets on the bed were gray. Bits of food could be seen in unswept corners. Paper littered the floor, bureaus were piled with junk and unwashed laundry. But Jane McAdams exited this hovel daily dressed as if she had stepped right out of a mansion. Some of the apartments I visited in making interviews were better and some were worse.

Toddlers were often found running around the aunt's apartment

without diapers or panties. The aunt's husband claimed to be training them to toilet use but seemed inordinately disposed toward powdering the babies between the legs and smoothing the powder into the skin. Yet Jane, Dawn, Sina and others left their children there free of charge or for a few dollars. Although Sina seldom paid baby-sitting charges, she was adept at playing both ends against the middle by stealing someone else's respondent, spiriting the respondent over to her own apartment, and if the girl were butch, sleeping with her at the conclusion of the interview to extract that last \$10. Like most of the women in the network, "straight" or "gay," except for Nadine and the "rich" Dawn McAdams, Sina received ADC<sup>61</sup> payments.

As strange as it may seem today with the new sexual values, back in the 1930s through the early 1950s, female homosexuality was looked upon as a grave threat to lower-class black males, according to some of the older members of the sample. They reported that men ascribed to these women sexual powers that exceeded their own and not infrequently overtly homosexual women were set upon and gang-whipped by black men who were fearful of this myth of lesbian invincibility.<sup>62</sup> The question has been raised repeatedly, "How did this big change toward more tolerant attitudes come about?" As best as can be pieced together from what was told to me by both men and women, I can only speculate in the absence of hard data, that while there is still some stigma although the threat earlier described has all but disappeared, the change was due partly to the developing liberatarian spirit in American Society and partly due to the new idea of lesbian vulnerability. Some of the anecdotes imply that black male fantasy and vanity led those who aspired to super-lover status to prey upon female homosexual pairs and seduce

not the femme but the butch. Sometimes they succeeded. It is not at all unusual in the ghetto of 1977 to see the butchiest looking woman staring up into the eyes of some man who is telling her lies. Obviously, making love to a woman who looks like a man is just a step from making love to a man who looks like a woman. Exploitation of homosexual males, so it was said, led to an easy source of income. Thus the distinction among blacks as to homosexual identity is always the insertee, rather than the insertor. Albert Reiss' teenage gangs <sup>63</sup> represent a route to easy money that is not at all rare in the heavily instrumental and mercenary atmosphere of lower-class black life.

After months of functioning in ethnographic fashion and being made familiar with many aspects of lesbian life, including the nature of the physical encounter, I was not able to find anything resembling a lower-class black lesbian colony, world, or a cohesive female group having this sexual orientation in Central Harlem. Cindy, my contact, knew of none, nor did any of the other women. They spoke of the Hilltop Bar at 155th<sup>64</sup> Street but it had evolved back into a "straight" bar before meeting its demise. In fact, no public bar specializing in serving lower-class black lesbians (or black lesbians of any class) seemingly was operative in Harlem. Whenever one sprang up, it soon closed through lack of support.

During the course of this study, I gained an interest in learning what effects, if any, open lesbian relationships had upon growing children. Jane's eldest daughter, Tina, aged four, lived in such tight quarters that she probably had seen her mother engage in sex with Cindy and may have witnessed copulation between her mother and a man. Although it was clear to me that Jane loved her children, Tina and none of the

others were ever cuddled in my presence without cause; lower-class black children seldom are. Ill children receive cuddling but the act is usually covered up by rough talk, as if the mother were ashamed of her weakness. Children were constantly threatened by violent language. The word "beat" is used a lot, never the word "spank." "I'll knock your goddamn head off, "break your leg," and "bust your ass," are common expressions. Babies less than a year old are spanked and know what it means. It is a wonder that there are not more black hypochondriacs since illness is the principal, and sometimes the only, method for securing an open display of love. This undemonstrative method of rearing children may have something to do with the search for love through precocious sexual activity.

Tina, had no trouble distinguishing sexual and gender identities. She knew herself to be a little girl, her mother a woman, her mother's brothers were men and Cindy a woman, too, but a more puzzling one. In some "enlightened" households where the children are older, the lesbian relationship is explained to the youngsters. Often the children exhibit shame and are ridiculed by their peers over their unorthodox "parentage." Since children have a terror of being singled out as different, they very early become discipline and protest problems.

Quickly apparent to the outsider is that there are often one or more children in these lesbian households that are fairer in complexion and straighter of hair than their siblings. These fairer complexioned children are often known as "trick babies" in the argot of the ghetto. One of Jane's children had these traits and other sources informed me that Jane had started "turning tricks" (engaging in prostitution) at 15, cashing in on her excellent carriage and wardrobe. Cindy, a pure butch,

readily admitted "turning a trick or two" when the money was right. Nearly three-fourths of the 42 lesbian respondents (73.8%) had "turned tricks" on occasion. Some of the women were forthright in their expression:

Yes, I did. He wanted to fuck and eat me. I live with the same man now. I love him in my way, I suppose. The first time, though, he offered me money. He wants to outdo the women he knows I been with. Always asking me, "Do I do it better than a woman? Do I? Do I?" He's so uptight, I tell him "yeah" but I lie.

No, I never actually tricked. But a woman always asks for money-sooner or later. I don't say "pay me and you can fuck me," but if I'm giving it to him, he should be willing to help me out.

No but it's funny. If they know I'm gay, the black men try harder to impress me.

The sex-for-a-quick-buck sometimes practiced in the ghetto is rarely full-fledged prostitution. In the whole sample, only one girl supported herself and her husband through the "oldest profession." She claims to have made around \$11,000 per year. Charles Winick and Paul Kinsie, in their study of prostitutes, estimated that roughly 95,000 full-time prostitutes in the United States working six days a week, gross on the average of only \$9,300 per year.<sup>65</sup> My respondent's figure, if true, therefore exceeded the average. She dealt only with white men and plied her trade in mid-Manhattan. Winick did an earlier study of prostitutes' clients which suggests that the prostitute serves many different symbolic and fantasy needs.<sup>66</sup> Of special interest to the current study are the 22% of the clients who sought these services so as to avoid contaminating the wife-mother. This ties in well with the white man's release of his inhibitions upon the bodies of his slave women while retaining the pedestal image of the pure white wife and

mother as described by Lillian Smith<sup>67</sup> and Calvin C. Hernton.<sup>68</sup>

Many writers view prostitution as a flight from homosexuality or a manifestation of homosexual tendencies. More will be said on this topic when we examine the ghetto sample.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Youth in the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change (New York: Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc., 1964), p. 11

<sup>2</sup>Louis A. Ferman, et.al. (Eds), Poverty in America. Revised Edition. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1968), p. 315.

<sup>3</sup>A possible exception is Hispanic women whose form of lesbianism is yet unknown. There is a strong hint, however, in Echoes of Sappho, op.cit., that Puerto Rican females are even more strongly inclined toward role-playing than are blacks.

<sup>4</sup>Calvin C. Hernton, Sex and Racism. Black Cat Books. (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1965), pp. 136, 166.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 123. Hernton contends: "As slaves Negro women were brought to the New World, specifically North America, for only one reason - to serve as breeding animals for more slaves." See Frank Kingdon. "Race and Sex," in Albert Ellis and Albert Abarbanel, op.cit., p. 897. Kingdon notes: "When importation of slaves was stopped, however, and the supply of slaves had to be maintained by natural process, white men were paid bonuses up to \$20 for each Negro they got with child." There are, nevertheless, some opposing views. See Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974). These authors contend that slavery was benevolent and too controlled by the need to create willing black labor for it to have been as harsh and as sexual exploitative as pictured. In fact, the sexual integrity of slaves was protected in order to reduce tensions. See also for an opposing view to Fogel and Engerman, Herbert G. Gutman, Slavery and the Numbers Game: A Critique of Time on the Cross (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1975), for alleged errors by Fogel and Engerman. Also see Eugene D. Genovese, Roll, Jordon, Roll: The World the Slave Made, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972 and 1974), which depicts the slaves as being far from helpless.

<sup>6</sup>John Money and Anke A. Ehrhardt, op.cit., p. 129. The authors indicate: "Some young people were subject to forced breeding, in the manner of animal husbandry. The very condition of slavery thus favored temporary partnerships, or a series of them."

<sup>7</sup>E. Franklin Frazier. The Negro Church in America (New York: Schocken Books, Inc., 1964), pp. 6-13.

<sup>8</sup>Morton Rabin, Plantation County (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1951), pp. 18-19. Also Robert Coles, Migrants, Sharecroppers, Mountaineers, (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1971) p. 120. One of Coles' respondents says: "We've been on shares to the Mister and his daddy and before him the old, old gentleman, and I do believe it goes back to when we were all slaves, yes sir."

<sup>9</sup>Robert Coles, Ibid., pp. 123, 486, 487.

<sup>10</sup>John Howard Griffin, Black Like Me, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), pp. 108-109. Griffin recounts conversation with white men in the South indicating that many southern white men crave black girls and that the black girls they hired to work were expected to submit sexually before going on the payroll- otherwise they did not eat or get the money to feed their children.

<sup>11</sup>Modding Carter III, "The Negro Exodus From the Delta Continues," New York Times Magazine, March 10, 1972, pp. 26 and 117-121. Robert Coles, op.cit.

<sup>12</sup>August Meier and Elliot M. Rudwick, From Plantation to Ghetto, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1966), p. 226.

<sup>13</sup>"The Negro Family: The Case for National Action," Office of Policy Planning and Research, United States Department of Labor, 1965, in Lee Rainwater and William L. Yancey, The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1967), pp. 41-124. Also see: "The Moynihan Report: The Negro Family and Crime," in Marvin E. Wolfgang et.al., The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency, Second Edition, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962 and 1970), pp. 440-450.

<sup>14</sup>E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Family in the United States, Revised and Abridged Edition. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1966 and 1939), Chapter VII.

<sup>15</sup>W. H. S. Curryer, "Mothercraft in Southern Nigeria," United Empire, XVIII, n.s. 2 (February 1927), pp. 78-81.

<sup>16</sup>During my earlier research on storefront churches in 1971, one storefront minister offered to "prove that the female-headed households in Harlem grossed in the neighborhood of \$400 per week. We took at random some of his parishioners, interviewed them as to aggregate income, and usually arrived at a figure in excess of \$400. To illustrate further, he extended the investigation to non-religious households with the same results. Whether these represented exceptional cases is hard to say.

<sup>17</sup>Patricia McBrown, "The Black Matriarchy: Healthy or Pathological?" Science News, 94 (October 1968), pp. 393-395. See also Robert Staples,

"The Myth of the Black Matriarchy," The Black Scholar, 1, 3-4 (January/February 1970), pp. 8-16. See also Warren D. Terhouten, "Race and Family Power Structure: A Critical Analysis of the Black Matriarchy Thesis," in Irving R. Stuart and Lawrence E. Abt (Eds), Interracial Marriage: Expectations and Realities, (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1973), pp. 81-109. See Robert B. Hill, The Strengths of Black Families, (New York: Emerson Hall, Publishers, Inc., 1971), p. 4. See Arthur Billingsley, Black Families In White America, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968). Also see Joyce Ladner, op.cit., pp. 10, 266.

<sup>18</sup>Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey. The Mark of Oppression. Explorations in the Personality of the American Negro, Meridan Books. (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1962, re-issued from 1951), p. 39.

<sup>19</sup>Louis Schneider and Sverre Lysgaard, "The Deferred Gratification Patterns: A Preliminary Study," American Sociological Review, 18 (April 1953), pp. 142-149.

<sup>20</sup>Hylan Lewis, Culture, Class and Poverty, (Washington: Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, 1967), no page number.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., no page.

<sup>22</sup>Hyman Rodman, "The Lower-Class Value Stretch," Social Forces, 44 (1963), pp. 205-215.

<sup>23</sup>Austin Scott, "Black Poor on Increase," New York Post, January 2, 1974, p. 55.

<sup>24</sup>"Love Children Take Over D. C.," Daily News, New York: November 12, 1976, p. 75.

<sup>25</sup>Ken McKenna, "11 years old-and Pregnant: 'We are Promoting No-Holds-Barred Sex,' A Doctor Warns. We Could Come to Regret It," Daily News, New York, January 13, 1977, p. 49. And Ken McKenna, "It's My Baby and I'm Going to Keep It!" Daily News, New York, January 14, 1977, p. 39. See also, "Teen Status Symbol: The Love Child," New York Post, November 27, 1976, p. 5.

<sup>26</sup>Peter Coutros, "The Single-Parent Family: Jewish Groups Assailed, Hailed," Daily News, New York, October 22, 1974, p. 21.

<sup>27</sup>Hylan Lewis, Culture, Class and Poverty, op.cit., no page. Lewis implies that the longer periods of dependency for the white child allows him or her to absorb more of the parents' value system and traditions than the lower-class black child.

<sup>28</sup>Betty Yorburg, The Changing Family, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), pp. 53-54.

<sup>29</sup>Camille Jeffers, "Mothers and Children in Public Housing," in Charles V. Willie, (Ed), Family Life of Black People, (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1970), pp. 218-220.

<sup>30</sup>Ethel Waters with Charles Samuels, His Eye Is On The Sparrow (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1951), p. 1.

<sup>31</sup>Thomas Edwards Brown, "Sex Education and Life in the Negro Ghetto," Pastoral Psychology, 19, 184 (May 1968), pp. 48-49.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 47-48.

<sup>34</sup>Alfred C. Kinsey, et. al, Sexual Behavior In the Human Male (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1948), p. 508.

<sup>35</sup>Jeanne L. Noble, "The American Negro Women," in John P. Davies, (Ed), The American Negro Reference Book, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 522.

<sup>36</sup>Frances Cress Welsing, "The 'Conspiracy' To Make Blacks Inferior," Ebony, XXIX, 11 (September 1974), p. 90.

<sup>37</sup>Robert Staples, "The Myth of the Black Matriarchy," op.cit., p. 14.

<sup>38</sup>See "Marriage Go Round," New York Amsterdam News, March 15, 1975, p. A7. Of the couples taking out marriage licenses, 10 of the 27 brides-to-be were admittedly marrying men younger than themselves. In the same column of August 7, 1976, p. B6, of the 24 couples, seven brides-to-be were older than their intended spouses. Some of the men were to marry women as much as 22 years younger than themselves.

<sup>39</sup>See Thomas P. Monahan, "Are Interracial Marriages Really Less Stable?" Social Forces, 48, 4 (June 1970), p. 462. Monahan found that in the 1960 census slightly more black women married white men than black men married white women. See also Gwynn Nettler, Social Concerns, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976), p. 101. Nettler presents a table which shows the percentages of black women marrying white men far outdistance the percentage of black men marrying white women in the 1970 Census. Actual Census data, however, verified Nettler's percentages but indicated they were misleading. More black men were married to white women in the 1970 Census than black women were married to cross-racial spouses. See U.S. Bureau of the Census; 1970; Census Population; PC(2)-4C; Marital Status; page 262.

<sup>40</sup>Toni Morrison, "What the Black Woman Thinks About Women's Lib," New York Times Magazine, August 22, 1971, p. 64. Morrison felt that white women gave the black man a chance to "broaden his spectrum of female choices." See also, Calvin C. Hernton, op.cit., pp. 137-142. See Abbey Lincoln, "Who Will Revere the Black Woman?" in Toni Cade (Ed) The Black Woman: An Anthology, A Mentor Book. (New York: New American Library, 1970), pp. 80-84. Also, Gail Stokes, "Black Man, My Man Listen!" in Toni Cade, Ibid., pp. 111-112.

<sup>41</sup>Catherine Breslin, "Those White Bitches Who Jive About Women's Liberation..." The Village Voice, New York, August 15, 1974, p. 29. See also Toni Morrison, Ibid, pp. 14, 15, 63, 63, and 66. Also Linda LaRue, "The Black Movement and Women's Liberation," The Black Scholar, 1, 7 (May 1970), pp. 36-42. Also Frances Cress Welsing, op.cit., pp. 84-94.

<sup>42</sup>Frances Lang, "Sickle Cell and the Pill: Birth Control Pills Dangerous to Black Women," Ramparts, 10 February 1972), pp. 14, 16, 18. See Nathan Wright, "Black Power Vs Black Genocide," The Black Scholar, 1, 2 (December 1969), pp. 47-52. Also, Dick Gregory, "My Answer to Genocide," Ebony, XXVI (March 1968), pp. 30-31. Also Drake and Cayton, op.cit., p. 594. And, Joyce Ladner, op.cit., pp. 250-257.

<sup>43</sup>Catherine Breslin, op.cit., p. 29.

<sup>44</sup>Marion E. Wolfgang and Franco Ferracuti, "The Sub-culture of Violence," in Marvin E. Wolfgang et.al., The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency, op.cit., pp. 380-391.

<sup>45</sup>Robert Staples, "The Sexuality of Black Women," op.cit., p. 9.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 11. Also see "MIT Girls Rate Guys' Technology on Sex," Sunday News, New York, May 15, 1977, p. 4. Two girls published a guide to the sexual performances of 36 MIT men and listed them by name and the sexual techniques they employed. Many black men are very frightened of this kind of exposé should they engage in "unnatural" acts.

<sup>47</sup>Elliot Liebow, Tally's Corner: A Study of Negro Streetcorner Men, (Boston; Little, Brown and Company, 1967), p. 137.

<sup>48</sup>Charles Keil, Urban Blues (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 23 and footnote 11, page 9.

<sup>49</sup>John H. Rohrer and Munro S. Edmonson, The Eighth Generation Culture and Personalities of New Orleans of New Orleans Negroes, (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1960), pp. 123-128.

- <sup>50</sup> Frank Caprio, op.cit., p. 65.
- <sup>51</sup> Frank Tannerbaum, "The Dramatization of Evil," in Earl Rubinton and Martin S. Weinberg's Deviance: The Interactionist Perspective, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), pp. 17-19.
- <sup>52</sup> Howard S. Becker, Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance, (New York: The Free Press, 1963) Chapter 8.
- <sup>53</sup> Radclyffe Hall, The Well of Loneliness, (New York: Dial Press, 1928).
- <sup>54</sup> Bettie Wysor, The Lesbian Myth: Insights and Conversations, (New York: Random House, 1974) pp. 270, 307. Polly says, "I notice a lot of negative reaction among lesbians to those who are into the butch femme thing . . ." See also Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, op.cit., p. 77, refers to pressures by the members of the Daughters of Bilitis to get the butch-oriented women to "tone down" their mode of dress. The authors state: "one of DOB's goals was to teach the Lesbian a 'mode of behavior and dress acceptable to society.'" See also Donella Stanley, "Butches Corner" and "Butch Sex Partner" Echo of Sappho, op.cit., pp. 24-25. Stanley says, "Let us move on to a few other things that seem to make the Butch so unpopular to the movement."
- <sup>55</sup> Martha Shelly, "Notes of a Radical Lesbian," in Robin Morgan's, (Ed), Sisterhood Is Powerful, (New York: Random House, 1970), pp. 306-311. See also Betty Friedan, "Up From the Kitchen Floor," The New York Times Magazine, March 4, 1973, pp. 33-34. Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, Ibid., p. 88. Note the use of such derisive phrases as a "sperm-spouting male."
- <sup>56</sup> John Money and Anke A. Ehrhardt, op.cit., p. 233.
- <sup>57</sup> Homosexual argot for someone who is homosexually-involved.
- <sup>58</sup> Edward Sagarin, "Thieves, Homosexuals and Other Deviants: The High Personal Cost of Wearing a Label," Psychology Today, 9, 10 (March 1976), p. 30. See also Alfred C. Kinsey et.al. Sexual Behavior In the Human Female, op.cit., p. 471.
- <sup>59</sup> Wilhelm Reich, The Sexual Revolution: Toward a Self-Governing Character Structure., Translated by Theodore P. Wolfe, (New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 1969, 1945), p. 210. A later translation by Therese Pol, same publisher, 1974, used the term "incidental homosexuality," p. 220.

<sup>60</sup>F. Stuart Chapin, Contemporary American Institutions: A Sociological Analysis, (New York: Harper Brothers, Publisher, 1935), pp. 374-382. Also see Robert W. Hodge and Paul W. Siegal, Stratification, Social: Measurement, "International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences", 1968, Volume 15, pp. 316-325.

<sup>61</sup>Public Assistance, Aid to Dependent Children.

<sup>62</sup>Walter B. Miller, "Lower Class Culture As a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," in Marvin E. Wolfgang et. al., (Ed) The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency, p. 354. Miller writes: "A concern over homo-sexuality runs like a persistent thread through lower class culture. This is manifested by the institutionalized practice of baiting 'queens,' often accompanied by violent physical attacks..." This piece was written in 1958.

<sup>63</sup>Albert Reiss Jr., "The Social Integration of Queers and Peers," in John H. Gagnon and William Simon, (Eds), Sexual Deviance, (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1967), pp. 197-228.

<sup>64</sup>A lesbian bar called "Territorial," located on 125th Street, was said to have existed some years back.

<sup>65</sup>Charles Winick and Paul M. Kinsie, The Lively Commerce: Prostitution in the United States, Signet Books, (New York: New American Library, Inc., 1972), p. 14.

<sup>66</sup>Charles Winick, "Prostitutes' Clients' Perception of the Prostitutes and of themselves," The International Journal of Social Psychiatry, VIII, 4 (Autumn 1962), pp. 289-297.

<sup>67</sup>Lillian Smith, Killers of the Dream, Anchor Books 1949) (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963), pp. 103, 122-123. See also Charles Herbert Stember. Sexual Racism: The Emotional Barrier to An Integrated Society (New York Elsevier Scientific Publishing Company, Inc., 1976), p. 43.

<sup>68</sup>Calvin C. Hernton, op.cit., pp. 15-20.

## CHAPTER VII

## PROFILING THE GHETTO SAMPLE

Due to the difficulties delineated in Chapter III, the two studies were conducted sequentially -- the ghetto first, the prison second. Therefore, while 16 of the 42 respondents who comprised the ghetto sample had been arrested and jailed, no attempt was made to pursue these histories or distinguish between prison and local lock-ups. Nevertheless, some overlapping of data did occur and an attempt will be made to present essentially those questions which were asked of the prison sample and which offer the possibility of pursuing some of the themes mentioned in the third chapter. For those who are interested in more detailed information on both studies, the raw data are included in the appendices.

It also should be noted that the questions were couched in the expressive style of the ghetto in order to retain the ghetto's sound, its feel, its grammatical idiosyncrasies and vigor. My definition of homosexuality remains the same as in the prison study and includes, for the purposes of analysis, the aforementioned forms of sexual behavior with other females after the age of puberty, irrespective of frequency and sexual preference. In reality no one in the sample had only a single homosexual experience, although one girl claimed to have had only one partner. In format, I have attempted to follow the Kokely example of grouping answers in somewhat similar configurative patterns. The mode (expressed in percentages of total response) again will be used to profile the sample.

Early Background Factors:

As with the prison sample, the 42 lesbian respondents who answered these questions represented what may be considered a youngish and modernistic group. Two subjects were in their 50s (4.7%), three in their teens (7.1%), and the modal age interval of 22 to 25 had 9 respondents (21.4%). In all, 50% of the entire sample was in their 20s. Only 13 (30.9%) of the interviewees were born in the South and three of these (7.1%) had been completely raised there. Hence around 90% grew up in the North and resided in a slum area.

As suspected, 88% of the parents were migrants, usually from the South (80.9%), who had come to New York seeking work opportunities. Fathers were often remembered as having held a steady job during the respondents' growing years (64.6%), and the same percentage of mothers had been employed outside the house during this crucial period. Even so, 30 of these families (71.4%) were forced to accept public assistance at one time or another.

The rigors of urban life apparently made it difficult for families to remain intact. Only eight sets of parents (19%) remained together over the respondents' childhoods. Here we can see the matrifocal process beginning to take form. With the burden of financial support falling upon the mothers, children were often left with less than adequate supervision.

The incidence of female domination of the lower-class black family was supported by the subjects. The mother was seen by 26 of them (61.9%) as the major force in the family:

When mama said it -- whatever she said--Baby, it went.  
Even if they argued or debated, it always came out her way.

The women in my family are very dominant. I feel my man and my woman should belong to me lock, stock and barrel. We like power. I gets my thing off if I dominate people.

Mother was the boss. She made all the decisions and hard and fast rules. She was a little Hitler.

As was true in the prison sample, parents did sometimes engage in physical abuse of each other. Twenty-four respondents witnessed violence between their fathers and mothers or their substitutes and only 10 (23.8%) could recall no such disputes. Thus violence in the home was internalized by many lower-class black children as was the "war between the sexes." While such an atmosphere could hardly be beneficial, it was still less destructive of educational goals than it was in the prison sample. Despite the imposition of negative conditioning, nine girls (21.4%) still completed the 11th grade; eight (19%) had graduated from high school or its equivalent; and another eight had some college or trade school training; and there was one college graduate. Unfortunately, the research guide failed to record the educational levels of their parents and a valuable datum which could have been matched against the prison sample was lost. Equally unfortunately, the question on religious upbringing was only asked by indirection as was the question concerning close friends who had been institutionalized.

Noteworthy were perceptions on how, if at all, the facts of poverty and race influenced the respondents' lives as children. Modally 83.5% of the sample stated that poverty was not a factor and an even larger percentage (85.6%) thought their race had not affected them negatively.

The self-images of these respondents in another respect, however, had developed along unexplainable lines. Exactly the same number of subjects described themselves as feeling feminine while growing up as

described themselves as feeling tomboyish (38% each). Seven (16.6%) claimed to have felt both feminine and tomboyish and three others (7.1%) could not say. One subject pondered the question and replied, "I think like a girl and I am a girl. But I had to fight -- everyone in the ghetto does. I can beat Dawn McAdams' ass and she knows it but I never liked it. I want to be soft."

Menarche was a reminder to these women that they were indeed girls and many of them were ill prepared for it, having received little in the way of instructions at home. Much less traumatic than menarche was the loss of virginity. Paul Gebhard and associates found that over 60% of lower-class black girls tend to engage in intercourse by age 15 and over 88% by 20.<sup>1</sup> The present sample is at variance with these figures. Modally, sexual intercourse began for 10 respondents (23.8%) at 15. Another 9 (21.4%) started at 16, and four girls each allowed penile seduction at the ages of 12 and 17. The oldest one held out until she was 23. Only a single subject claimed to have had her hymen broken by a woman through digital insertion. Actually, the question failed to attain the proper precision and there remains some confusion as to the amount of homosexual behavior which preceded heterosexual intercourse. Some girls had engaged in sexual teasing which aroused the boy to the point where he "just took it from me." Few held this to be rape. Rather, it seemed to be a mechanism for assuaging personal guilt.

Most children probably wonder what goes on sexually between their parents. The lack of privacy in ghetto apartments subjects lower-class children not only to the sexual stimulation of the "primal scene," but to fears, fantasies and apprehensions that plague them often throughout life.

Twenty of the subjects (47.8), when young, could tell when their

mothers were engaging in coitus. Some peeped through keyholes or heard the noises. One recalled, "Yes, I knew. Mama really made noise when she was high. I saw his thing going in and out of her and thought she was going to be hurt. I even pulled one man off my mother. If we pretended to be asleep, we could see a lot..." A second respondent, alarmed that the man was fighting her mother, raced to her rescue carrying a brick. Considering the circumstances, it was amazing that more than half of the parents never were caught in the act.

Other erotic stimulants in the environment may contribute to the ghetto child's over-curiosity in sexual matters. Some 32 interviewees (76.1%) had been approached sexually by someone -- an adult or another child, while young. Sixteen of these molesters (38%) were older men; 11 (26.1%) were older women; eight (19%) were girls of the same age; and three (7.1%) were boys of a similar age. The incidents began as young as four and centered modally around the age of seven (16.8%). Only 11 or a fourth of the girls revealed the activity at the time to any responsible adult; the rest kept it secret. Roughly about one fourth of the respondents felt they had been raped, thus bearing out the statement by Joyce Ladner that "an eight-year old girl [in the ghetto] has a good chance of being exposed to rape and violence."<sup>2</sup> One child had been attacked so savagely at seven, the man's fully penetrating penis ripping her vagina, that the screaming child's mother raced in with a pistol and fired point black into the man's back.<sup>3</sup> Today the subject can only surrender to a man when drunk but relaxes in the arms of a woman. Her case lends credence to the views of those investigators who suspect childhood rape may contribute to female homosexuality.

Equally disturbing was the case of the 40-year old man/woman team

team which initiated many eight-year old girls in one neighborhood, paying them in small change. One child so molested, now 19, calls herself a "closet butch," has an illegitimate child, and never has achieved orgasm in her life. A lady friend of a little girl's mother initiated the child at age 10 into lesbianism. Scheduled to take the girl to the Bronx Zoo to see the monkeys, instead she brought the child straight home with her, cooked dinner, showed her films of "naked women doing things together, started feeling me and then ate me, beginning at the top of my head and working down to my toes, while stopping in the middle to lunch at the Y." The respondent reported "strange sensations" as the woman lingered on "the man in the boat" (ghetto argot for the clitoris) and if she did not climax at that age, she claimed that she "sure was wet." Like the others, she never revealed it to anyone.

#### Adulthood:

All the respondents in the sample were products of one of the black slum areas of New York City, no matter where they may have been born. The person or persons with whom they were living at the time of these interviews provide a wide panorama of symbiotic, familial, love and instrumental relationships. Modally, the members of the largest single group (8 or 19%) lived with their children, followed by those who lived with their female lover and their two sets of children; those with female lover only (6 or 14.2%); Those living alone (6 or 14.2%); those with male lovers (4 or 9.5%); and then those with a distribution of residences such as with father, mother, grandmother, etc. None of the subjects were domiciled with their husbands although 20 women (47.6%) admitted to legal marriage and 16 (30%) refused to clarify their marital statuses. Four interviewees denied having ever been married

and one claimed to be a widow. Children, nevertheless, had been born to 28 (66.6%) of these women. Since one detects a certain reticence among lower-class black females over the topic of barrenness, many of the childless women made vague assertions about having lost a child. Nevertheless, the subjects obviously reversed the fertility patterns of their mothers, 12 of them (28.5%) having had only one child; 10 (23.8%) having had two; and three (7.1%) having had three. In the ghetto sample as in the prison sample, the younger, urban generation had far fewer offspring than their southern, rural parents.

I was curious to learn if the prevailing dominance of the mothers filtered down into the relationships of the respondents with men. It did. Twenty-four (59%) proudly proclaimed this pre-eminence although 14 (33.3%) deferred to the male. "I am the boss," declared one respondent. "I wants power. Most men think with their dicks anyway." But a great many had a more orthodox outlook. "I would like for him to be the boss," said one, "But if he's soft, I am the boss." An answer that goes right to the heart of the black man/black woman conflict was this reply: "I have my ways. But I don't really want my way all the time. If I found a man who would really love me and do right by me, he probably could make me do anything he wanted. But where do you find a black man like that? Punching you around don't make him no kind of real man."

The sample differed just about as much from their mothers in terms of occupation as did the Kokely sample. In 16 cases (38%), the modal female did "nothing" in counterdistinction to her mother who had been a "housewife." The latter category declined in this sample to a mere three (7.1%). Seven white collar workers (16.6%) were the second largest

group and there were three each blue collar workers, domestics, and students. The sample also had one hospital Assistant Director of Physical Therapy and a single, full-time career prostitute, both of whom, at one time, had been on welfare.

Most of the subjects found "making ends meet" difficult, some 28 (66.8%) giving this answer. Thirty-seven (88%) utilized supplemental assistance from people with whom they had formed a personal liaison, this outside financial aid coming modally from either sex (10 to 10 or 23.8% each), or from both men and women, at the same time (9 or 21.4%). In four instances, the person giving assistance was not identified.

Welfare payments played a central role in the lives of quite a few subjects. Nineteen (45.2%) were presently accepting public assistance, and 11 (26.1%) had exited the public dole in the recent past. Several butches boasted that they "never hit a lick in their lives," being "kept" by a working femme or sometimes by several. Their affairs, to say the least, were highly instrumental.

Those who did not work, or needed extra cash, or had no supplementary sources of income, lived by illegal means. Twenty-nine (69%) were involved on and off in the "dope scene." "Ripping off," "stealing," "boosting" (shoplifting) were reported by 23 (54.7%). Twenty-four women (57.1%) out of the sample had police records and 16 (38%) of the latter had been in jail, if only overnight. Not unexpectedly, 33 (78.6%) of the subjects had close friends or relatives who also had been institutionalized. A miniscule number, a mere three (7.1%), denied ever having done anything unlawful. But about one-third of the sample freely admitted to having performed all the crimes listed above.

One has to wonder when considering the extent of involvement in

illegal pursuits about the amount of religious influence in the lives of these women. Over half of the sample, 27 respondents (64.2%) saw religiosity as exerting no effect whatever upon their lifestyles. Although the question was not as definitively phrased as in the penial sample, I gathered that religious instruction and faith had been inculcated during their formative years but paths into later joys had interfered with this earlier devotion. None of the subjects were unfailing churchgoers.

In many of the subjects, the sense of faith and the fundamentalist religion of their childhoods had been replaced by the unfulfilled promise of the black power panacea which in many ways left a void in these women. This was evidenced by the large number of respondents, some 18 (42.8%), who admitted to having experienced depression so profound that they contemplated taking their own lives. Popular stereotype of the "happy-go-lucky Negro" to the contrary, some already had been saved from pills and/or gas. In fact, Jack Slater, writing in Ebony, quotes the black psychiatrist, James Comer, of Yale Medical School, as pointing out that the erosion of the institutions upon which black have traditionally relied over the years may be a possible cause for the surprising fast rising suicide rates among black females. He says:

The caring, protective systems which black people once found in the church and in the extended family are not now so available to us. The church has a built-in defense mechanism for black people. When you don't relate any longer to a protecting system like that, you are thrown out into the larger system which is a rejecting system. You're thrown into a competitive game whose rules say that you must "make it" to be an adequate person. But in the black church you didn't have to "make it," because you had an intrinsic worth and value in that system.<sup>4</sup>

While Comer sees no one cause for the rising rate of black female suicides, and these females' dissatisfaction with their lives, the need for an emotional anchor is very evident. The sense of depersonalization where one returns to being a cipher, the aching loneliness of unfulfilled love and the lack of a satisfying career, take a frightful toll.

Black Men as the Catalytic Agent:

Fully one half of the entire sample directed approbation at black males as the "cause" of black women turning to members of their own sex. Eight others (19%) thought some women were just "born that way"; five (11.9%) believed some "just like it," evidently as an added spice; three (7.1%) indicted the ghetto environment; one felt all women were naturally curious; and the last faulted "society" as a whole. Some of the answers cited grievous male failings:

I loved this dude. But by being neglected, I went out and searched for something else. If he hadn't done it, I probably wouldn't become gay.

Women get fed up with men and want something new.

Mistreatment from a man is part of it.

Lots of girls have been hurt by men and some are born gay.

The majority use it to escape. A lot of them go with one or two men and the men treat them like dirt and they go to a woman saying ain't no woman going to push me around like a man.

A lot of women do it because they choose to. I believe everyone on earth is inquisitive and can be intrigued into it. The straight ones are a little harder, that's all. I know one butch who tried to make one "her people." But the straight chick said, "Ain't nothin' happenin', Baby, 'cause the dick is too good!" I say wait 'til later.

They got to be born that way. I know I was. When I was young, I was a stompin' butch. Then some dude got to me. I even dressed up for him. He turned out to be no fucking good and I went back to the life. I don't say I woulda been totally straight, but I could have made him a good wife.

Would it be possible for a "good" man to turn a "gay" girl "straight"? A good man in this definition is one who "does what is right," works full-time, make a decent wage, does not take his woman for granted, and fills her life with joy and respect, gives the woman the affection she is seeking, has a combination of both strength and tenderness, and is sexually capable of good performance. Only seven respondents rejected this possibility. Paradoxically, 34 (80.9%) thought that a "straight" woman could be made "gay" by a skillful "bulldagger," the impression being that a woman who had undergone abuse at the hands of a man would be especially vulnerable to a homosexual advances.

Seeking "true love," however, still appeared to be the predominant passion among the respondents. It was rated as "very important" by 37 subjects (88%); 27 (64.2%) were searching for it desperately and four (9.5%) claimed to have found it.

According to many investigators, the search for love is the overriding lesbian longing. Donald Webster Cory has stated, "What separated the female from the male homosexual above all else is the scope, drive, and pattern of her search for a lifelong, a faithful, and reciprocating partner."<sup>5</sup> Charlotte Wolff, a British psychiatrist, writes that, "With an emotional disposition inclined to intensity and drama, homosexual women resemble hunters in constant pursuit of 'magical' love" but complicates the passage with a concept of "emotional incest with the mother,"

never explaining its properties nor clarifying whether it has conscious or unconscious dimensions.<sup>6</sup>

Men modally have been the major loves in the lives of 14 respondents (33.3%). Nine subjects (21.4%) had idealized love of equal strength for both a man and a woman. Two (4.7%) had never known love for anyone, including their own mothers.

Women more often than men were cited by the subjects in this sample as reciprocating great love by a score of 16 (38%) to 13 (30.9%). One butch boasted that three women had committed suicide over her. Seven respondents (16.6%) had had both men and women deeply in love with them. But surprisingly, two (4.7%) women felt no one in the whole world had ever loved them.

The attitudes of the women in the sample reflect the nadir of their present estrangement from males (31 or 73.8%) and often dripped with sarcasm and interpersonal strife:

They are low life and creeps. I hope you're talking males because I have never met a real man in my life. I have no feeling for them. Maybe I need to get out of the ghetto. Men want you to go out on the block for them [prostitute]. You're no prize for them to look up to. That nigger of mine lays on his ass all day long and I'm the one who goes to work. But what can I do? He ain't no better or worse than the rest.

Another remarked:

I trust men but watch them. I like to know a man's moves. If he's moody, he's dangerous. I been shot at, beat up, and a man tried to run me down with his car.

The respondents' attitudes toward other women were quantitatively but not qualitatively better. Perhaps these subjects were alienated souls, estranged from people, males or females, including blacks as well as whites. Modally, 23 (54.7%) of these respondents were wary of

females too:

A woman is the most treacherous thing on the face of the earth. She is catty. Jealous of you. If she can get you for herself, okay. But she will tell your man things about you.

Women are phonies and non-acceptable as people. Always troublemakers.

They will sleep with you, have sex with you, and cut your throat the next morning and not even get a pad to blot up the blood.

Keen interest and much speculation surrounds the sexual careers of lower-class black women. They are thought by many to be the most erotic creatures alive, engaging in a series of live-in situations and innumerable "quickies." But how many men do these women really average over a number of years? The respondents in this sample may or may not be typical since their lesbian liaisons could have some bearing on desire, frequency, types of outlet and performance. Yet in their male/female interchange, they may well be representative. I cannot make the determination but can only present the information as submitted to me.

The modal number of men with whom my subjects had consummated an affair, from their initiation into the heterosexual relationships until the time of this interview, was 10. Fourteen (33.3%) gave this figure: Nine women (21.4%) had had relations with between 11 and 25 men; eight (19%) had between 26 and 50; three (7.1%) had had between 51 and 100; and one lone interviewee (not the prostitute) declared almost 500; Every woman interviewed had been to bed with at least one man. But they also had experienced female partners. There were two modal groups of nine each (21.4% each), one of them had sexually performed with about

10 women, and the other with between 51 and 100. Another eight respondents (19%) had had between 11 and 25 female sexual partners; and one champion savant of lesbian love boasted of having had over 500 women, although many of her conquests were gained through purchase. Only one subject claimed a single homosexual partner. I noticed a curious parallel with men. Several butches were tempted to elevate their totals. One said, "I was gonna say 50 but I don't want to lie. I had only about 22."

Butches and femmes alike admitted to having achieved orgasms with men "sometimes." Twenty-six of the interviewees (61.9%) fell into this category. Eight (19%) climaxed "usually" and two (4.7%) climaxed "always." On the otherhand, six (14.2%) denied ever having been aroused to the point of orgasm with any man and one (2.3%) had never experienced climax with either sex.

With women as sexual partners, the story changed. Sixteen subjects (38%) "always" achieved orgasm with a female; 11 (26.1%) climaxed with a woman "usually"; 13 (30.9%) had orgasms "sometimes"; and the same one as above claimed "never." No controversy raged over which brand of orgasm was superior. The arcane intricacies and delights of lesbianism won by a lopsided score of 33 (78.6%) to five (11.9%). The five women who gave laurels to males in bed were men described by these females as having done "what women do," the supposition being that they employed other than strictly penile techniques. One subject who had opted for men said, "There used to be a big difference between making love to a man and making it with a woman but not any more. Men are getting better. They have gotten away from the idea that if you jab it into the chick enough times, she will come." A pretty 21-year-old femme explained it

this way:

Boys in their teens would never go down on a girl. It's just not manly to them. And if you asked them to do it, you just might get beat up. Still, they want you to do it to them. They've asked me lots of times. But by the time they reach 25 or older, the situation today changes. Then they'll do it to a woman too, but they're scared she'll tell. Older men almost always do it on young girls and it feels real good. I've let a couple of men in their 40s eat me.

One of the main reasons women flee men, according to the sample, is because of the propensity of the males to hit. The vast majority of subjects, 33 (78.6%), had undergone physical abuse and punching around from jealous or angry men friends. Reaction was varied. One respondent allowed that "I was his woman and he caught me wrong. He was right to hit me." A more intrepid type answered, "I hit him back. Then we fought. He wound up in the hospital with 11 stitches and I only had three." A tiny respondent said, "He hit me and I walked out on him. He was an evil nigger and I knew he would kill me."

Nevertheless, this kind of physicality is often considered a normal part of the lower-class black mores even by the women themselves. David Schulz notes, "the right to beat a wife seems accepted as a normal right of a man who 'has papers' on a woman."<sup>7</sup> Ethel Waters indicates that this right is not limited to marriage with her rage over being struck playfully by her employer. "Dōn't you dare hit me. If you do it again I'll kill you. You're not my father. You're not my man. So you have no right to hit me."<sup>8</sup>

Physical assault goes on between lesbians, too. A woman either hits or gets hit only slightly less often than she does by a man. Lesbians who had been struck by female lovers outnumbered those who had not by 29 (69%) to 12 (28.5%). A chunky respondent confided, "Yeali I

hit women. I hit some white girls. A lot of them ain't used to being hit and they just sit down and bawl like a baby. Then if you comfort them and pat them and feel them, they get real hot and make love better than before."

In reviewing the profile presented in this and Chapter VI, the peculiar form the female prison social system takes may now be somewhat clearer. As we have seen, there are strong antecedent role models for the butch/femme dyad long in existence in the lower-lower class black ghetto. The integration of homosexual women into lower-class black life facilitates their acceptance and creates a lower-class sexual value stretch which is justified by the purported "subculture of violence." But male deference patterns based upon muscle are themselves internalized by these women who, in their disputes, seek to emulate the male's hierarchy of force. In the intimate relations of the ghetto, whether man to woman or just females alone, there seems to be mercenary and instrumental relationships at work, predicated upon ego aggrandizement and/or personal gain. And finally, gross distrust of lesbian partners seem equal to or surpasses distrust of the opposite sex. Hence there are rapid mate turnovers, jealousies and fights in ghetto life.

How does this fit together in the female prisons? All the elements apparently fall in place. The butch/femme roles perhaps are adopted from the outside by those who have gained financially or who mitigated loneliness through covert or overt practice in these roles. In prison, the excuse of the hard-hearted and violent male is no longer needed in a one-sex population. The butch, without male competition, is exalted to the position of the man where she dispenses her favors expecting tribute.

However, the great distrust voiced by the ghetto respondents against other women not only as rivals for the affections of men but as exploiters while replacing men evidently is imported into the prison and perhaps accounts for the lack of inmate cohesion.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Paul Gebhard, et.al, Pregnancy, Birth and Abortion, (New York: Harper Brothers, Publishers, 1958), p. 155. See also Lee Rainwater, "Some Aspects of Lower Class Sex Behavior," The Journal of Social Issues, XXII, 2 (April 1966), pp. 103-104.

<sup>2</sup>Joyce Ladner, op.cit., p. 62.

<sup>3</sup>The Mother spent the night in jail and was released in the morning. The man, a friend of the child's father, survived the wound.

<sup>4</sup>Jack Slater, "Suicide: A Growing Menace to Black Women," Ebony, XXVIII, 11 (September 1973), pp. 152-160.

<sup>5</sup>Donald Webster Cory, The Lesbian In America, (New York: Tower Publications, 1964), p. 111.

<sup>6</sup>Charlotte Wolff, op.cit., pp. 71-72.

<sup>7</sup>David A. Schulz, op.cit., p. 135.

<sup>8</sup>Ethel Waters, op.cit., p. 142.

## CHAPTER VIII

## PSEUDOHETEROSEXUALITY IN THE GHETTO

That the subculture of violence, as Wolfgang, Terracuti and Walter Miller have described it,<sup>1</sup> helps shape the form of black lesbianism in the ghetto is probably due to the parody of male physical dominance practiced by women who assume a masculine gender orientation. Several such women expressed admiration for famous men and two of them actually wanted to be like Sugar Ray Robinson and Mohammed Ali because "the chicks would dig me and go wild." In the ghetto sample, there were slightly more butches (19 or 45.2%) than femmes (16 or 38%) but four more respondents (9.5%) claimed to function either way and three others (7.1%) accepted no classification. Apparently the two new but negligible categories: "either way" and "woman-to-woman," as in the prison sample, probably filtered into the black lifestyle through cultural diffusion stemming from interracial experimentation. A few girls stated they preferred the femme role but on occasion turned butch to induct a novice.. This was referred to as "femme paradise," i.e., two femmes temporarily and secretly "sexing together," as the expression goes, since this type of pairing would threaten to undermine the butch-favored social hierarchy. The sample once again, was skewed due to my attempting to gain a visual parity between the two roles. Femmes outnumber the butches in the general population.

In lower-class black lesbianism, many people consider all butches alike when, in fact, there at least three distinct types. The vast number of butches fall under the common variety label which contains

those who wish to emulate men in order to "be superior to her," "be the aggressor," or "the active one." Many of this type have developed out of a logical progression from the role of femme, or from exile from men, or from loneliness, or gender confusion, or from simply a true desire for one of their own sex. The second type, known as a "bulldagger," is seen as different in that the members of this group are reputed to "have something on the clit." This something is named a "spur <sup>tongue</sup> tongue," or an elongated clitoris, that is reputedly used to effect intromission like a penis. "Bulldaggers" are often described as "muscular" in physique and they have a mystique about them that makes respondents modally proclaim them sexually "better" than the common variety of butches. (13 or 30.9%) Not a single subject found them "worse." One gave this reason:

I saw a small penis. A spur tongue. She was born with it and she was hard like a man with muscles. A lot of girls wanted to try it. She was always telling us femmes, "come on, check it out. I'll tickle you to death with it. It's like nothing you ever felt before." Do you know, a lot of them got so curious that they did it.

Another said:

Sure a bulldagger is a lot better. They got something to put in you and know how to use.

Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon in Lesbian/Woman dispute that this feature of the female anatomy exists.<sup>2</sup> Yet there are literally hundreds of cases in medical books concerning congenital clitoral hypertrophy, including one case of two black sisters.<sup>3</sup> In addition, chemical clitoral hypertrophy in transsexual candidates is a common technique for preparing the woman for female to male sexual reassignment surgery.<sup>4</sup> George Henry and his associates list a case of a black middle-class woman who exalted in her ability to employ her elongated clitoris to produce

orgasms in females, saying:

Women enjoy it so much they leave their husbands...My clitoris natural is two inches long. Enlarged it's three inches and the thickness of a little finger.<sup>5</sup>

Every woman with lesbian experience in the McAdams network raved over "Kenny," a "bulldagger" possessed of this curious "spur tonge," and they called her superior to the non-enlarged lesbian. Unfortunately, "Kenny" had moved and I was never to meet her.

The third type of woman who assumes the masculine role is the "stone butch" and women of this type present an extreme aspect of lesbianism, as is noted in The Lesbian Myth.<sup>6</sup> The "stone" in this term presumably derives from such usage as "stone broke" or "stone deaf," meaning completeness or the ultimate of the state. Stone butches then are the purest form of all. It might be described as a situation of sexual altruism in its most extreme form. They readily give pleasure to another woman but have an aversion to being touched themselves. They want no return of sexual dispensation, the joy is in the "giving," not in the "getting." Often they team up with a femme who herself prefers to receive but not give. Since stone butches reject the wishes of the femme for sexual reciprocation, perhaps the practice of "giving up the work," described by Ward and Kassebaum in female prisons, is not so much a sexual tactic as an actual preference. Donella Stanley in Echo of Sappho attempts to shed light on these women, although in my view she fails:

They expect you to lay back and enjoy the sexual act. All you Femmes that just lay back -- have you ever tried to find out why? Maybe she wants you so badly that she is afraid to impose on you for equal enjoyment. I can still

remember when Butches thought they were the only ones that were Gay and therefore believed that their sexual partners did not enjoy what they enjoyed.<sup>7</sup>

It is not hard to understand how Ward and Kassebaum may have been misled. The great consternation of lesbian life is the fear of encountering the insincere lover who is dallying for the moment and is up to no good. All my respondents were afraid of this faker, this shameless exploiter of another woman's deep affection simply for her own temporary relief of sexual tensions and/or for financial gain. The fear was real enough, for 38 (90.4%) knew of certain young mothers who toyed with homosexual partners until a promising man appeared on the scene. But it has little to do with the Stone Butch.

During the course of this study, I attempted to eradicate from my speech any of the possibly offensive terms and stuck to the non-pejorative word "gay" which was the modal preference of the respondents, 26 (61.9%) of them selecting it to the exclusion of all others. Thirty-four (84 %) intensely disliked the word "queer." But they had negative reactions to the terms "homosexual" and "lesbian," at least as the terms applied to themselves. Over half of the sample, 22 (53.3%), denied vehemently that they were any such thing. One said indignantly, "If I was one I wouldna got married. These are just things that a human being will try out. Women go down on you just like a man and use their bodies the same way." Other answers were equally baffling to me:

No, I'm not one of those. I'm a girl who happens to like other girls, that's all.

Hell, no! I am just me. Why put a name on it?

Absolutely not! I think homosexuals are crazy!

The explanation for this view of themselves continued to elude me until near the end of the study when a wise friend counseled me to let these women give their own definition of the situation.<sup>8</sup> I learned from some of the more annoyed women that a homosexual or a lesbian is a woman "who will do a little of anything. Go with anybody: a man, woman, child, dog, whatever. Will drink piss ...[screw] in the behind. Wear a wet towel so somebody can take it and beat the hell out of them, etc." No wonder so many shrunk from these labels. The question, posed much later, and phrased to place the onus of guilt upon the other woman, allowed for some cross-checking. The wording was, "If a woman let you suck her and just lays back and let you do it but did nothing for you in return, would that make her a homosexual?" Twenty-two (52.3%) still said no. Sixteen (38%) agreed that it did, and four (9.5%) equivocated. The denials were expressed, for example, as follows:

No. She's just somebody getting herself off.

No. She might have been high and I bullshited her.

Maybe she's shy and not ready to get into it.

I wouldn't call her that. She just got hot in the tail and didn't care as long as she got her kicks over with.

No, but she can easily become one.

No, because they can go back to a man at anytime.

The strong parallel between these answers and the lower-class black male's view of how the penis is used is obvious. Among males, the inserter is not seen as homosexual. Analogously, since the "natural" role of the woman is passive/insertee, as long as she stays in her role, she does not conceive of herself as homosexual. John Money and Anke

Ehrhardt see gender confusion in both partners of a homosexual act, no matter which role they perform. They say of the male inserter:

Femininity of identity appears in his role as erotic partner; it may be great or slight in degree, and it is present regardless of whether, like a woman, he receives a man's penis or, else like a woman, he has a man giving him an orgasm.<sup>9</sup>

Quite probably they would say that the same applies to females.

One of the most negative reactions to the "gay" orientation concerned the children of the respondents. Not a single mother, although evasive, preferred this orientation for her children. One-half of the subjects said "it's their own choice," but 18 (42.8%) gave an emphatic no. "A man should be strong," said one mother sternly. "I wouldn't want my boys to be faggots and have no men stick dicks in them or in their mouths." Mothers were extremely defensive about their sons:

No, I wouldn't want them to be. Because they're boys. I can understand two women but not two men. It's weird.

Not my sons! A girl is different.

No. I want them to be successful in everything. That's failure.

Aside from the double standard that these females set for themselves, the idea that homosexuality is failure is certainly an interesting position for a practicing lesbian to take. It may be that she views her own lesbian liaisons as a failure to effect a more conventional and desirable male/female relationship. But lower-class black lesbians are not alone in their lack of preference of the "gay" life for their offspring. Donald Webster Cory found this same phenomenon among white

homosexual women.<sup>10</sup> Byron Magee found a similar response<sup>11</sup> and Harvey Kay makes a like comment.<sup>12</sup> Even Bettie Wysor's tape-recorded sessions with highly educated and achieving white women articulated the same outlook, especially in connection with their sons, although they couched their reasoning in intellectual rationalizations.<sup>13</sup>

The members of my sample professed not to see any correlation between their own behavior and the possibility that their children might be influenced by it. If that were to happen, 18 (42.8%) of them felt the children would have to be "just born that way." Twelve more (28.5%) believed the children would have selected the "gay" life on their own. The majority insisted: "I sure as hell didn't do it. I am very careful how I act around them." Even the ones who lived in open lesbian relationships rejected any personal responsibility for the results, saying: "They would choose it on their own. Sure they see us do it. But we give them both the pros and the cons of the situation... so they can judge for themselves."

The "gay" bar was another gray area to these women. No bar which served an exclusively lower-class black lesbian clientele, as stated before, existed anywhere in Central Harlem. Of the 42 women in the sample, 26 (61.9%) claimed to frequent female homosexual bars and 16 (38%) did not. But out of the 26 affirmative responses, 15 gave no answers as to how often they made such visits, eight of them said "not often," and three visited about "once a month." Some of the "yes" respondents spoke of going frequently to the Nightlife in Greenwich Village which, unbeknown to them, was out of business. The Hilltop in Harlem was singled out. Yet only one girl knew that the Hilltop was no longer a lesbian bar. Some mentioned certain bars that I knew were

for "gay" men. Such extensive misinformation branded these loudly-proclaimed habitués as poseurs. One woman who, on the contrary, "hated" "gay" bars, provided some comic relief. She insisted "that this faggot said to me that he's got the same thing I've got. I had another faggot tell me he was pregnant. We were ready to fight. Baby, ain't no faggot got what I got and can't none of them do with it what I can do with mine! They must have been high or hallucinating or something."

The slum community is perceived by an overwhelming number of subjects as far more accepting of black lesbian couples than the American society as a whole. Thirty-six interviewees (85.6%) felt there was greater tolerance because "everybody done seen everything in the ghetto and nothing shocks nobody here."

But not all people in the slums are unrepelled by what they see. Moral entrepreneurs exist even though their voices are largely muted. One respondent recounted how she and her girlfriend, while engaging in amorous display, were approached by a staunch matron who bore Bible in hand. "You young'uns oughta be ashamed!" she admonished, tapping the Bible for emphasis. "That's why God created Adam and Eve, not Eve and Eve!"

#### The Black/White Factor:

In this period when black pride is surging through the black world, nothing raises the ire of the black consciousness exhorters more than a black/white sexual alliance which they characterize as "betraying the race." The scornful cliché once bitterly reserved for black men and white women, "talking black and sleeping white," now is applied to lesbian deviation from racial standards too. Just about all the respondents remembered the WNBC-TV program of February 11, 1973 in which a

rather hefty black editor of a well-known women's magazine, on camera passionately kissed her white femme and crooned in man-hating fashion: "I want to make love with you. Not to you or at you like men do."<sup>14</sup> Later this same lesbian helped found the black counterpart to the feminist organization NOW, and not only were "straight" black women critical of her<sup>15</sup> but her organization was seen by the subjects of this study as the Aunt Jemina of the white feminist movement. The tremendous opprobrium among the respondents probably was caused by the color of the lover, rather than her sex -- "the sweet more passive white girl" delineated earlier by Keiser and Schaffer.<sup>16</sup> Some in the sample may have been envious and angered by the presumption of all the editor's resources going to a white girl. Thus, many of my subjects disguised any attraction whites may have held for them through mendacity and brusque dismissal. Modally, 16 (38%) of the subjects claimed to find white women sexually undesirable, compared to 15 (35.7%) who admitted some attraction, and the 11 (26.1%) who believed some white women could be considered desirable and some certainly were not. Often there was a tendency to qualify a positive answer by picturing white lesbians as "more freakish," meaning that they were prone to weird erotic tastes, desires and sexual drives.

But in reversing the direction of the attraction in a question such as, "Do you think white lesbians find black-women especially sexy?" there was near unanimity of affirmation. Thirty-seven (88%) were sure they did; two (4.7%) believed some did; one (2.3%) said "maybe", and the final two (4.7%) professed not to know. None of them rejected the possibility that white women might not be smitten by black females:

Hell yes, they dig us. They got a thing for us.

Yes! All whites find all blacks attractive. They don't know what to do with us or without us.

Some of the white chicks actually come at you panting like a dog. They sure love dark meat.

Very much so. I had one tell me that she climaxes whenever a rough-looking black woman talks to her.

Exactly half of the sample eventually admitted to sexual activity with white women. Yet out of the 21 respondents who claimed to never having had this experience, only four admitted they might accept the opportunity should it arise. Eleven of the 21 said they would turn it down; five declined to answer; and one felt "it depends."

The relative sexual skills of the two races of females brought some surprises as we got deeper into the subject. Nine of the 21 women who said they had experienced interracial sex acknowledged that sexually white females compared favorably with black women. Six of them found white women sexually inferior and one viewed them as superior. One explained:

In pure sex, the black woman is better. But the white chicks must lay awake at night thinking up crazy things to do. They are not as physical as black women. They don't hit. They come more than blacks do and are more affectionate.

A second disagreed:

They are inferior to black women. I'll tell you why. I'm used to verbal expressions -- moaning, swearing, crying, etc., that black women do. Some black women even yell out, "Fuck me, motherfucker, fuck me" in the heat of passion. A white girl might say weakly, "Ohhhhhh Honey!"<sup>17</sup>

Still 12 of the 21 with experience were of the opinion that the white lesbian was sexually more passionate than the black homosexual female; although four felt her less passionate; three judged her the

same; and one thought she faked it. The latter reply was rebutted too by one who based her assessment upon her own demonstrated ability to make her white partner swoon. Many insisted that the white woman's main attraction resided not in her color or her passion but in that she represented "something new," that they "do different things in sex than we do." Several cited:

They take mental trips. One stuffed my pussy with cream cheese and sucked it out like an orange. You know, like you siphon off gas with a tube.

I had one eat strawberries out of me. They love to be slapped and to have their hair pulled. Also a lot of white butches will want to act femme for a black woman.

They like to kiss a lot and touch you a lot and talk love a lot. It also excites them when you talk dirty to them, "Come here, you motherfucker, come here." Stuff like that. It turns them on.

White lesbians are freakier but softer...The first time I had my ass licked, it was a white chick. Sometimes I think they do these things to us 'cause they're afraid to do them with white men.

They like to cuddle. Like lots of foreplay -- even to the point where they can't stand it anymore.

They don't get on top of you like a man. They like to kiss and play and suck -- everywhere, even between the toes.

How exactly is the sexual act performed? There apparently are racial aspects and preferences to it. The lower-class black butch is said to want to mount her woman, "ride the saddle," as they call it. This imitation of the man apparently gives her a masculine sense of dominance. The who's on top question assumes burning importance and to her seemingly forms the psychological foundation of the whole pseudo-heterosexuality structure. "Topping" does not imply that two women are rubbing vulvas in a side to side motion, although that is practiced as

as byplay. The technique allegedly preferred by black butches is the male thrusting action. To quote Martin and Lyon, "Tribadism... involves one woman lying atop the other, followed by up and down rhythmic movements to stimulate the clitoris of each."<sup>18</sup> Often black butches apply it with such force to the drives that there is a slapping sound of skin upon skin. This is contrasted to the technique as described by the white Peggy Caserta in her book on the famous singer Janis Joplin, Going Down With Janis:

I worked her with my mouth and tongue and then the way I like to ball best; sucking, licking, nipping and flicking at it while I worked one, then two, then three fingers deeply in and out of her.<sup>19</sup>

Where one is placed in the social structure, we know, can be the major contributing factor in the way racial and/or socioeconomic groups view the world. Privilege enhances the accumulation of leisure time and a broad range of experience and stimuli and hence more active imaginations. Wealth dazzles the have-nots and holds them in awe of luxury. Some calculating respondents told me they had got their introduction to white lesbianism by working for rich white ladies. "You can tell," one said. "The way they watch you bend over in your mini skirt. You can almost see them getting hot." If these portrayals were recounted correctly, perhaps there is considerable sexual contact across socioeconomic and racial lines.

We must remember, however, that much of the information given by the respondents was colored by their own racial perspectives, and the lines of cleavage showing purported lesbian behavioral differentiation between the races may very well have complex unconscious motivations.

Kardner and Ovesey remind us, "An autobiography is the organized experience of an individual edited by his character and expectations."<sup>20</sup> This does not mean the respondent necessarily lied; it may mean that, as Wilberforce so aptly put it, "[Self] interest can draw a film over the eyes so thick that blindness itself could do no more."<sup>21</sup> White homosexual females may very well be likely to adopt womanly love as a distinctive ideology and tend to be "evangelical lesbians,"<sup>22</sup> elaborating theoretical and doctrinaire positions of freedom from men. Theirs, as black women say, could be a hypocritical stance and these white females may very well desire rough treatment and degradation at the hands of black women. We can recall an earlier statement by a respondent that white butches like to turn femme for a black woman. Role playing, the subjects in the sample say, takes place all the time even between white couples but it now is called "a personality difference." White women who come to love a black woman, the respondents claim, begin to know and prefer body to body contact in the "missionary position." Corporal chastisements become stimulating aphrodisiacs to them.

On the other hand, black women admit to being subtly changed in a "heavy" interracial affair too. They learn to appreciate outré forms of sex that might not have occurred to their more direct minds. Some of the white feminist ideology rubs off. They begin to hit less and tone down their regalia. They may even take up intellectual pursuits.

All of the above is the respondents' version of the black/white lesbian attraction or revulsion situation. Some of it may be accurate, all of it may be, or none of it. But it is their social construction of reality and they profess to believe it.

Pseudoheterosexuality:

Black lesbianism in the ghetto, as we have already seen, follows patterns of butch dominance over the femme and parodies the actions of lower-class black men in their approach to black women. Butches, in a sense, join the male fraternity and some get so carried away in this role that as Cornelia Wilbur notes, a lesbian sometimes "indulges in fantasies, often verbalized to the partner that she possesses a penis and states or threatens that she is about to or is using the fantasied penis." Wilbur then adds that "the 'masculine' partner's words indicate that release of hostility [upon the feminine partner] is an important part of the homosexual act for her."<sup>23</sup> One of the formerly suicidal subjects in this sample, in describing her attempts to "sensitize" the body of a mature and chic white lady of whose affections she was very unsure, had utilized every trick she knew to hold the woman. She had tried fanning her passion by sitting atop her on the toilet bowl and letting her own warm urine trickle over the white woman's genitals. Then, she told me, "I dried her off, stretched her out on the bearskin rug and placed my penis --" Stopping in mid-sentence, she smiled. "Of course, I know I don't really have a penis "she said," but sometimes it seems like I do." Her failure to win the woman made her homicidal and suicidal. She wanted to kill the white woman and herself and die in the same puddle of blood. Perhaps the term "the aggressor" is a highly significant one and perhaps hostility is really being released. Cindy and Jane McDams eventually broke up over a man, causing Cindy to slash Jane across the arm and attempt to take her own life. Two other relationships in the sample ended because of male attention. In

one case, the butch was stabbed in the stomach with a pair of scissors and hovered between life and death.

Paradoxically, it may be possible to add a new dimension to the concept of pseudheterosexuality by examining in the ghetto interracial lesbian affairs. The case of Marj and Amy, an interracial couple, is instructive. They had been "married" for four years. Marj, who was 40, black, and butch, did not "hit a lick" (work) but was supported by Amy who was blond, 28, femme and had a Master's degree. Unexceptional in looks, Marj, a high school dropout, was Amy's first sexual experience. She had never been possessed by a man, although she responded to male kisses and might once have surrendered until she caught sight of the terrifying penis. Amy blamed her mother for this unreasoning fright. Both women wore identical golden wedding bands but not engagement rings and it dawned upon me that the engagement ring is probably a heterosexual piece of jewelry. The woman who wears one is almost invariably married to a man.

I interviewed Marj in Sina's bedroom and Amy was excluded from the interview session. Yet we could hear her pacing nervously back and forth outside the bedroom door. I soon learned why. In response to the question as to the role she took, Marj boomed loud enough to echo through the whole apartment, "I don't hit no sheets, Baby!" meaning she rode on top and Amy's back rested against the bottom sheet, the position of an inferior.

The minute the interview was over, Amy popped into the room and draped herself over the foot of the bed, engaging in meaningless chatter until Marj went to the bathroom to let out some of her beer. Then Amy spoke very quickly:

I don't suppose Marj told you but she does all the cooking. And while I respect her position as the butch, the girls on the job tell me that one day I'm gonna be a butch myself. They can tell from the way I walk. I suppose it's true. If Marj and I were to break up and I got into another relationship, I wouldn't be a femme anymore. I'm certain I'd be the butch and the other one would hit the sheets!

Evidently, Amy had internalized lower-class black lesbian values and since she did much of the thinking for the pair with her much higher education, she still felt she had to justify her diminished status as femme.

An interesting case was that of the young rebel, Cleo, and the black woman with whom she lived with their two sets of children. Cleo, at 28, was a pretty, petite butch and liked her women weak and helpless. She had had a hard younger life. A waif in the streets of Harlem at 15, she slept in doorways and on rooftops and managed somehow not to become pregnant until she reached 18. She was sent to a highly discreet home for unwed mothers and there she met a swarthy, elegant woman who was engaged to marry the scion of a family worth millions but was carrying another man's child. The fiance of this woman believed her to be in Europe. Cleo fell in love with the elegant Bess and once they had both delivered and were outside, Bess, a female roué and a practiced woman of 22, seduced Cleo, doing "everything to me that one woman can do to another." When Bess' voracious sexual appetite was satiated and she had dragged every emotion and secret from Cleo's body, the young girl was unceremoniously cast aside.

Crushed, Cleo drifted into marriage with a soldier and moved to Japan. The husband changed and became a drinker, a wife-beater and a philanderer. In self-defense, Cleo enrolled in a judo class where she

met Nicole, a raw-boned, freckled-faced white American girl of 20 whose whose Mississippi drawl was as thick as her curly red hair. They became friends and lovers, Cleo assuming the butch's role -- nudged into it, she maintained, by Nicole's gentle prodding.

Nicole, oddly enough, was in Japan because of her homosexual tendencies. Descended from slave-owning aristocracy, her parents accidentally discovered her lesbian bent and forced her to marry a neighbor's son who was in the army and on his way to Japan. It was a matter of marrying or being disinherited. She chose the former.

"Nicole will always be my true love," Cleo avers, "and I will always be hers." Although she "topped" her woman, she willingly shared the extensive fingering, cunnilingus, analingus, the imaginative acting out of fantasies, and "hickey-making" which Nicole liked. So attuned were they, Cleo claimed, that they could look across a crowded room at each other and climax simultaneously.

In the end, they were caught because of Nicole's hatred of men, her jealousy of Cleo's husband, her nagging persistence that they declare their love, and the big red "love cherries" that Nicole deliberately planted over Cleo's body. Cleo was confronted, confessed, and both husbands reportedly sat down in the middle of the floor and cried. A major scandal ensued and all four were expelled from Japan and ordered back to the States. Nicole and Cleo lived together in Mississippi for a while as mistress and servant but were riven forever by the threat of disinheritance. The sufficiency of "undying love" seemingly was not enough to make Nicole give up her birthright. Like so many of these idealized "true loves," it shattered with the fragility of glass. Not a single "true love," in the whole ghetto sample remained an ongoing

viable affair over the course of this study. As for Cleo, she began nesting with her present lover, no doubt in what Bergler called, "lustless intercourse,"<sup>24</sup> with its pains and its cruelties for both of them. Every time they glanced at the wall opposite the bed, their eyes focused upon a reproduction of the celebrated painting by Jules-Robert Auguste which hangs in the Louvre in Paris. Entitled, "The Lovers," it depicts two entwining female nudes, one of ebony skin contrasting against milky white skin as if Nicole and Cleo had been immortalized in paint.

At this point, we now are prepared to take another look at the themes raised in Chapter III concerning the nature of the female inmate culture. Drawing upon the three cases presented in this chapter and previous information, the persistent picture remains of the glorification of violent manhood in the ghetto, sometimes even down to the fantasized penis. In the lower-class black slums, the lesbianism practiced, in large measure, apparently is not love, but various forms of alienation, estrangement and hostilities vented against men, against other women, against the dominant cultural values, and against the inability to find peace of mind and spirit which the stratified American society withholds. The lower-class black lesbian's search for "true love" is idealized and enshrined but seldom exists in reality. Sex substitutes for these non-existent deeper experiences. But sex seemingly is twisted into forms of submission and dominance which requires that the act be performed in the male/female pattern. It often is utilized as an instrument of conquest by the butch and as <sup>a</sup> device for the physical release of tension by the femme. There is even some suggestion that it is "freakier" among women than between the sexes, particularly as described

in the black/white female homosexual union. Black lesbians say white women seek them out to perform sexual acts that would repulse white men. Some credence is lent to this complaint by a medical journal's "Symposium on 'Sexual Idiosyncrasies'," which stated:

A young woman sought treatment when her boyfriend insisted that she was "sick." In her sexual play she would pour syrups and jams over her genitals topping it off with whipped cream.<sup>25</sup>

But black females, being women, are not notably different. Certain protocols of coyness, flight and conventionalities are exercised in the love game with men. I observed this with Jane McAdams and the male who destroyed her "true love" for Cindy. "He came over to me," Jane told me proudly. "He sought me out. I didn't go after him. I never ran after any man and I never will. But I really, really like him." Yet this same Jane McAdams had been a doormat for her butch. Certainly Jane would not introduce into her affair with a man the forms of sexual stimulations she employed with other women.

From the black/white relationships in this chapter, such as the Cleo case, there appears to be some support for Buffum's statement that in prison the "Negro females are defined as male and the white females defined as females."<sup>26</sup> Nicole reportedly gently nudged Cleo in that direction and other respondents claim that white-butches not only want to turn femme for a black woman but some white women climax simply by being in the presence of a rough-looking black female. Still, the attraction seemingly goes both ways. For if the black woman, either in prison or out, desires an interracial affair, she must accept the butch's role assigned to her.

Throughout the ghetto portion of this study, there was no indication of the "play family" other researchers discovered in female prisons. I suspect that "familying" in prison may be a substitute for the outside lower-class black woman's "best friend" strategy. In correctional facilities, the best friend relationship may dissolve into a sexual entanglement. Everyone there, due to the restrictions on movement, is either hunter or prey; while on the outside, one can always find a best friend. In prison, the wallflower type may find "familying" a way of obtaining a place in someone's affections, even if rejected as a sexual object. Older women in correctional institutions, of course, find it easier to locate older females as friends. Thus "familying" probably is less prevalent in facilities having older female populations.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Marvin Wolfgang and Franco Ferracuti, op.cit., pp. 380-391. See also Walter Miller, "Violent Crimes in City Gangs," in Marvin E. Wolfgang et.al, The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency, op.cit., pp. 364-379.

<sup>2</sup>Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, op.cit., p. 68.

<sup>3</sup>Edward A. Slotnick, "Familial Pure Gonadal Dysgenesis With Clitoral Hypertrophy and a Normal Female Karotype," The Journal of the American Osteophic Association, 70, 11(July 1971), pp. 1167-1178. See also Robert E. Gross et.al., "Clitorectomy for Sexual Abnormalities: Indications and Technique," Surgery, 59, 2 (February 1966), pp. 300-308. See in addition, Isaac Kaplan, "A Simple Technic for Shortening the Clitoris Without Amputation," Obstetrics and Gynecology, 29, 2 (February 1967), pp. 270-271. See also, Charlotte Wolff, op.cit., p. 55.

<sup>4</sup>Raphael Durfee and Willard Rowland, "Penile Substitution With Clitoral Enlargement and Urethral Transfer," in Donald R. Lamb and Patrick Gandy, (Eds), Proceedings of the Second Interdisciplinary Symposium on Gender Dysphoria Syndrome (Stanford, California: Division of Reconstructive and Rehabilitation Surgery, Stanford University Medical Center, 1973), p. 181.

<sup>5</sup>George W. Henry, Sex Variants: A Study of Homosexual Patterns, (New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1948 and 1941), pp. 777-778 and 783-784.

<sup>6</sup>Bettie Wysor, op.cit., p. 309. Also described but not named in Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, op.cit., p. 30. See also Donella Stanley, "Butches Corner" and "Butch Sex Partner," Echo of Sappho, op.cit., pp. 24-25.

<sup>7</sup>Donella Stanley, Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>My thanks to Danny Cattles for suggesting this approach.

<sup>9</sup>John Money and Anke A. Ehrhardt, op.cit., p. 146.

<sup>10</sup>Donald Webster Cory, op.cit., p. 169.

<sup>11</sup>Byron Magee, "The Facts About Lesbianism: A Special Inquiry Into a Neglected Problem," New Statesman, LXIX, 1776 (March 26, 1965), p. 492.

<sup>12</sup>Harvey Kaye, "Lesbian Relationship," Sexual Behavior, April 1971, p. 85.

- <sup>13</sup>Bettie Wisor, op.cit., p. 352.
- <sup>14</sup>"New York Illustrated. Homosexuals: Out of the Closet," WNBC-TV, February 11, 1973, 10:30 p.m.
- <sup>15</sup>Barbara Campbell, "Black Feminists Form Group Here," The New York Times, August 16, 1973, p. 36. See also Mary Reinholz, "The Liberated Woman," New York Sunday News Magazine, July 27, 1975, p. 4 "NBFO is a do-nothing organization," she declared." It was organized to lend credence to the white women's movement. Its first president was a black lesbian and this blocked the possibility of a mass black women's movement because black women don't relate to the black movement."
- <sup>16</sup>Keiser and Schaffer, op.cit., p. 287.
- <sup>17</sup>See George W. Henry, op.cit., p. 726. One of his black respondents expressed similar sentiments. "When aroused I like to say and hear obscene words, to curse and be cursed."
- <sup>18</sup>Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, op.cit., p. 64.
- <sup>19</sup>Peggy Caserta and Dan Knapp, Going Down With Janis, (Secaucus, New Jersey: Stuart Lyle, Inc., 1973), p. 88.
- <sup>20</sup>Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey op.cit., p. 77.
- <sup>21</sup>Reverend H. Russell, Human Cargoes: A Short History of the African Slave Trade, (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1948), p. 36.
- <sup>22</sup>George F. Gilder, Sexual Suicide, (New York: Bantam Books, 1973), p. 1.
- <sup>23</sup>Cornelia Wilbury "Clinical Aspects of Female Homosexuality," Judd Marmor, (Ed), Sexual Inversion: The Multiple Roots of Homosexuality, (New York: Basic Books, 1965), p. 278.
- <sup>24</sup>Edmund Bergler, Counterfeit-Sex; Homosexuality, Impotence, Frigidity. 2nd Edition. (New York: Grune and Stratton, 1958), p. 337.
- <sup>25</sup>Alfred Amerback et.a., "Symposium on 'Sexual Idiosyncrasies,'" Medical Aspects of Human Sexuality, February 1976, p. 83.
- <sup>26</sup>Peter C. Buffum, op.cit., p. 24.

## CHAPTER IX

## FINDINGS, PREDICTIVE INDEX AND ANALYSIS

The central premise of this thesis is stated in the Introductory chapter: The most salient feature of lower-class black lesbianism -- a feature which subsequently also influences female so-called "conversion" to homosexuality while in penal institutions -- arises out of, or is shaped by, an adaptional or instrumental response to the deprivations of poverty. From this general assumption, one main objective in two distinct parts was generated.

The first part seeks to examine the core research question: Do lower-class black women who have in-prison lesbian experience have this as their first such homosexual relationship, or have they had these types of sexual encounters before incarceration? If the latter is true, then lesbian behavior while in custody represents less of a "pressure-cooker" situation than it does an "importation process." It is hypothesized here, therefore, that most black so-called "jailhouse turn-outs" have in fact had lesbian experience prior to their interment in a correctional facility.

Dependent upon the validity of this first hypothesis is the second part of the objective. Should the "importation process" situation obtain, then a matrix of questions taken from the data could be formed to predict which of the prison inmates would engage in homosexual practices in prison and which would not. Formulated as an hypothesis, it is postulated here that a reliable predictive index can be constructed from routine sociological data to determine potential homosexual behavior in a women's prison.

Theoretical Models of Female Prison Homosexuality:

The Importation Model is predicated upon homosexual activity prior to incarceration and holds that the behavior begins on the outside and is imported into the institution with the individual. In the hypothetical case illustrated in Figure 1 below, there are 50 respondents, 45 of whom have engaged in homosexual practices before entering any correctional facility and 5 of whom have not. After imprisonment, however, there is little or no change in the relationship between the two numbers. The Pressure-Cooker Model, developed by Ward and Kassebaum and Giallombardo, assumes that the stresses, pressures, and pains of imprisonment, i.e., the unavailability of male sexual partners, loss of children and other deprivations, tend to temporarily convert heterosexual inmates into homosexual ones or, what others might call bisexual women who become homosexually active. This model also is represented in Figure 1. As shown by these same hypothetical 50 respondents, five had preprison homosexual experience and 45 had none. After incarceration, however, a significant number of the 45 non-homosexually experienced inmates would begin to engage in this activity -- in this particular example, an additional 40 women.

	Homosexual Behavior Prior to Prison	Non-Homosexual Behavior Prior To Prison	Homosexual Behavior After Imprisonment	Non-Homosexual Behavior After Imprisonment
Importation	45	5	→ 45	5
Pressure-Cooker	5	45	→ 45	5

Figure 1

The data from the present study supports the Importation Model as illustrated in Figure 2 below. Of the 57 inmates who comprise the prison sample, 32 of them had engaged in homosexual activities prior to having been imprisoned, while 25 denied having had such experience. After incarceration, there was a net increase in the prison homosexual population of 4 females, thus reducing the original 25 inmates with no homosexual experience to 21.

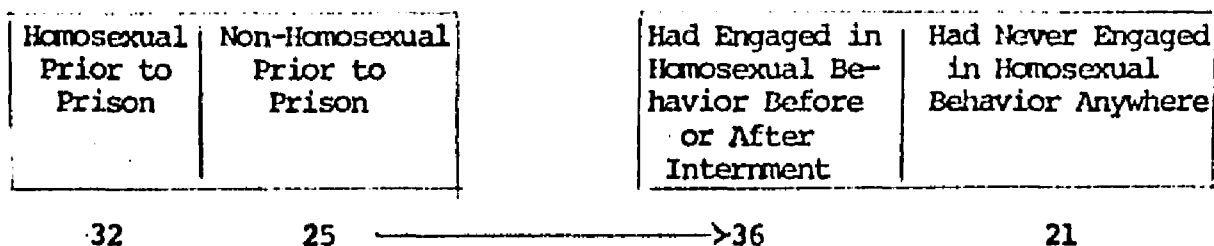


Figure 2

In constructing the predictive index, the Pearson Correlation Coefficient was deemed a more sensitive measure than crosstabulation. The Pearson  $r$ , correlating homosexual experience with other variables, revealed 21 of these variables at the 0.5 to the .001 levels of significance. The sexual orientations of 98 of the 99 respondents were known and thus 98 cases were used as the highest base figure where applicable. Some of the questions did not apply to both samples. The variables were both positively and negatively correlated. Several indices were contrived in attempting to locate the strongest one. It must be remembered that there are factors which complicate these indices, the chief one being that every new entry is interviewed by the prison authorities and by other persons within the judicial system. The answers

given by each female help compile her official inmate record. Much of this information is inaccurate, sometimes deliberately so, but there are items that are easier to check than others. Naturally, individuals tend to exculpate themselves and adjust the facts to their own advantage. Some lower-class blacks are extremely sensitive about financial matters and often do not reveal the truth. It is from these official records, nevertheless, that a predictive index must be constructed. Thus some of the indices listed, such as the one containing all 21 variables are hardly more than theoretical models. Below, in Table 1, are data relating to these relevant variables.

TABLE I  
Variables at the Sign. Levels of .05- .001

No	Variable	Variable Labels	Pear. r	Weight	Possible Answers
1	RSLUMS	Raised in slums as a child?	+.33**	+3	No=0; Yes=1
2	FATHJOB	Father have steady job?	-.20*	-2	Seldom=0; Yes=1
3	FANWELF	Fam of Orient. on Welfare?	+.27**	+3	Never=0; Yes=1
4	SCHMOTH	Highest School grade, mother	+.22*	+2	Less than HS Grad=0 HS Grad, better=1
5	MCHURCH	Mother's attend at church?	-.38**	-4	Not often=1; Often=2
6	SVIDRUGS	Raised around sex, drugs, etc?	+.30*	+3	No=0; Yes=1
7	GBINJAIL	Friends go to jail, etc?	+.33**	+3	None=0; Yes=1
8	POORBAD	Being poor influenced life?	+.23*	+2	No=0; Yes=1

No	Variable	Variable Labels	Pear. r	Weight	Possible Answers
9	ADSLUMS	As adult, live in slums area?	+ .35**	+4	No=0; Yes=1
10	YOURKIDS	Number of children?	- .26**	-3	None=0; 1-2=1; 3 or more=2
11	OCCUPA	Your occupation was?	+ .32**	+3	Blue Collar=1; White Collars=2; Housewife=3
12	JOBBJAIL	Were you working steadily before jail?	- .57**	-6	No=0; Yes=1
13	ILLEGALM	Did you have an illegal income?	+ .31**	+3	No=0; Usually=1
14	RIPOFF	Did you ripoff, steal, etc.	+ .38**	+4	Never=0; Yes=1
15	AGEJAILF	Age, first arrest & jail	- .47**	-5	8-15=0; 16-19=1; 21-30=2; 41-57=3
16	TRGSCH	Ever sent to Training Sch.?	+ .29*	+3	No=0; Yes=1
17	RAPED	Were you ever raped?	+ .20*	+2	No=0; Yes=1
18	AGEOFSEX	Age, 1st sexual experience?	- .22*	-2	8-12=0; 13-15=1; 16-18=2; 19-23=3
19	SEXMONEY	Engaged in sex for money?	- .45**	-5	No=0; Yes=1.
20	GIRLGIPT	Female ever offer money for sexual relations?	+ .55**	+6	No=0; Yes=1
21	AGERAPE	Age, if ever raped?	- .45*	-5	7-15=0; 17-26=1. No=1

In Table II below are various combinations of these 21 variables which I used in constructing six different indices.

\*Represents a significance level between .01 and .05.

\*\*Represents a significance level between .001 and .006.

TABLE II  
POSSIBLE INDICES

Index	Variable Combinations	Probability of Truthful Response	How Correlated	Pear. r for Index
1		Veracity Questionable. Cannot be checked.	Pos. and Neg.	.5413
2	1,3,4,6,7,8,9,11,13,14,16,17,19,20.	As above	Pos.	.5421
3	2,5,10,12,15,18,21.	As above	Neg.	.3526
4	1,3,9,11,16,17.	As above	Pos.	.5116
5	2,5,10,12,15,21	Perhaps Father's occupa. a problem.	Neg.	.5978
6	1,3,4,8,9,11,16,17,2,5,10,12,15,21.	Possibility of truthful response but cannot check.	Pos. and Neg.	.5565

There is, however, a way of combining just 5 of the 21 variable to create an index of considerably higher predictive power (0.6540 at the .001 level of significance). For example, in Table II, the first variable, MCHURCH, a code name for "Mother's attendance at Church," is weighted at 4, since its individual Pearson r was 0.3858 rounded off. Two possible answers to this question could be given by respondents, either 1 or 2. Being negatively correlated, its highest negative score would be a -8. The highest possible negative score for the entire index would total -34. Therefore, any inmate who received a -34

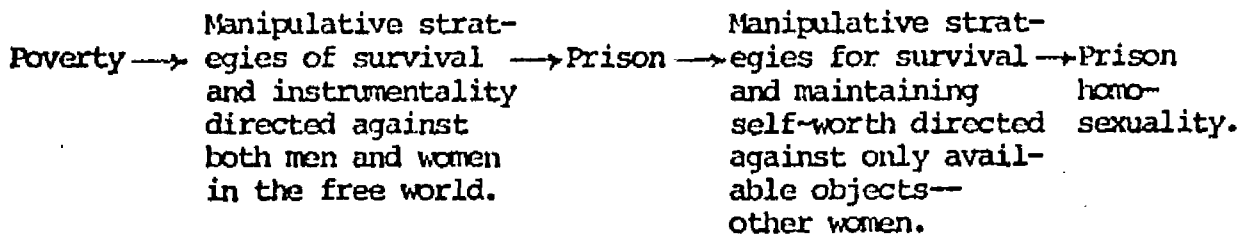
would be considered very unlikely to engage in homosexual activity in prison or elsewhere. She would represent both the inflexible heterosexual and the upper limits of a non-homosexual range which extends from -20 to -34. Any score below this cut-off point would indicate either an actual homosexual inmate or an homosexual potential increasing inversely with the diminution in the minus score.

TABLE III  
FIVE ITEM INDEX

Variable	Pearson r	Weight	How Correlated	Possible Answers	Score
MCHURCH	-0.3858	4	Neg.	1/2	-8
ADSLIMS	0.3518	4	Pos.	0/1	0
JOBBJAIL	-0.5751	6	Neg.	0/1	-6
AGEJAILF	-0.4710	5	Neg.	0/1/2/3	-15
AGERAPE	-0.4588	5	Neg.	0/1	-5
	Highest	Possible	Negative Score		-34

Analysis:

"The discovery of laws," as Lindsay Churchill writes, "has largely eluded sociology," and he locates the difficulty in "multiple contributing causes."<sup>1</sup> No doubt this is true but one main problem quite probably is that the human element intrudes in the behavioral sciences in a way that inanimate objects simply cannot in the physical sciences. Yet, valid tools of measurement are vital to the maintenance of a social order that is predicated upon social control. Prison homosexuality is a good test. In dissecting its elements, it is viewed here as an artifact of black lower-class poverty and instrumentality, and may be diagrammatically displayed in the following manner:



The evidence produced by my data show that 32 out of the 36 homosexually-active respondents had been introduced to lesbian practices before entering prison, which confirms the first hypothesis. Of the four "jailhouse turnouts," one subject learned the act at the tender age of 8 in the Youth House, the second was "too scared" to try it on the outside, the third was a conscience-stricken woman of 40 who entertained contacting a white butch so she could allow non-participatory cunnilingus, and the fourth had entered prison at 17 and was doing "big time."<sup>2</sup> "Jailhouse turnouts" then were fairly predictable in this sample. Few women who held dogmatic views against the practice on the outside changed in prison except under the most dire circumstances.

The fact that I was operating from a non-privileged position admittedly had some impact upon the acuity of the predictive instrument and restricted it to what amounts to a "first approximation." Knowledge of a respondent's addiction to narcotics, for example, or of involvement in prostitution, might have sharpened the index further. Reliable information concerning adult religious devoutness, if known, undoubtedly would have, in my opinion, mitigated, to a large extent, against homosexual involvement. Hopefully, these refinements will be employed in the next generation of indices.

The second hypothesis, after having been tested against the answers of the 57 respondents in the prison sample, I believe is also adequately confirmed, according to Table III below. Thirty-four of the 36 women who had had homosexual experience in or out of prison were identified by the index. The two undetected cases, numbers 2 and 10, upon close analysis, were instructive. Inmate number 2 was raised in the rural area of a deep southern state among many brothers and sisters. The father was steadily employed as a mechanic and the mother evidently worked regularly as a domestic. The extreme isolation separated the children from the violence, sex, drugs and other vices of the urban streets but even so, one close friend had been executed by the state. As an adult, the subject migrated to the more remote and less populous part of the state from which Kokely draws its population. She claims she never lived in a slum area. Her husband and others regularly assisted her financially. She was first arrested in her early twenties on suspicion of prostitution and served time in jail. Presently, she is serving sentences for robbery and grand larceny. At the time of this interview, she had been in prison over three years. She receives

no visitors, not even "friendly visits." She denies ever having been sexually active with another woman at any time but this claim was rebutted by the two panels.<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, she believes that sex between women begins on the outside, not in prison. In her opinion, other women do not "play" in prison because they have not met that certain "someone." The inmate in question has read and passed on to others several erotic lesbian novels.

Prostitution certainly is a highly instrumental activity and its computation in her score would have lowered it below the -20 level. In the future, some allowance will have to be made for the regional aspect also.

Case number 10 was of a different sort. This respondent was one of the two truly middle-class inmates interviewed. While she never lived in the slums, she was regularly employed there as a contact for obtaining narcotics for resale. Were we to remove the key factor of JOBBJAIL, or, "holding a regular job just before going to prison," her score too would have dipped below -20. This interviewee swore she had only performed homosexually once in her lifetime and never in prison. A highly dominant personality, she exerted an enormous, almost controlling, influence over another younger inmate who was always immaculately groomed. The panel members suspected no sexual activity between them but I was never quite sure.

TABLE IV  
 INMATES WITH HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCE

No.	MCHURCH	ADSLIMS	JOBBJAIL	AGEJAILF	AGERAPE	SCORE
1	-4	+4	0	0	No -5	- 5
2	-8	0	0	-10	No -5	-23
3	-4	+4	-6	-10	Yes 0	-16
4	-8	+4	0	- 5	No -5	-14
5	-8	0	0	-10	Yes 0	-18
6	-4	0	0	- 5	Yes 0	- 9
7	-4	0	0	-10	No -5	-19
8	-8	+4	0	0	Yes 0	- 4
9	-4	+4	-6	- 5	No -5	-16
10	-8	+4	-6	-10	No -5	-25
11	-8	+4	0	0	No -5	- 9
12	-8	0	0	0	No -5	-13
13	-8	+4	0	-10	No -5	-19
14	-4	+4	0	- 5	No -5	-10
15	-4	+4	0	-10	No -5	-15
16	-8	0	0	- 5	No -5	-18
17	-4	+4	0	- 5	No -5	-10
18	-4	+4	0	- 5	Yes -5	-10
19	-8	+4	0	0	Yes 0	- 4
20	-8	+4	0	-10	Yes -5	-19
21	-4	+4	0	- 5	No -5	-10
22	-8	+4	0	- 5	No -5	-14
23	-4	+4	0	0	Yes -0	0
24	-8	+4	0	-10	Yes -0	-14
25	-4	+4	0	- 5	Yes -0	- 5
26	-4	+4	0	- 5	Yes -0	- 5
27	-8	0	0	- 5	Yes -0	-13
28	-4	+4	0	-10	No -5	-15
29	-8	+4	0	0	No -5	- 9
30	-8	+4	0	- 5	No -5	-14
31	-8	+4	0	-10	Yes 0	-14
32	-8	+4	0	-10	No -5	-19
33	-8	+4	0	- 5	No -5	-14
34	-8	+4	0	- 5	Yes 0	- 9
35	-8	+4	0	0	Yes -5	- 9
36	-8	0	0	- 5	Yes -5	-18

The predictive index ostensibly breaks down in miscalculating the women who have never engaged in homosexual behavior. A missing variable in case number 7 precluded a score but that variable, if supplied, quite likely would have elevated the score to -20. Still, the fact remains that fully one third of this group fell below the cut-off point. How is this to be explained? I feel the veracity of the respondents should be questioned. Were subjects to lie, they would have lied in this direction. Not all interviewees had confided in others and some respondents possessed considerable skill in covert activities. Thus the index may have exposed the most secretive of the homosexual inmates. The scores are shown in Table IV below:

TABLE V  
INMATES WITH NO HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCE ANYWHERE

No	MCHURCH	ADSLUMS	JOBBJAIL	AGEJAILF	AGERAPE	SCORE
1	-8	+4	-6	-15	No -5	-30
2	-8	+4	-6	-10	No -5	-26
3	-8	0	0	-10	No -5	-23
4	-4	0	0	-10	No -5	-19
5	-8	0	-6	-10	No -5	-30
6	-8	+4	-6	-10	No -5	-25
7	-8	+4	-6		Yes -0	
8	-8	+4	0	-5	No -5	-14
9	-8	+4	0	-5	Yes 5	-14
10	-8	0	-6	-10	No -5	-29
11	-8	+4	-6	-10	No -5	-25
12	-8	0	-6	-15	No -5	-34
13	-8	+4	0	-10	Yes -5	-19
14	-8	+4	0	-5	No -5	-14
15	-8	0	-6	-15	No -5	-34
16	-8	0	-6	-10	No -5	-29
17	-8	+4	-6	-15	No -5	-34
18	-8	+4	-6	-10	No -5	-25
19	-8	0	-6	-10	No -5	-29
20	-8	0	0	-5	No -5	-18
21	-4	+4	0	-5	No -5	-10

The predictive index, as constructed, presents several advantages. The questions utilized probably would be answered by the inmates truthfully and items such as "residing in the slums as an adult," "having a job just before going to prison," and "age at first internment" could be checked. The five questions themselves look like nothing more than routine information. Probably in the future, regression analysis should be employed to determine the strength of individual factors standing alone or acting in concert with other factors. One final thought must be stressed. In computing an index, all women who have engaged in homosexual practice anywhere must be considered potential candidates for prison lesbian activity. If one keeps in mind the interactive perspective, much would depend upon the patterning of precipitating events.<sup>4</sup>

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Lindsey Churchill, "Purposes and Problems of Social Research," in Jack D. Douglas (Ed), Introduction to Sociology, (New York: The Free Press, 1973), p. 252.

<sup>2</sup>Prison argot for a long sentence.

<sup>3</sup>See appendix for information on the two panels.

<sup>4</sup>Earl Rubington and Martin S. Weinberg (Ed), Deviance: The Interactive Perspective, 2nd Edition. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1973).

CHAPTER X  
CONCLUSIONS

My initial concern had been with determining where the conversion to homosexual practices of incarcerated black women takes place and in formulating an index for predicting which inmates might engage in lesbian behavior while in a correctional institution and which would not. Such a device is not conceived as a weapon in the hands of prison authorities but as a safeguard for the inmates themselves. Terrible jealousies, culminating in explosive violence, emerge in these institutions. These are often directed toward inmates in a lesbian involvement and result even in facial disfigurement.<sup>1</sup> A better understanding of the dynamics of this situation would permit the exercise of caution and more effective means of inmate protection.<sup>2</sup>

Ward and Kassebaum (1965) and Giallombardo (1966), in influential works, found that lesbian conjugal dyads, utilizing male/female roles, constituted the most salient feature of the adult female informal prison social structure. These authors constructed what might be regarded as a "pressure-cooker" paradigm, hypothesizing that the vast majority of "jailhouse turnouts" were heterosexual women who succumbed to lesbian advances for the first time while in prison. Both studies used racially undifferentiated populations.

In this research, I focus solely upon black women and my findings would seem to conflict with their conclusions. Based upon correlative studies involving lower-class black lesbianism in the ghettos and black female homosexuality in prison, my data strongly suggest a cultural unity thesis. The data tend to support the view that homosexual

initiation or involvement among black female prisoners represents an adaptational-instrumental response to the conditions of poverty. This response is internalized in the preprison identities of black inmates and constitutes, in reality, an "importation process" of learned activities and practices which are not of institutional origin. In other words, homosexual behavior among black female prisoners derives, in large part, not from in-prison recruitment, but from lower-class black survival and coping mechanisms which economic pressures often bring them to apply. The lower-class black woman, in general, sees the world from a far different perspective than her white counterpart and acts accordingly.

The poverty-stricken lower-class black woman knows suffering, exploitation and loneliness and through historic necessity is highly dependent upon her sexuality as a weapon, a defense, an enticer, a mode of acquiring affection, winning love and accruing small gains. Unknowingly she maybe caught up in what is still a repository of residual slavery values. Her need for love sometimes leads her into early pregnancy often while hardly more than a child. Precocious motherhood further blocks upward mobility and sets her upon the same path frequently traveled by her mother. With the extremely low sexual ratio among blacks, at least in New York City, it lessens even more her marriageability status. Not only, as Jessie Bernard writes, are "Negro women competing for a relatively scarce 'good' when they look forward to marriage..., they are buyers in a seller's market."<sup>3</sup> Thus non-marital, short-term living arrangement with a man are often the best the young woman can get. Ever hopeful, she tries again and again. More pregnancies ensue. Bitterness and the total distrust of men -- never far below the surface -- now spring forth and place the two sexes at great odds.

Many lower-class black women have had brushes with another woman - seeking female. While parents worked, children were frequently farmed out, left alone, or turned over to people whose motives were not apparent. Some families had "gays" reasonably well integrated into family activities, for "gay" women in the ghetto lose much of the ostracism usually associated with that lifestyle in the dominant society. My two samples indicate that over 57 percent of the women actually had been financially propositioned by another woman. And this figure does not take into account non-monetary enticements and less blatant attempts at seduction. Often financial gain or disillusionment with males sent them into a kind of temporary exile from men. For not a single female in either sample never had slept with a man, and only a handful never had achieved orgasm with one -- even the self-proclaimed "born" lesbians. Evidently, the subcultural pull of self-redemption through childbirth remains so strong that even "dedicated" lesbians are scarcely less susceptible to a promising conventional union than the so-called "straights." The number of women with children, and those who have at least been pregnant, is exceedingly high in both samples.

Investigators tend to cast prison lesbianism on a different plane from anything else while it is really a distortion and intensification of forms already secretly known to many lower-class black women. The nomenclature may have changed but the content is the same. The butch who "gives up the work" (performs the sexual act upon another inmate and spurns reciprocation), is called on the outside "a stone butch." This syndrome, and syndrome it must be termed, cannot be simply defined as a tactic to secure greater emotional commitment in the recipient, but is an aberrance of deep psychological origin. Should the "stone butch"

submit to a beseeching lover's caress, she remains ill-at-ease and has to feign passion. She prefers a partner who desires these one-sided amatory performances.

The "commissary hustler" is matched on the outside by butches who have never worked, have never been on welfare, and who have been supported by other women (and sometimes men), all of their lives. The ardent femmes who bestow gifts for affection often have done so before to hold men or women on the outside. And the tricky, calculating femmes fatales who, in prison, "know just how" to break down the butch, in all probability have honed their skills in the free world upon elusive targets whom they considered worthy challenges to their entrancing arts. All of these latent identities are carried into the prison and flower in its fertile soil.

The reversal in correctional institutions of the ghetto's matri-focal order calls to mind Steven Goldberg's book, The Inevitability of Patriarchy.<sup>4</sup> Arguing from a biological standpoint, Goldberg claims that patriarchy is the inexorable result of every cultural system that has ever existed. Whatever the merits of the argument, hormonal distinction certainly is not an issue in the high social esteem accorded the prison butches, nor in the lesser value the femmes place upon themselves. One must remember that the sexual careers of many lower-class black women in the ghetto follow a kind of cyclical pattern, going from male disillusionment to exile, then back to males once the wounds heal. Butches as well as femmes travel that route. In prison, the circularity stops. There can be no flight from one sex to another. The "sex ratio," as bad as it was on the outside, is cut drastically by the total elimination of the opposite sex. Competition for the scarce "good" becomes keener

than ever. Hence, the whole female inmate structure is directed toward getting more masculine players into the inmate population. In prison, the butches perhaps reign supreme but their supremacy stems from the femmes' assiduously cultivated illusion of "normalcy" through the creation of pseudoheterosexuality. The more real the male surrogates make the illusion seem, the more they are in demand by the femmes. This is a strong incentive. It also explains why role-playing in the black lower-class slums is retained so tenaciously while other classes of women find it an abomination. Pseudoheterosexuality on the outside has long been practiced and probably is the prototype for the prison version.

The tremendous influx of blacks into the correctional institutions in recent years has made prison argot terms out of ghetto slang. Interracial dyads are almost always black butch/white femme because the ghetto environment causes lower-class black women to internalize respect for male toughness which, in turn, makes it easier for the white females to manipulate them into non-feminine roles. The same appears to be true on the outside. And the tribadism of black lesbians is often new to whites who find being "topped" in the black fashion has its erotic qualities and sensations.

The female prisoners today have little use for, and give small adherence to, an "inmate code." Black women have always disdained formal or informal organizations, except possibly the church. They do not belong to clubs but to small cliques and peer groups. They do not join Women's Lib or the homophile organizations.

The question of what Ward and Kassebaum term the "true lesbian" is one that is beyond the scope of this study. While they have speculated that women with outside homosexual experience but none in prison are often "true lesbians" who remain faithful to outside lovers,<sup>5</sup> this kind

of correlation is not so evident in my samples.

Prison, like the individual, is never an island. Change from the outside sweeps in and, as we have seen from the bra-less craze, it sweeps out as well. The free world is advancing with such rapidity that some people believe — but others strongly disagree -- that homosexuality in the near future might become a fully-sanctioned expansion in the frontiers of accepted human sexuality and be declared an "alternative sexual orientation equal to heterosexuality." The publicity and furor over it might even persuade sectors of the sexually-obsessed American public that androgynous roles add spice to the sexual repertoire.<sup>6</sup> All of this will radically alter in a de jure way the penal codes as it has altered them in practice. Most prison correctional officers now overlook homosexual breeches of the rules unless the individuals are caught in flagrante delicto. New concepts in rehabilitative penology may well permit inmate lovers to bunk together. After all, the State of Mississippi has institutionalized,<sup>7</sup> and New York State has already tested,<sup>8</sup> the concept of conjugal visits for men. We can expect litigation involving the same rights for women. Quite probably, the battle for conjugal lesbian visits will follow.

An important question that has not been satisfactorily answered in this study concerns how one accounts for the high percentage of lesbian-oriented or lesbian-active women in the female prison, if this is not the result of the prison climate, but is an importation from outside. It does not seem possible that the whole black lower-class is shot through with lesbianism, especially if we remember the models advanced by Hyland Lewis, Drake and Cayton, and S. M. Miller, et. al. Frank Caprio believes:

Crime is intimately associated with female sexual inversion. Many crimes committed by women, upon investigation, reveal that the women were either confirmed lesbians who killed because of jealousy or were latent homosexuals with a strong aggressive masculine drive. Some lesbians manifest pronounced sadistic and psychopathic trends. Kleptomaniac tendencies, for example, are not uncommon among them.<sup>9</sup>

There is much in this explanation that I reject and, in addition, I believe Caprio has grossly over-stated the case. But a viable possibility could be that lesbian activity attracts a highly instrumental type of lower-class black female and that she is the same personality type who eventually lands in prison. Almost without exception in my ghetto sample, the butches shunned work, sold or used small amounts of narcotics, and tried a little of anything that promised a few easy dollars. The femmes often "boosted," played the confidence game, stole and cashed other people's welfare checks, sometimes "turned quick tricks," and spent enormous amounts of time trying to work me for extra money. Their internalization of ghetto toughness made them strive to "save face" by refusing to back down. Consequently, there were fights and stabbings, sometimes over ridiculous sums of money as small as five cents. The most feminine as well as the most masculine seemed to be on crime-oriented careers, almost as if they gained points on some invisible scoreboard by boasting of this activity. Jealousies and threats often turned into flash acts of violence before heads cooled. There seems to be a strong focus upon sexual expression to the detriment of more tender values. What I am suggesting here is only substantiated by a certain amount of informed supposition, for the question obviously requires further investigation. Samples need to be taken of a cross-section of lower-class black females, not of lesbians alone. We need to learn if the

autobiographical statements presented by these respondents are carefully managed images of self and of others, or if they portray, in fact, a reliable base from which generalizations can be made. Even so, it is wise to remember that the ghetto and prison samples were drawn from the most disorganized and economically oppressed segment of black life. And as Hylan Lewis cautioned:

The family and family behavior among Negroes show great range and variability; especially overlooked and underrated is the diversity among low income families. When these are overlooked for any reason, there is danger that the depreciated and probably more dramatic and threatening characteristics of a small segment of the population may be imputed to an entire population.<sup>10</sup>

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>See Rose Giallombardo, Society of Women, op.cit., p. 102. Also Robert R. Bell, Social Deviance: A Substance Analysis, (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1971), p. 351.

<sup>2</sup>John H. Gagnon and William Simon, "The Social Meaning of Prison Homosexuality," Federal Probation, XXXII, 1(March 1968), p. 27. The authors note that the prison management is often not aware of homosexual attachments until the situation erupts into violence.

<sup>3</sup>Jessie Bernard, Marriage and Family Among Negroes, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 70.

<sup>4</sup>Steven Goldberg, The Inevitability of Patriarchy (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1973).

<sup>5</sup>David A. Ward and Gene G. Kassebaum, Women's Prison, op.cit., p. 96.

<sup>6</sup>Jane Brody, "Bisexual Life-Styles Appear to be Spreading and Not Necessarily Among 'Swingers?'," The New York Times, March 24, 1974, p. 57.

<sup>7</sup>Columbus B. Harper, "The Conjugal Visit at Mississippi State Penitentiary," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, LIII (September 1962), pp. 340-343. See also, "Conjugal Visits in Prison Hailed," The New York Times, August 15, 1967, p. 26. Also, Jack Anderson, "The Prisons We'd Rather Not Think About," Daily News, New York, March 13, 1977, p. 58. Anderson writes that the red shacks at Parchman Prison in Mississippi where these conjugal visits are permitted were first built for the black prisons during the time when they labored in the cotton fields like slaves. "Ironically, these visits were granted to keep the blacks satisfied so they would continue to work without pay."

<sup>8</sup>John Stapleton, "The Inquiring Photographer," Daily News, New York, September 19, 1975, p. 56.

<sup>9</sup>Frank Caprio, op.cit., p. 302.

<sup>10</sup>Lee Rainwater and William L. Yancey, "Black Families and the White House: The Political Implications of the Moynihan Report Controversy," Trans-Action 3, 5 (July/August 1966), p. 8.

APPENDIX I

## PRISON SAMPLE

## RAW DATA

- |   |                                    |  |                |
|---|------------------------------------|--|----------------|
| 1. Did you live in a slum area when you were growing up (a) always (b) often (c) sometimes (d) seldom or never. | (a) 17<br>(b) 1<br>(c) 8<br>(d) 31 | From South<br>From New York City<br>From upstate or<br>other areas | 16<br>19<br>22 |
| 2. How many children are in the family you grew up in? (a) 5 or more (b) 4 (c) 3 (d) 1 or 2                     | (a) 33<br>(b) 6<br>(c) 5<br>(d) 13 |  |                |

## Homosexual Involvement

only child	4 out of	7
2 children	4 out of	6
3 children	5 out of	5
4 children	3 out of	6
5 or more	<u>20</u> out of	<u>33</u>
	36	57 Total

- |   |                                    |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 3. Did your father or substitute father have a steady job when you were growing up? (a) very seldom (b) sometimes (c) usually (d) always (e) no father present. | (a) 2<br>(b) 6<br>(c) 39<br>(d) 10 |
|---|------------------------------------|

- |   |                                    |   |
|---|------------------------------------|---|
| 4. Did your mother or substitute mother work while you were growing up? (a) always (b) usually (c) not often (d) rarely or never. | (a) 36<br>(b) 2<br>(c) 7<br>(d) 12 | Homosexual<br>(a) 21<br>(b) 1<br>(c) 6<br>(d) 8 |
|---|------------------------------------|---|

- |  |                                    |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 5. Was your family on welfare when you were growing up? (a) always (b) usually (c) not often (d) seldom/never. | (a) 13<br>(b) 4<br>(c) 2<br>(d) 38 |
|--|------------------------------------|

- |  |                                    |   |
|--|------------------------------------|---|
| 6. When your parents were busy or were not around, were you left with other people to care for you? (a) very often (b) a lot (c) not usually (d) seldom/never. | (a) 24<br>(b) 9<br>(c) 2<br>(d) 19 | When adjusted, includes kids taking care of themselves etc. |
|--|------------------------------------|---|

7. What was the highest grade of education completed by your father or substitute father?  
 (a) 1-8 (b) some high school (c) High School Grad (d) some college or better (e) don't know (f) no father present.
- |     |                     |
|-----|---------------------|
| (a) | 25                  |
| (b) | 7                   |
| (c) | 12 High School Grad |
| (d) | 2 College Work      |
| (e) | 2                   |
| (f) | 9                   |
8. What was the highest grade completed by your mother or substitute mother (a) 1-8 (b) some High School (c) High School Grad (d) some college or better (e) don't know (f) no mother present.
- |     |    |
|-----|----|
| (a) | 30 |
| (b) | 17 |
| (c) | 1  |
| (d) | 5  |
| (e) | 4  |
| (f) | 1  |
9. What was the highest level of education completed by you?  
 (a) 1-8 (b) some High School (c) High School Grad (d) some college or better.
- |     |    |
|-----|----|
| (a) | 8  |
| (b) | 42 |
| (c) | 3  |
| (d) | 4  |
10. Father or substitute father's main occupation was (a) unskilled worker (b) skilled worker (c) clerical worker (d) business background above the clerical level (e) no father
- |     |            |
|-----|------------|
| (a) | 11         |
| (b) | 30         |
| (c) | Clerical   |
| (d) | 3 Business |
| (e) | 10         |
11. Mother or substitute mother's occupation was (a) unskilled worker (b) skilled worker (c) clerical worker (d) business background above the clerical level (e) housewife.
- |     |    |
|-----|----|
| (a) | 28 |
| (b) | 13 |
| (c) |    |
| (d) | 2  |
| (e) | 14 |
12. Did your father and mother or substitute parents fight when you were growing up? (a) yes a lot (b) not a whole lot, but enough (c) not that much (d) seldom/never (e) no father.
- |     |    |
|-----|----|
| (a) | 17 |
| (b) | 5  |
| (c) | 9  |
| (d) | 16 |
| (e) | 10 |
13. Your attendance at church or Sunday School was (a) very rare (b) not often (c) often (d) every week.
- |     |    |
|-----|----|
| (a) | 4  |
| (b) | 3  |
| (c) | 12 |
| (d) | 38 |
14. Your mother or substitute mother's attendance at church was (a) rare/never (b) not often (c) often (d) every week.
- |     |    |
|-----|----|
| (a) | 4  |
| (b) | 13 |
| (c) | 9  |
| (d) | 31 |

15. Your father or substitute father's attendance at church was (a) rare/never (b) not often (c) often (d) every week (e) no father. (a) 31 (b) 5 (c) 1 (d) 10 (e) 10
16. Were sex, violence, stealing and drugs a common thing out on the streets in the area where you grew up? (a) yes, everyone knew of these things (b) while we knew about these things it still came as a shock when someone we were acquainted with got involved (c) it was not so common where we lived (d) it was unusual where we lived. (a) 21 (b) 2 (c) 6 (d) 28
17. Did you have girlfriends or boyfriends who went to a training school, reformatory, or jail when you were growing up? (a) yes, a lot (b) some did (c) not that many (d) none.
18. Did any member of your family or close relatives go to jail, training school, penitentiary? If so, who? (a) 25 (b) 32
19. Do you think that the fact that you were poor influenced your life? If so how?

Yes = 13  
No = 44

Yes. I hated to be poor. I wanted to be rich.

Yes. If I was born rich I wouldn't get into trouble.

Yes. Never could have the things I wanted and this was the only way I could get them.

Yes. Made me want.

No. We are made to think. I've been here 11 months and I have been pondering me, cleaning out my insides. When you leave from where I've been and go where you're headed, you feel like a rich woman.

Only had 5 dresses a year and cotton. Very poor. No, not true. It was not true. It was the treatment I got.

Yes. Made mayonnaise sandwiches when young and said this will never happen to me when I grow up.

20. As an adult did you live in a slum area? (a) always (b) often (c) sometimes (d) seldom/never.
- |     |    |  |
|-----|----|--|
| (a) | 27 |  |
| (b) | 3  |  |
| (c) | 9  |  |
| (d) | 18 |  |
21. How many children do you have (a) 4 or more (b) 3 (c) 2 (d) 1 (e) none but once pregnant (f) none, never pregnant.
- |     |    |                      |
|-----|----|----------------------|
| (a) | 8  | 75.4% with child and |
| (b) | 6  | 84.2% either with    |
| (c) | 12 | children or once     |
| (d) | 17 | pregnant.            |
| (e) | 5  |                      |
| (f) | 9  |                      |
22. Your occupation in the free world was (a) unskilled worker (b) skilled worker (c) clerical worker (d) business background above the clerical level (e) housewife (f) none.
- |     |    |  |
|-----|----|--|
| (a) | 20 |  |
| (b) | 12 |  |
| (c) | 5  |  |
| (d) | 3  |  |
| (e) | 4  |  |
| (f) | 13 |  |
23. When you were working, how good was your attendance record? (a) very bad (b) fair (c) good (d) excellent (e) don't apply.
- |     |    |  |
|-----|----|--|
| (a) | 8  |  |
| (b) | 2  |  |
| (c) | 26 |  |
| (d) | 10 |  |
| (e) | 11 |  |
24. Were you working just before coming to prison? (a) not at all (b) sometimes (c) usually (d) always
- |     |    |  |
|-----|----|--|
| (a) | 38 |  |
| (b) | 2  |  |
| (c) | 4  |  |
| (d) | 13 |  |
25. Were you on welfare as an adult? (a) always (b) most of the time (c) sometimes (d) seldom/never.
- |     |    |  |
|-----|----|--|
| (a) | 15 |  |
| (b) | 7  |  |
| (c) | 15 |  |
| (d) | 20 |  |
26. If you were not on welfare and did not support yourself fully with a job, did you have an illegal income? (a) always (b) usually (c) sometimes (d) rarely or never (e) no answer.
- |     |    |  |
|-----|----|--|
| (a) | 15 |  |
| (b) | 7  |  |
| (c) | 15 |  |
| (d) | 20 |  |
27. Did certain people help out with the finances? (a) regularly (b) quite a bit (c) sometimes only (d) rarely or never happened.
- |     |    |  |
|-----|----|--|
| (a) | 43 |  |
| (b) | 1  |  |
| (c) | 2  |  |
| (d) | 11 |  |

28. Did you find it necessary to rip off, do some boosting, steal a little in order to make ends meet? (a) always was necessary (b) often (c) only sometimes (d) seldom/never.
- (a) 12  
(b) 8  
(c) 1  
(d) 36
29. How old were you the first time you were arrested? What was the offense?

8	1	21	4	44	1	Possession/Sale	16
9	1	22	1	57	1	Grand Larceny	3
11	1	23	1	70+	1	Vagrancy	3
12	2	24	3			Attempt, Homicide	1
13	1	25	5			Robbery	4
14	1	26	2			?	1
15	1	28	1			Welfare Fraud	3
16	4	29	2			Stolen Goods	1
17	6	30	2			Disorderly	1
18	7	41	1			Petty Larceny	8
19	5	43	2			Murder, etc.	6
						Kidnapping	1
						Assault	7
						Bootleg Liquor	1
						Freedom March	1
						Running away from home	1

30. What are you in here for? (b) How long have you been in? (c) How long is your sentence? (d) Have you been in jail before (e) Ever been in training school? (f) If so, at what age?

(a)		(c)			
Possession or Sale	18	Zip -	3	=	10
Homicide	10	Zip -	4	=	6
Armed Robbery	5	Zip -	5	=	9
Grand Larceny	2	Zip -	6	=	1
Burglary	0	Zip -	7	=	3
Violation of Probation	1	Zip -	8	=	1
Attempted Homicide	1	Zip -	9	=	1
No Answer	1	Zip -	10	=	5
Welfare Fraud	1	Zip	12	=	1
Assault with deadly weapon	7	Zip -	15	=	3
Manslaughter	10	1 -	Life	=	6
Kidnapping	1	1½ -	5	=	1
		2 -	4	=	1
		2½ -	Life	=	1
		3 -	Life	=	1
		5 years		=	1
		5 -	15	=	2

30. (Con't.)

(b)

1 month	1
3 months	5
6 months	5
12 months	15
18 months	12
24 months	12
36 months	4
Too long	1
4 years	1
6 years	1

(c)

6	-	18	=	1
15	-	Life	=	1
20	-	Life	=	1
Too Long			=	1

(d)

No	=	25
Yes	=	32

(e)

No	=	41
Yes	=	32

(f)

12 years old	11 years old
13 years old	10 years old
12 years old	15 years old
15 years old	13 years old
13 years old	15 years old
15 years old	15 years old
13 years old	12 years old
9 years of age	

In training school at 12 for homicide.

In for homicide, my husband.

In training school many times for messing with this woman.

Attempted to kill her also.

Possession - Yes. In at 13 - Truancy

At Hudson, 15, Stolen Goods.

In jail for shooting a woman but was never there to do it. The witness was mad because I had cut her Aunt when she broke in my house and she was getting even. The Jury found me not guilty 5 times and each time the judge wouldn't accept the decision and sent them back to the room until they said, guilty. The woman they say I shot didn't even show up in court.

20-life for possession.

Busted before for drugs. Federal 4-1/2 yrs. sentence.

Was arrested before but dismissed.

In jail before but not prison.

I was accused of robbery in addition to homicide. I had no part in that robbery.

Homicide reduced to Manslaughter I.

I got 9 felonies against me all together and only got a zip - 5 which is not bad.

30. (Con't.)

I was not guilty of this. It was a stupid mistake of mine in being nice to kids who robbed someone while waiting in my car as I was shopping.

31. When you were on the outside and knew you were going to prison, what worried you the most about the whole idea?

I hadn't did anything. It was unfair to go to prison. Punished for something I didn't do.

Going to jail. Worried about what would happen in there.

That I had taken my husband's life.

Didn't believe it would happen.

What I'd go thru here. What it'd be like.

Nothing.

Away from children.

Worried about my parents.

My daughter and how old she is going to be when I get out.

Didn't think it would happen. Canard I'm arrested on. I had faith in the criminal justice system.

Could I cope?

My kids.

Away from my people.

Losing everything. After I stopped using drugs, I got the time.

Leaving my child - daughter 9 years old.

My son and my house.

Didn't believe I was coming. Didn't know what to expect.

Leaving business and family.

Leaving my daughter again.

Nothing. I was facing 25 - life and 5 years sounded good. I had stabbed this butch 3 times after she tried to beat me up over a woman and she died.

I was framed. They found 11 oz. of pot in basement, but 7 adults lived in my house. It wasn't mine but I owned the house. Cops sneaked in a scale and pretended it was mine.

Family. Had daughter and son in college.

Leaving my son, my man and my mother.

What hurt I caused godmother. Being confined. Harm it would do my family.

Would it work what I planned to do? Instead of doing time in county jail, I wanted to come here, enter drug program and get myself together.

How could they convict me for something they never found (the gun)?

My freedom being taken away. Separated from my kids.

Leaving my children.

## 31. (Con't.)

My man.

Being away from children, mother, my man.

That I would get sick in prison. I was strung out.

Maintaining payments on my property - \$1600 per month. My husband was in too. The purpose was to cause us to lose the property.

If I was strong enough to do this time.

Felt there was no way I could do it. Why am I suffering this for?  
My trial was unfair.

Coming to prison at this age after I had done a lot. I did hustling but this was scary.

I got into anybody's car even when sick to get a fix. Men would try to take the money back.

I had to protect myself.

Leaving my kids.

The tough women here. Possibility of violence. The routine.  
Only 3 people I know from the streets.

Worried about someone using a piece of glass wrapped up for use as a knife. I have see some.

Mother is sick.

Didn't like to be locked up.

How it's going to be like. If I could handle it. Women maybe tough. But the heavier your case, such as murder, armed assault, etc. nobody bothers you. They are afraid to.

Not worried. Had aunt here.

My children.

Would I survive? Girls cut one another and go thru changes.

How mother would react.

My son.

First thing I thought about was electric chair and gas chamber.

Worried about my kids.

My kids. What was going to happen and effect on them. My crime wasn't that bad.

My drug business. Since my child was alone and mother also who was a recent widow.

I would have to start over again with my life when I came out again.  
My daughter is now so young. Wouldn't know her as she grows.

I knew I had to go and it didn't bother me.

My kids.

My children, my man. Giving up what you want to do.

Kicking the habit.

What it was like.

Could I get high in jail? Get heroin? Not being free.

In a daze. Didn't know what to do. Promised myself I wouldn't let other people get me into trouble again.

32. What things do you miss the most from the outside?

Family, working, church.

My baby, mother, sister, brothers.

Family.

My man, child, house, car, everything.

Family, man, everything.

Child, family.

My freedom.

Not being able to do what I want to do.

Money. Men. My family.

My son.

Doing what I want to do. Don't like to be ordered.

My family.

My people.

Money. Reefers. Freedom.

Child.

My son and my house.

My home. My man.

Serenity of home and family.

My family. That's about it.

Mother and brother.

My freedom of being a woman. In here can't be a woman. Treated as mentally retarded children.

Being in own home and house.

Man. Clothes. Apartment. Family.

My family.

My family.

Home, kids.

Family.

My children. They are my whole life.

My man.

Children.

My man.

Children. Husband. Freedom to preach.

Freedom.

Child and family.

My family, children

Food. Don't like it at all. Ain't cooked right.

Child, family.

Mother.

Drinking and running the streets.

My man.

My family.

My children.

Doing what I want to do.

32. (Con't.)  
 Getting high.  
 My son.  
 My family.  
 Kids.  
 My kids.  
 Being free to do what I want when I want to.  
 My family. Being on the streets.  
 Family, wife, husband and friend.  
 My money.  
 My children.  
 My children.  
 My family.  
 My woman. Daughter. Free to do what I want.  
 Luxuries and I had them all and in many countries and cities.
33. How many real good friends (a) 22  
 that you can definitely trust (b) 23  
 have you made in this insti- (c) 9  
 tution so far? (a) none (d) 3  
 (b) 1 or 2 (c) 3 or 4 (d) 5  
 or more.
34. About how many letters or (a) 2  
 postcards per month do you (b) 14  
 usually receive from people (c) 10  
 in the free world? (a) none (d) 12  
 (b) 1 or 2 (c) 3 or 4 (d) 5- (e) 19  
 10 (e) 11 or more.
35. About how many letters per (a) 5  
 month would you say you (b) 20  
 write yourself to people on (c) 8  
 the outside? (a) none (b) (d) 5  
 1 or 2 (c) 3 or 4 (d) 5-10 (e) 19  
 (e) 11 or more.
36. About how many visits from (a) 20  
 relatives or friends from the (b) 18  
 free world do you usually (c) 18  
 have per month? (a) none (d) 2  
 (b) 1 or 2 (c) 3 (d) 4 or 5 (e) 1  
 (e) 6 or more.
37. Who were the people who (a) 31  
 visited you? (a) mostly (b) 3  
 relatives (b) mostly a girl- (c)  
 friend or girlfriends (c) (d) 1  
 mostly men friends (d) (e) 2  
 mostly the man I was going (f) 3  
 with (e) mostly lawyers, (g) 17  
 (g) no one.

38. Do you feel you were ever raped or forced to do something sexually you didn't want to do when you were growing up?
- Yes = 20  
No = 37

Raped at 13 by young man.

Raped at 11. He didn't penetrate. Was white and 56 years old.

Raped. Mother's boyfriend at 10.

Yes. By a relative.

Raped. 19.

Yes. Raped at 13. There were more than 1. They got 2 of them.

Raped at 26. Someone came in the window.

Raped at 19.

Raped at 12. Big teenagers. 10 of them. Up here in the North.

Raped. 20. Was married then.

Raped at 11. By 40 year old man.

Raped. No details.

Raped at 12 by own father.

Raped at 15. I was under the influence of acid and baby's father had me without my consent.

Yes. Raped at 9. Man 47 beat me with a dog chain.

Yes. Brother did something to me at 14.

Yes. Raped at 18.

Yes. Raped at 18. My childhood was strict and nobody could get to me.

39. How old were you when you had your first sexual experience?

Age Breakdown

8	-	3
11	-	1
12	-	5
13	-	5
14	-	8
15	-	9
16	-	10
17	-	6
18	-	6
22	-	1
Young	-	1
Don't remember	-	1

40. Were you ever in a situation where you were strapped for money and you decided to engage in a little quick sex to help yourself over the rough spot? (a) it happened often (b) happened sometimes (c) has happened only once or twice (d) never did it. (a) 20 (b) (c) 1 (d) 36
41. Do you ever have a woman offer you money or gifts for sex? (a) yes, several (b) a couple offered (c) only one (d) none ever did. (a) 21 (b) 1 (c) 1 (d) 34
42. Did you ever fool around sexually with another girl or woman on the outside even before you went to jail or detention of any kind? Yes 31 No 25 Don't want to answer 1
43. If you had sex with a woman on the outside, how old were you the first time?
- |        |               |
|--------|---------------|
| 8 = 3  | 17 = 1        |
| 11 = 1 | 18 = 1        |
| 12 = 4 | 19 = 2        |
| 13 = 4 | 20 = 3        |
| 14 = 1 | 22 = 3        |
| 15 = 1 | 25 = 1        |
| 16 = 2 | No answer = 5 |
44. If you did it on the outside, did you engage in it (a) often (b) once in a while (c) or only once or twice. (a) 15 (b) 9 (c) 2 No answer - 6
45. Did you have sex with another woman for the first time in a prison or training school? Yes 4 No 52 Don't want to answer 1
46. If you did do it in prison, how often did you or do you engage in it? (a) a lot (b) once in a while (c) did it only once a or twice (d) doesn't apply (e) won't answer. (a) 15 (b) 7 (c) 2 (d) 25 (e) 2

47. If you did do it in prison, how old were you the very first time?

8 - 1	23 - 1
12 - 1	24 - 1
15 - 3	27 - 3
16 - 2	28 - 1
18 - 2	30 - 1
19 - 2	35 - 1
20 - 1	40 - 1
21 - 3	No answer - 5
22 - 3	

48. In your opinion, did sex with another woman start for most black women while in prison or training school or did it happen for the very first time on the outside?

	Distribution
In prison	- 33
Before	- 19
Don't know	- 5

49. If you fooled around with women sexually at any time, what part did you take?  
(a) femme (b) butch (c) both parts (d) doesn't apply (e) don't want to answer.

(a)	19
(b)	11
(c)	.5
(d)	21
(e)	1

50. If some black women never fool around sexually with another woman, why do you think they never do it.

Because they respect themselves.

Because they have more respect for themselves.

Because of their pride.

They haven't met that certain somebody. If I was to like a woman, I wouldn't have to be in jail.

Don't know.

They got a man.

Don't know.

They just don't like women like that. But they do ask questions. Afraid of it.

Don't know.

People in here make it dirty in here. Degenerate acts.

I believe in God thoroughly and believe he created man for woman. God put me here for a test or trial. There is a purpose for being here. An accomplishment is expected of me.

I can wait until I get out in the street. A woman can't tell me nothing. A woman is worse than any man you can have. A lot of women come in here with their people. Busted together.

They are masturbating.

## 50. (Con't.)

Deep inner feelings against it. Their thing is for a man.  
 Can't understand 2 women rubbing pussies. What they see  
 disgusts them in here. And the women involved with you  
 talk about you to others. Brag.

I like men too much. Very much against it.

Because they don't want to do it. I won't want to do some-  
 thing I never did in the streets.

They don't want to be bothered.

Surrounded with people I'd never associate with on the outside.

The stigma would be terrible with a woman of this type.

If they ain't doing it with another woman, they must be  
 masturbating. It's impossible to go without. Can't understand.

Some people see it as so dirty they can't indulge in it. They  
 psyched themselves into this.

I don't believe in it. Maybe she could satisfy me but I don't  
 want to do it. I was raised to believe a man is for a woman  
 and vice versa.

I never wanted to do it. Afraid to do it. I like sex too much  
 and if I get to like that stuff --- I want a man ---.

Time is not long enough. Big time will make you do it.

Very short time. No reason to do it. Some girls know them  
 from the streets and they don't want it to get back.

Afraid, not sure.

Don't know. Don't do it.

I would rather have a man. I can wait. She has what I have.  
 Nothing to offer me.

I find it repulsive. They still look like women to me even  
 with hair on the chest.

Just don't feel interested in no woman.

My mother didn't bring me into the world to mess with another  
 woman. She's got the same thing I've got. The long termers  
 got nothing to lose.

They would feel degenerate. They don't fit into that category.  
 Maybe their pride. The way they carry themselves.

They want to hold womanly pride and dignity. They follow  
 someone else's program instead of their own when they do this.

Out of fear. Never experienced it before and afraid of what  
 it will do to them.

Because they are women. Strong women. Someone who appreciates  
 their womanhood.

Average one who wouldn't do it finds it not acceptable. But  
 there's some pretty hot little women up here.

Never had any desire for a woman. Don't appeal to me.

They have too much respect for men.

There are quite a few like that in here. I don't understand  
 them. Why they don't do it.

50. (Con't.)

Scared.

They only like men.

I don't know what is wrong with them.

They are God fearing. Homosexuality is abominable in the sight of God.

No idea.

They are determined women. They are a man's woman and I don't knock them for it.

They have a way of masturbating and would rather do that. But everybody has a secret someone. You just don't know who they got.

They are old womens. In here they are in their 40s and 50s and will not do it. All the young broads will do it eventually.

The old ones are past their prime. They got self respect for themselves because of age. How would they explain it to their kids? Would be embarrassing.

Maybe it is how they were raised.

I can explain the ones that do better. They are reaching out for something. Someone to care for them. They don't have any confidence in themselves. They are reaching out for the male image.

They're raised that way. Afraid of not being normal. They never had to do it in life. Your position plays a big part in that. But a lot who pretend to be so feminine are doing it at times. The saying goes, "Watch the girls with the curls."

Some women are stronger and don't want to do it. And some are afraid.

Morals, background, way brought up. Haven't found the right companion yet. Don't want one who is totally obvious.

It's a game in here. I'm not in here for that. For commissary reasons. Not support a woman's habit here. Might do it outside - that's different. Have a choice.

They don't accept it and it is really not right. They wouldn't want their children or family to find out. I only did it when real hot and didn't return anything.

Afraid of how they might feel. But they secretly want to do it.

Don't like idea of going with women.

Fear, they might like it.

Don't want to get involved in it.

51. Now I'm going to ask you a question that women have been hiding ever since they learned to count. How old are you?

Age Count

18 - 1	21 - 1
19 - 1	22 - 3
20 - 2	23 - 2

## 51. (Con't.)

## Age Count

24 -	7	37 -	2
25 -	3	40 -	2
26 -	2	41 -	1
27 -	2	43 -	1
28 -	5	44 -	1
29 -	2	45 -	1
30 -	2	46 -	1
31 -	4	48 -	1
32 -	4	55 -	1
33 -	1	58 -	1
36 -	2	70 -	1

52. One final question. Below is a list of words which are used at times in various female correctional facilities. Some people claim that these words come from the black neighborhoods outside. In your opinion, did these words come from the black culture or from the whites? You may answer "black," "don't know" or both."

## Bad (meaning good)

B = 50  
 W = 1  
 DK =  
 BO = 4

## Charity Goods

B = 10  
 W = 21  
 DK = 20  
 BO = 4

## Behind that

B = 27  
 W = 9  
 DK = 12  
 Bo = 6

## Check it out

B = 50  
 W =  
 DK =  
 Bo = 5

## Big House

B = 19  
 W = 20  
 DK = 11  
 Bo = 5

## Cool it

B = 40  
 W = 7  
 DK =  
 Bo = 8

## Boost

B = 42  
 W = 7  
 DK = 0  
 Bo = 6

## Cop out

B = 30  
 W = 15  
 DK =  
 Bo = 10

## Boss Understanding

B = 42  
 W = 3  
 DK = 4  
 Bo = 6

## Dig it

B = 47  
 W = 1  
 DK =  
 Bo = 7

## 52. (Con't.)

## Box (female sex organs)

B = 41  
W = 5  
DK = 3  
Bo = 6

## A Broad (woman)

B = 30  
W = 12  
DK =  
Bo = 13

## Bulldagger

B = 42  
W = 6  
DK =  
Bo = 7

## Take care of Business

B = 47  
W =  
DK = 2  
Bo = 6

## A Flick

B = 33  
W = 12  
DK = 4  
Bo = 6

## Off the Wall

B = 46  
W = 2  
DK =  
Bo = 7

## Found a Home

B = 30  
W = 7  
DK = 13  
Bo = 5

## Have a Party

B = 25  
W = 19  
DK = 5  
Bo = 6

## A Gig

B = 46  
W = 4  
DK =  
Bo = 5

## Queer

B = 10  
W = 39  
DK =  
Bo = 6

Go Upside your  
Head

B = 52  
W =  
DK =  
Bo = 3

## Scarf

B = 15  
W = 5  
DK = 33  
Bo = 2

## Play the Dozens

B = 45  
W = 2  
DK = 3  
Bo = 5

## That's a Drag

B = 32  
W = 15  
DK = 2  
Bo = 6

## Use an Equalizer

B = 23  
W = 18  
DK = 12  
Bo = 2

## Fay Broad

B = 28  
W = 15  
DK = 8  
Bo = 4

## Trick Baby

B = 41  
W = 2  
DK =  
Bo = 11

## Walkin' Time

B = 26  
W = 16  
DK = 8  
Bo = 5

## Makin' it Together

B = 35  
W = 12  
DK =  
Bo = 8

## A Lay

B = 17  
W = 34  
DK = 2  
Bo = 2

## 52. (Con't.)

## Grey Broad

B = 32  
W = 13  
DK = 8  
Bo = 2

## Her Snatch

B = 37  
W = 8  
DK = 5  
Bo = 5

## Money Maker

B = 46  
W = 1  
DK = 2  
Bo = 6

## A Hand Job

B = 18  
W = 25  
DK = 4  
Bo = 8

## Solid

B = 50  
W = 1  
DK =  
Bo = 4

## A Hooker

B = 15  
W = 30  
DK = 3  
Bo = 7

## Something Else

B = 47  
W = 1  
DK = 1  
Bo = 6

## Jive

B = 47  
W = 5  
DK =  
Bo = 3

## Sounds (Music)

B = 46  
W = 1  
DK = 1  
Bo = 7

## Drop the Belt

B = 6  
W = 7  
DK = 4  
Bo = 38

## Juicehead

B = 37  
W = 10  
DK = 2  
Bo = 6

## To Split

B = 42  
W = 7  
DK =  
Bo = 6

## To Go Off (crazy, do wrong thing)

B = 39  
W = 3  
DK = 3  
Bo = 10

## Later for it

B = 50  
W = 1  
DK =  
Bo = 4

## Suede Broad

B = 30  
W = 4  
DK = 20  
Bo = 1

## That's not my Shot

B = 40  
W = 5  
DK = 2  
Bo = 8

## My People

B = 32  
W = 7  
DK = 6  
Bo = 10

## To be tight with Someone

B = 50  
W =  
DK =  
Bo = 5

APPENDIX II

## GIEMTO SAMPLE

## RAW DATA

Questions 1, 2, 9, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 24, 25, 36, 37, 38, 40, 44, 46, 51, 56, 68, 73, 82, 87, 99, 109, 112, 113, 133, 134, 137 and 141 have been omitted.

3. (a) What is your opinion of Women's Lib and/or the Lesbian Organizations?
- (b) Do you think they are good for black women to join?
- (a) Some people think that Women's Lib is an organization to take over mens' jobs.  
I have nothing to do with that. Same with lesbian organizations.  
It's all right but not good for black women. We always been independent and dominant.  
Don't know too much about them. But black women are already equal.  
Don't know too much about them, but I think they are more for white than blacks.  
Good to project image of being a woman. Lesbian as well as black.  
Great, because many women were put down for so many years. Women as capable as men.  
Everybody likes to have their rights.  
No. Black women always been liberated.  
As a black woman, I've always been liberated. It is much more important to be united with black men.  
Don't get into that too much. Don't believe in ruling of anything.  
A liberated woman is more for herself than other people. I'm not liberated because I prefer to do for other people. So the answer is yes or no.  
Women should be toe to toe with men. Women can't make another female pregnant. Other than that tho, they shouldn't be limited. Yes.  
This is a feminine movement for feminine women looking for recognition for the women in the working world. I am not not up to date on it too much. But blacks should explore in every direction.

3. (b) Yes 14  
 Yes and No 1  
 No 23  
 No answer 2  
 Don't know 2
4. Did you, or did anyone you know ever take part in a sex interview?  
 Yes 4  
 No 38
5. In what general area of New York (or elsewhere) do you live?  
 Harlem 16  
 Manhattan 2  
 Bronx 9  
 Brooklyn 10  
 Queens 2  
 A little outside the city 3
6. (a) Who do you live with? (b) Are your mother and father together?  
 (c) How many brothers and sisters are in the family? (d) Are you  
 the first child, somewhere in the middle, or the baby of the family?
- (a) My parents 1  
 My mother 1  
 My father 1  
 My sister 1  
 My husband  
 My Grandmother 1  
 My kinds 8  
 My aunt 1  
 My female lover 6  
 My female lover and  
 my/our kids 7  
 My male lover 4  
 My male lover and  
 my/our kids 1  
 I live alone 6  
 I am just out of jail 1

## 6. (a) (Cont'd.)

Mother and my boyfriend	1
Mother and her boyfriend	1
Grandmother and her friend	1

(b) Yes	5
No	37
Mother deceased	7
Father deceased	11

(c) Table      Number of children in family

1	1	9	6
3	5	10	2
4	1	11	2
5	8	13	1
6	5	14	1
7	1		
8	10		

(d) First born	5
Middle	29
Baby of family	6
Only child	1

## 7. (a) In what year were you born? (b) Where? (c) Where were you raised? (d) How far did you go in school?

(a) 1920 - 2	1944 - 3
1925 - 1	1946 - 1
1928 - 1	1947 - 1
1930 - 1	1948 - 4
1933 - 1	1949 - 1
1934 - 1	1950 - 1
1936 - 1	1951 - 3
1937 - 2	1952 - 4
1938 - 1	1953 - 1
1939 - 1	1954 - 4
1942 - 1	1955 - 3
1943 - 3	

7.	(b)	Harlem	7
		New York	15
		North	3
		South	13
		Out of country	1
		Delaware	1
		No answer	1
		Western farm country	1
	(c)	In the South	3
		In the South and California	1
		In the North	30
		In both places	7
		Delaware	1
	(d)	9th grade	5
		To 10th grade	4
		To 11th grade	9
		To 12th grade	4
		Graduated High School	7
		Some college	8
		College grad	1
		Trade school	
		8th grade	2
		Equivalency Diploma	1
8.	(a)	Were your real mother and father or substitute parents born and raised in New York? (b) Where?	
		Yes -	5
		No -	37
	(b)	In the North	4
		Outside of country	2
		In Western Wheat Belt Area	1
		In the South	34
		Indiana	1

10. (a) Did he keep a steady job when you were growing up?  
 (b) Was your mother usually working?
- |            |    |
|------------|----|
| (a) Yes    | 27 |
| Sometimes  | 1  |
| No         | 10 |
| Don't know | 4  |
| (b) Yes    | 27 |
| No answer  | 1  |
11. Was your family on welfare during this time?
- |                |    |
|----------------|----|
| Yes            | 25 |
| No             | 16 |
| Don't remember | 1  |
12. (a) If you've got a substitute parent living at your home, (b) how many substitutes have you had?
- |                                  |    |
|----------------------------------|----|
| (a) No substitute parent in home | 28 |
| Did have substitute              | 13 |
| Moved in with Aunt and Uncle     | 1  |
| (b) 1 -                          | 5  |
| 2 -                              | 4  |
| 3 -                              | 2  |
| 4 -                              | 3  |
| Many -                           | 1  |
13. (a) If your real parents split up (b) how old were you at the time?
- |                      |    |
|----------------------|----|
| (a) Did not split up | 8  |
| Did split up         | 23 |
| Don't know           | 3  |
| One of them died     | 7  |
| Never lived together | 2  |

13.	(b)	3 and under	7	15
		4	11	16
		5	1	17
		6	1	18
		7	2	19
		8	2	20
		9		21
		10	4	I was grown up 2
		11		Split and
		12	2	together again 1
		13	2	

14. (a) Does your mother or father have outside children?  
 (b) Which one?

Yes	30
Don't know	2
No	10

(b) My father	17
Both	5
My mother	8

19. How did you get along with your father or father substitute as a child?

Got along good	27
No answer	1
So - so	3
Don't know	2
No man around	2

20. How did you get along with your mother or mother substitute when you were a child?

Got along good	30
Not so good	3
So - so	8
Had none	1

22. (a) How close are you to your father? (b) Your mother? (c) Did you want to be like either your father or mother? (d) Which one?

(a) Very close	20
Not close	18
Doesn't apply	3
So - so	1
(b) Very close	28
Not close	11
So - so	2
No mother	1
(c) Yes	9
No answer	4
No	27
(d) Like father	4
Like mother	4
Like both	1

23. Did your father and mother or their substitutes fight a lot when you were growing up? If so, about what?

Yes	24
No	9
Sometimes	2
Don't remember	6

I never heard my father curse.

Yes money. He did some running around. Drinking. Died from sclerosis of the liver.

Yes. He got drunk and beat mother.

Yes. Money or numbers or women in street.

Hell yes. Drinking. His running around. Money problems altho he was part owner of a tire company.

Yes, money. Women. Running around. Losing his job. Everything.

Don't remember but I did see him hit other women.

Yes. Whoring around and would start a fight Money no problem

Fought about everything.

Yes. All of them. Money, women, drinking.

Don't know. I heard they did.

## 23. (Cont'd.)

A boyfriend beat her up. I don't know why. She just picked up and left with me.

Yes. When she aggravated him with her drinking.

Yes. Over money.

Yes. A lot. Money. Gambler father. Lose his whole pay-check. Other women.

About his girlfriend. Incessantly.

Yes. Money. Whiskey.

No. He never argued. He gave in and my mother talked to empty air. It was about drinking, gambling, money. Food.

Yes. With a lot of different men.

## 26. What was your father's attitude toward your mother and women in general?

He was trusting toward her and other women.

Thought they were robots to serve him. The hell with the kids - only him.

Don't know but substitute acted like womenfolks meant to exist for them. Mama didn't keep them around too long. I guess she got tired of them.

He used them. Changeable. Chased new ones all the time. To have a good time. Not responsible. Talked bad about them. Suspicious.

He loved them to death, felt superior.

He is possessive. Things should be his way. I seen him beat up his wife. Slap her around.

Will lay any woman. He laid own cousin.

Treats women in whatever role he's play at the time.

Never seen him react.

He loved her but couldn't stand her drinking. He also didn't smoke.

He was a wild one. Active with women. He doesn't trust anyone and says so.

Don't know. Never heard him argue back with mother.

He is a woman chaser. He trusted them. He still chases women at his age.

He took advantage of them.

Treated women good. But I seen him lose his temper and run my mother right out of the house. He was like a crazy man.

They say he was a lover. He chased women.

27. What was your mother's attitude toward your father and men in general when you were coming up?

Trusting. They were religious and when you raise 14 children, you walk a straight line especially in a small town. It was a terrible thing to have a baby out of wedlock.

Thinks they are all right. Some are good, some bad.

Men generally no good. Would take advantage of you.

She told me, "Don't mess with no black motherfuckers when you grow up.

Mama didn't trust men. She said men pay women for a fool. Got to be careful.

Resentful. Men no good.

Loved him and that's why they fought. Everybody said I looked like him altho he was not real father.

She pleased father. Now her attitude is shallow. Father got special meals and ate alone. We were upstairs before he got home. She kept house well.

Resents them. Stepfather and her are splits. Don't want nothing to do with men. She is a sickly person.

She didn't like to be around men. Didn't trust them.

She felt as though if she loved you, she loved you. Man is head of household and felt he should be.

Didn't trust them. If I talked to a boy or see him, she would have a fit. She wanted me to be right there with her.

Distrustful of men.

Didn't trust them. She wanted attention. Never wanted to be alone.

Good type of person. Good heart.

Grandma likes men. Don't know if she trusts them.

Only heard her talk of younger brother's father but only saw him 5 or 6 years.

Father was a bootlegger. Well to do. She was OK as long as she got her own way.

That's a good question. I don't know her personal opinion. I think of mother as a legalized prostitute. -

They weren't shit.

She didn't trust men. Told me they were no good. Told me to never get married. But she changed her changed her story when I got older.

Never heard that kind of conversation in the house.

She told us over and over again, "don't trust no man. They ain't no good."

Trusted them. Mother was a little flirt.

## 27. (Cont'd.)

She was the bossy type. Kept saying my father had no ambition. My mother had a bad experience before meeting my father. She didn't trust no men and she told me not to trust them either. Her first man was going to marry her but had 3 girls pregnant. They ran him out of town.

Mother bossy. Didn't trust no man. Said they were no good. right to their face.

## 28. (a) Who was the real boss in your home? Your mother or father?

(a) Father	10
Mother	26
No father	2
Equal	3
No mother	1

Everything has done like mama said.

Mother was the boss altho quietly father really was. Mother had forceful personality.

Mother. She told father what to do. Was more aggressive. He was hen pecked.

Mother. She was domineering. Whatever she said went.

Mother always said final word. I saw it happen.

Mother was. She made all the decisions and hard and fast rules. She was a little Hitler.

Father thought he was but mother was the real boss because everybody did it her way.

Father because he caused us to straighten up when he walked into the house. He was the breadwinner and she had to respect him. He worked in a steel mill for 30 years.

My mother was boss. She was a strong woman and had a little strut.

## 29. (a) Was your father cold or warm toward the children? (b) Did he show affection toward your mother?

Cold	7
So - so	4
Warm	23
No father	3
Don't know	6

29. (b) Showed affection 12  
 Did not show affection 16  
 Only sometimes 3  
 Don't know, no answer 9  
 No father 2
30. (a) Was your mother cold or warm toward the kids? (d) Did she show affection toward your father or substitute father?
- (a) Changeable 2  
 Cold 5  
 Neither 1  
 Warm 33  
 Doesn't apply 1
- (b) Showed affection toward father or substitute 15  
 Did not show affection 18  
 No father 2  
 Sometimes showed affection 3  
 No answer 1
31. (a) Did you ever see your mother or mother substitute completely nude? (b) If so, how old were you? (c) What was your reaction.
- (a) Yes 27  
 No 14  
 No mother 1
- (b) 5 - 8 = 8  
 9 - 12 = 4  
 13 - 16 = 4  
 17 - 20 = 2  
 21 - 24 =  
 25 - 28 =  
 29 - 32 = 1  
 All my life = 6  
 No answer = 2
- (c) Shocked 1  
 Embarrassed 1  
 Interested 3  
 No reaction 18  
 Can't say 2  
 No answer 2

32. Do you feel your father was a strong man, a weak man or a so-so type of man when you were growing up?

Strong	23
Weak	10
Don't know	1
So-so type	4
No father	4

33. (a) Did you ever see your father or father substitute completely nude? (b) How old were you? (c) What was your reaction, if you did?

(a) Yes	11
No	27
No father	3

(b) 5 - 8	6
9 - 3	3
13 - 16	
17 - 20	
21 - 24	
25 - 28	
29 - 32	
From birth until 12	1

(c) Embarrassed	1
Excited feeling	2
No reaction	3
Surprised	2
Don't remember	2
Frightened by it	1

I saw my father nude when he was sick and I took care of him. I accidentally opened bathroom door.

Not father but some boyfriends when mama not around. They made it look like an accident, but do it on purpose. I was surprised at the big size. Some had it standing up. Afraid it would hurt me.

Don't remember seeing father nude but saw plenty of the others. Some were huge. When it was standing, was like my arm. I was afraid.

One time I did, I burst into the room. They were getting ready to make love. He was taking off clothes.

No, but one of them I saw the head. He was drunk and his pants were open. I was 8 or 9 and was curious.

I walked in on him once when he was washing up. I said "excuse me and left."

Grandfather yes. He got drunk and didn't have on clothes in bed. He was exposed and accidentally saw him.

Yes. I bathed with him until I was 12.

Yes. At 6 or 7. I was fascinated by his penis.

No.

Yes. Saw his genitalia. I pecked at 8-10. He looked huge with his clothes on and I was curious to see him without his clothes. He looked huge and I didn't want anyone that size.

I came into the bathroom and he was on the stool and covered up. I was embarrassed.

No, but I saw the one man I explained above.

Only once and he covered up quick. I was maybe 6.

34. (a) Would you say your mother was a very feminine or tom boyish type? (b) Was she sexy?

(a) Very feminine	29
Tom boyish	5
Both	4
Neither	3
No mother	1
(b) Was sexy	26
Can't say	1
Was not sexy	14
No answer	1

35. (a) Was sex openly discussed or hidden in your family when you were growing up? (b) By both father and mother?

(a) Openly	16		
Both	1		
Hidden	25		
(b) By mother	14	No answer	4
Doesn't apply	0	By both	6
By father	1	By neither	17

39. (a) Could you tell when your mother and father were actually engaging in sexual activity? (b) How did you know? (c) If so, did you ever day dream about what was going on between them?

(a) Yes	15
Sometimes	5
No	20
Don't know	2

- (b) Yes. I peeped thru keyholes at them. Lots of times.

Yes. I did wonder.

Yes. Sometimes but I was not that interested.

I could hear the noise. Bed. Mama. The groans. I used to think of it a lot and try to listen and imagine what was going on in there.

Sometimes yes with his women. Got me excited. Listened to all the sounds.

Yes. Mama really made noise when high. I saw his thing going in and out of her and thought she was going to be hurt. I even pulled one man off my mother. If we pretended to be asleep, we could see a lot, but that came later.

Yes. They would run us in back and shut the door. We knew what was going on. Did think about it.

Yes. Sometimes it would be different. Door was closed. I never wondered but wondered how it felt.

Yes. At first I thought they were fighting because I did see them fight. Afraid for mammaie.

A few times I heard her with a visitor.

No but the door was locked and nobody let me in.

Sometimes. If she was mad she wore pajamas. If not a gown.

Yes. I could hear them (men and women) rap with my mother about it.

Yes. My real mother stayed with us for a while and I remember a fellow used to come up. On certain nights she walked very fast and was very active when that man was there.

Didn't see but suspected something.

Yes. They were lovey dovey the next day and also heard them a couple of times.

I peeped once and saw them because I thought they were fighting. Mama was carrying on and I went in there with a brick.

Sometimes. Door was closed. Mother would say, "Don't bother us. Father is resting." Only at certain times was the door closed.

## 39. (b) Cont'd.)

Only one time. I was in room. I was sleeping on floor in their room and they thought I was asleep. I was about 10 and was embarrassed.

No.

Once or twice. Never repeated because I stayed awake to listen.

No because my mother forced me to sleep between her and my father so as to keep my father from exercising his sexual perogatives. I remember feeling crushed between two mountains.

No only that one time described in #35.

Yes. My room was next to theirs, I heard noises. Bed moving, Moans. I thought father was hurting mother and was mad. I was 12. Wondered about it a lot.

Yes. With some of the others. Could hear noises. Wondered what they were doing.

(c) Yes	12
No	4
No answer	16
Doesn't apply	17

## 41. Did your mother ever explain anything to you about sexual matters?

Yes	28
No	13
No mother	1

Yes. She had to explain the period and how to safeguard yourself. Yes, and broke it down so I could understand it.

No. mother and father never did in a constructive way.

Mostly about getting pregnant. Something about the period.

Yes. First about my period. What would happen unless I used protection. Didn't tell me to use protection, but hinted it.

Yes. Getting pregnant. If you have physical contact you get pregnant. Never told me how to protect myself.

Yes. The period. Only after I got it.

About the period. Told me don't go with a boy after you get your period. Then you can get pregnant. Be careful. Do it but don't get caught. (pregnant)

Some things. Take care of yourself. Don't get pregnant. In the country men liked to offer young girls money. She said never accept it. Because it leads from one thing to another.

Yes but in a nasty way. Grandma said, "Don't let any nigger stick their dicks in your pussy." She checked me and my sister.

Yes. Grandmother said at period. "Now you're a young lady. You're going to mess with boys and if you do be careful."

No my grandmother did. No one explained before my period. Only after I got it.

Yes. She sat down and told me what to use, etc.

No. Not even when I got my period.

Yes. Period. Everything. Got the girls and boys together and explained.

Yes. Just before my period. Explained only basic things and told me not to let boys touch me.

She got into explaining the period only because I started late. She gave a full explanation. Otherwise she didn't talk on it.

Yes. She explained pregnancy and that I would get a period and what to do about it. She told me I would be a woman then and boys shouldn't touch me.

Yes. Don't get pregnant. Men don't mean you any good.

Yes but all negative stuff. Even the period was negative. She complained about it.

Told me not to get pregnant. All a boy wants is to stick something into you. Cut it off before you let them do that.

42. (a) If your mother ever explained sexual matters to you did you get the idea she was embarrassed to discuss them with you? (b) Did you sometimes seem to get the wrong information? In what way?

(a) Yes	12
Don't know	1
No	28
No mother	1

(b) Yes	23
No	16
No answer	3

43. (a) Did you ever have any sex questions you wanted to ask but was afraid or embarrassed to ask? (b) If so, what?

(a) Yes	24
No	18

No. I could go to daddy and ask him but mama always beat around the bush.

Yes. Making love with women.

## 43. (a) (Cont'd.)

When having sex with a guy, I didn't always know what to do. Listened to sisters talk and tried that.

Confused feeling. It felt good to have this one lady rub me there but I was afraid of the answer. I was 8. She was Mama's friend.

Yes. About the size of his penis when it was hard. If all daughters did that with their fathers.

Yes. About the man going thru the woman. Why a girl has to bleed. Mama said it was God's punishment in the Bible.

No, talked to girlfriends. At 13, I thought I was pregnant. Had sex with the boyfriend but he didn't discharge in me. I thought just the penis in you would do it. He bought me birth pills.

Yes. Why it got so big? How? Did it hurt? Why are men so different? Were all men as big as mama's boyfriend?

Yes. Oral sex. About 19.

Yes. Wanted to ask about going with women but didn't.

Yes. I wanted to ask her why she didn't like men since she had granddaddy. She said black niggers were no good these days and if they had diamonds hanging on them, they were no good.

Yes. What was a French kiss?

All of sex. Going to bed with a man or woman. Oral sex.

Yes. What do you do in sex? I was 14 and going with this boy and very much in love with him. I wanted to know so I could hold him. She wanted to know why I wanted to know and said when you get married, you'll find out.

Had already seen that father and 2 brothers had penises, I wondered why I didn't have one.

## 45. (a) Did any particular idea about sex seem unclear to you or trouble you?

Yes 22

No 20

## 47. What kinds of day dreams did you have when young? Who was in them? Did you dream at night mostly about boys or about girls?

What did a man look like when bold naked? What do they do with that thing? These are the most intriguing things a girl thinks about. Also why don't men have to squat down to pee?

## 47. (Cont'd.)

About girls. Bar maid was pretty. Always wanted to make love to her. I was 10 then.

Fucking and waking up out of it and catching myself. Most about boys - occasionally girls.

Daydream about mama's girlfriend. Nice lady. Liked her. She liked to give me a bath and rub me between the legs. I was afraid to tell. I liked her to hold me. One night when I was 12 she got drunk and did everything to me. I was scared stiff and thrilled at same time. Next morning she told me about reform school. I never told. She moved South.

What my father did with his women. How big they were to handle him. What they looked like with clothes off. What my mother's thing was like. What it would be like for these women to hold me in their arms.

For awhile, always boys. When older, other girls when I got into the gay life.

I always dreamt of getting raped. Always dreamt of getting rich. Wanted to be nurse or doctor. Then I was raped one day. When I was young, a sister and her friend told me we would end up by fire. I imagined buildings falling, etc. and dreamt it for a whole month. No such dreams about boys or girls. My interest always was in older men. Boys were silly.

About boys and girls. I dreamt mostly about boys until late teens. Sister was gay and I wondered.

To grow up and be able to do things. Travel. Get married and live happily ever after.

Getting married. Having kids. Happy life.

About getting married. If I would have any kids, etc.

Different. Love, marriage, etc.

Day dreamed about other girls altho I knew I was a girl.

Falling from high places and never hit bottom.

Don't remember. Yes I do. I dreamed I was president. I was a big lawyer. I freed all blacks from jail. Wanted to adopt a child- a black orphan.

## 48. (a) Were you ever married or have lived with a man? (b) Do you have kids? (c) How many? (d) All from the same father?

(a) Yes	20
Widow	1
No	1
No answer	16

48. (b) Yes 28  
 No 14
- (c) 1 - 12  
 2 - 10  
 3 - 3  
 4 - 2  
 5 - 1
- (d) Yes 2  
 No 15  
 Doesn't apply 10  
 No answer 15
49. (a) If you have children, how old were you when you had the first one? (b) Were you married? (c) Which would you prefer, boys or girls? (d) Why?
- |            |               |
|------------|---------------|
| (a) 14 - 2 | 20 - 1        |
| 15 - 2     | 21 - 1        |
| 16 - 8     | 22            |
| 17 - 5     | 23 - 1        |
| 18 - 4     | Doesn't apply |
| 19 - 2     |               |
- (b) Boys 24  
 No difference 2  
 Girls 9  
 Both 6  
 No answer 2

Prefer to mix children and I will know how each sex grows up.

They look so pretty dressed up. Girls.

Easier on the mother (boys).

Prefer girls. Boys too much trouble.

Boys less trouble.

Boys because girls get too fresh. Too much trouble.

Girls are terrible. Bad in general. Have 2 girls.

Got daughter at 17. Got married right after. Prefer girls.

Cute and can dress them so cute.

Girls. Always wanted a baby girl. They are cute.

Boys. Less trouble.

## 49. (c) (Cont'd.)

Boys. Don't like girls. Girls too much trouble. I don't have the patience.

Boys. Girls too much worry. "Who are you fucking? Will he marry you, etc." Have to be her conscience. When they're grown, the baby comes home to you.

Boys. Because my mother was a woman and I don't want anyone like her.

Boys because they are the stronger part of sex. They are superior.

Wanted boy and girl in that order.

Boys. Less problems. Girls are a headache to me.

Boys. I got beat so much that I never wanted a girl child that I would have to strike. I was afraid to have a girl - afraid I might beat her more than her brothers in repeat of what my mother did to me.

I was married the day before giving birth. I would love a baby boy. I'm praying for one. Don't know why.

Prefer a son. Girls get into trouble.

## 50. (a) How did you get pregnant? (b) Why didn't you use birth control? (c) Ever have an abortion.

I was married.

I wanted to have a child.

My boyfriend and I went to a hooky party. Used coke. I gave in and got pregnant.

I was in drug program. Met guy. Liked him. Really liked him. Gave in.

Don't apply.

He got drunk but was giving me money so I finally had to give in.

I was having sex with an older man. Somehow I got idea he was like my father. I had mixed feelings and next I knew he had come in me.

I was confused about everything between man and woman. Let him talk me into it.

Mistake.

I was in a stolen car and got busted. Was in jail for one month. When I got out I needed a man. Went with a different guy and he made me pregnant.

I was curious.

Never pregnant.

First time I did it, I got pregnant.

## 50. (a) (Cont'd.)

I really cared and gave in.

No answer to this.

Going together for a long time. One day I did it and got caught.

No answer on birth control. Never pregnant.

No answer. Never pregnant.

Stupidity. I had been on drugs. Went to hospital with mononucleosis and came out clean. Wanted sex. Got it. Knew about birth control and didn't use it.

I used to go with him but he got his leg shot off. I hate liquor but we drank some. I was curious to see if he could function without the leg. We did and I got pregnant. [No answer on birth control and abortion.]

I wanted to have a child. We were good friends and I told him I wanted to have his child. I had a miscarriage at 3 months.

Met him over a piece of cake. One night he took me to Aunt's house. She wasn't there and he just took it. Struggled but didn't win.

No birth control. Didn't think it was necessary.

Married.

Did have an abortion.

We were raised up together and it just happened.

He was a family friend. He was staying with my sister. He said I was a nice woman going to waste. I just hadn't met the right man. He could make me feel for a man and I tried it. I got pregnant in that one time.

Let's skip that.

I planned to make love to my boyfriend. We had broken up and he went with my girlfriend. I had to do it if I wanted him back. I used birth control only after the first baby. Had abortion at 16.

I was pregnant during marriage and aborted in a couple of months. I took birth pills. Had an abortion.

Never pregnant. I had a coil. No abortion either.

I was in love and let him.

I got pregnant at 39. A man was taking care of my car and wanted to be my boyfriend. I used rhythm but miscalculated. Had a miscarriage. No abortion.

I wanted to try it out. Wasn't in love. Got pregnant on the 1st try at making love. His protection broke. Never used birth control. Don't want to. I want a son. No abortions.

I was drunk. Still don't use birth control. I wanted 4 kids. Did have an abortion.

He kinda raped me in his house when nobody was home. I got pregnant from the first time. We went together for a year. Never used birth control. Didn't know what it was. Never had an abortion.

I was depressed over a woman. I didn't use birth control because men complain about it. Never had an abortion but lost my first

## 50. (a) (Cont'd.)

I was confused about feeling for girls and thought if I let a boy touch me it would cure me. I got caught right away. Never had an abortion. Never used birth control.

Don't need to use birth control. I can't get pregnant.

Out on the streets. Older man. Handsome. A gambler. Would buy me things. I fell in love and he didn't mean me no good.

(b)

Didn't need it. I miscarried 2 x - 1.

Didn't want to. - 1

Didn't know enough to use it. Only 14.

Don't like birth control.

Didn't want to use it.

A nice girl didn't walk around with those things.

No answer.

Don't practice birth control.

Don't use it.

Didn't know about it.

I wanted the child.

No answer.

Didn't know about it.

Don't like it.

Don't believe in contraceptive. I like to feel free in sex life.  
Don't hold back anything.

No answer.

No answer.

Just didn't use it altho aware of it.

No answer.

Didn't want to.

Didn't think it was necessary.

I did. It didn't work. (Should have probed.)

No answer. Did have an abortion.

Never used it.

No answer.

Never used it.

Not until after my first baby.

I took birth control pills. Somehow slipped up.

I had a coil.

I was taught that decent girls don't do that. Maybe after marriage.  
But if you walk around with something, the man will think that you're no good.

## 50. (b) (Cont'd.)

Used rhythm system and miscalculated.

Don't want to use it. I wanted a son.

Never wanted to use it.

Didn't know what it was.

Never use it. Never heard of it until recently. Not even of rubbers.

Never used it. Men complain about it.

Never used it. Men don't like it.

Can't get pregnant.

(c) Yes	9
No	29
No answer	6

## 52. (a) In general, how is your relationship with men? (b) Who is the boss? (c) Do men understand men?

(a) Good	8
Bad	0
So-so	7
No answer	27
Don't know	1

(b) He is	14
I am	24
I could never be a boss	1
50 - 50	2
Don't know	1

(c) Yes	11
Somewhat	1
No	17
Don't know	1
Some do	9
No answer	4

Men don't understand me. I try to explain but I never know how they take me.

I get along good with them.

I would like for him to be boss but if he's soft I have to be the boss.

## 52. (c) (Cont'd.)

Am confused about men. Young men bore me. I like strong men.  
All they want to do is fuck you.

I have my ways. But I didn't really want my way all the time. If  
I found a real man who would woo me, love me, match my cries of  
love out of bed too, treat me right, he could maybe make me do  
anything in the world for him. But where do you find a black  
man like that? Punching you around don't make him no kind of  
real man.

I try to be boss. Ain't always that way.

My relationship is beautiful with married men.

I don't understand them and vice versa.

All men tried to give what I wanted. I'm a puzzle to them. Man  
I'm with now thinks I am crazy.

I am the boss. I wants power. Most men anyway only think with  
the head of their dick.

The man is boss. Few men take the time to understand me for my-  
self. Some do, not all.

I am boss altho' he may think he is.

I am. I tell him what I like.

He was the boss. I didn't know what I was doing. No. I never  
let them know me that well.

I only had one relationship - 6 months of my life - with a man.

They are. That's why I don't care to have a relationship with them.

I am boss: I choose weaker men. Men do not understand me.

He is boss. I can't discharge for a man. Some understand me,  
some don't. They can figure out what is going on between me and  
my girlfriend.

I am the boss. Men respect my opinion if they know me.

I am a lot like my mother. I am the boss. They seem to under-  
stand me. I think I get weak men too.

The man is boss. The ones I go for are tough and the boss.

53. How many of these things have you done? (a) Got involved in the  
dope scene? (b) Did some ripping off? (c) Got a police record?  
(d) Went to jail? (e) Have close friends or relatives who have  
been to jail?

(a) = 29

(b) = 23

(c) = 24

(d) = 16

(e) = 33

None

54. (a) Do you consider religion to be an important influence in your life? (b) What religion do you practice? (c) What were your father's and mother's? (d) Do you go to church every week.?

Yes	14
No	27
So and so	1

(b)

Methodist	3
Catholic	7
None	2
Baptist	7
Protestant	3
Spiritualism	1
7 Day Adventist	1
No answer	9

(c)

Methodist	3
Baptist	23
Catholic	3
Protestant	3
No answer	4
Don't know	1
Spiritualism	1
7 Day Adventist	1

(d)

Yes	0
No answer	12
No	30

55. What kind of work do you do?

White collar	7	Student	3
Singer	1	Nursing	1
None	16	Trade	2
Housewife	3	Management	1
Waitress	1		
Blue collar	3		
Hustle	1		
Domestic	3		

57. Would you say you are usually on time for appointments and meetings?

Yes	19
No	15
Sometimes	7
Hard to say	1

58. (a) How do you get along with your fellow employees? (b) Do they know you like women? (c) Do they accept you?

(a)

So - so	1
Good	24
No answer	2
Bad	4
Doesn't apply	0
Depends	2

(b)

Yes	8
No answer	13
No	17
Don't know	1
Some do	3

(c)

Yes	26
No answer	13
No	2
So - so	1

59. (a) How do you manage to live on what you make? (b) Do you have certain people who help you out? (c) Who? (d) Are you or were you on welfare?

(a)

It's tough	28
Make it fairly well	7
No answer	3
Am living good	3
Live with family	1

59. (b)		
	Yes	37
	No	5
(c)		
	Does not distinguish	4
	Woman	10
	Sister	1
	Man	10
	Both women & men	9
(d)		
	Yes	19
	No	12
	Was at one time	11

Dope is good business when all is OK.

I get help from men and women. My husband runs numbers and is a controller. He's in and out of jail.

The man I live with got stabbed and is on disability insurance. It's tough. Girlfriend I live with supports me. I will sell anyone's ass if they let me. But don't sell my own

Never been on welfare. Not hard to support myself. Women. We combine our 2 incomes. I was on welfare. Lover is now on welfare and also works.

I get help from friends. Girlfriend works. Yes on welfare at one time.

Live good. No one helps me. In a few short months, I was on welfare.

Tough. Girlfriend and sister help me out. Some men. Am on welfare now.

Tough. Both men and women help me. On welfare right now.

I'm only on welfare but my girlfriend make a good salary. She has a Master's Degree.

My woman's got a job. Have been on welfare - am not now.

I have to deal to make it. Not on welfare. Help from my friends who let me stay there. Was on welfare 3 months ago.

Very hard. I played numbers. Welfare. Ripped off. Confidence game. I still get a little money from a couple of men. At one time I had woman crazy for me and give me everything. I lived with her 5 years. On welfare now.

60. Describe a typical day for you? What do you do? What friends do you see?

(a)

I hustle mostly whites. Don't go with blacks. They beat girls up and rob. Whites want blow job. Lay and want to Greek if you let them. Work midtown.

Been looking for a job the past week. I go out at 3 or 4 to look for my friends both the man and the woman. Go around to see what my girl buddies are doing. Go out to see boyfriend. He runs numbers and go to a bar.

Go to agency for work - if I want to work. Give false name and Social Security number.

I'm a freak for having someone take me out to a nice place and often waggle guys to take me to lunch. Go to parties and discos. Straight or gay. Depends on which one is happening more.

On weekends come down here. Stay 2 or 3 days. Sit around. Get high. Go someplace. When here, I'm a different person. Feel relaxed. Feel secure and safe around gay people.

If you don't have a job and no kids, there's nothing to do. So I go to a friend's house and hope she says "let's go somewhere."

My brother and my boyfriend cook breakfast and I eat.

Go to mother's house to see sister. Drink. Older man comes by. We drink, fuck. Go home to my boyfriend and drink some more. Get real sexy urge now. Sometimes for a man, sometimes for a woman.

Watch TV until 12. Watch soap operas to 4. Watch TV until 3 or 4 in morning.

I love people and to talk to them. The girl I'm with is so possessive I'm held down.

Stare out window. Don't want to live on your folks. Sometime, do that all day. Get bored. My family and daughter come looking for me but I hide. I have always worked. The street is not my life. Always had money. Just a mixed up person really. Sometimes, I just walk, going nowhere. Cigarettes pacify me. Don't want to be bothered with girlfriends.

I get up. Bathe. Coffee. Play cards and take walk. TV. Cook. Listen to music. Wait for girlfriend to come home from work. Look at TV. Talk or go to a movie. That's it.

I work 16 hours a day on my job. After, making a date with somebody. Have no steady woman.

Wake up at 5:45 a.m. Bathe. Wake up later at 6:30 a.m. We leave at 7:25 after waking up the kids. Work. She gets home first. She cooks. I get home. Take off uniform. Have a cold drink. Put on record player. Kids eat. People call us on phone.

## 60. (a) Cont'd.)

Watch TV. Roll hair together. Go to bed by 11 p.m. I have weird dreams sometimes. Somebody had a spear in my back and penetrated it. I fought my way thru gladiators, spears, but couldn't see no image.

Get up, go to work, come home, read or watch TV, get ready for next day.

Go to work. Go out into field. Get high. Smoke. Stop over here and see my friend. Go back to work and do paper work. Come back here and eat dinner. Watch TV or see friends. Go to the bar. A girlfriend is barmaid. Write report after work. Go to bed.

Get up. Play with puppies. Watch TV. Drink. Spend time with girlfriend. Call sister on the phone. Go visit with friends, some old men friends. Sit and drink with them. Sometimes make love with them if they offer money. I don't really sell it. I just like to drink.

I get up when my girlfriend goes to work. I get a call about 9:30 from another girl. She comes over and we make love. She goes home by 2 and I watch the stories on TV. Maybe I go shop. Fix supper. We go over after supper to her mother's house. I can speak a little Spanish. Her sister knows what is happening between us. We come home, watch TV and go to bed. She don't have any children now. One died and she had an operation. My 2 kids are in the ground.

## (b)

Bus to the next town to the tavern. Drink beer. Shoot pool and am good.

Go home. Prepare dinner or vice versa on her part. Read paper. Discuss the day with girlfriend. Make love. Go to sleep. In the summer I have a garden to keep me busy.

Work on a vegetable truck and take care of my daughter. We watch TV a lot. Sometimes when she goes to sleep, my girlfriend sneaks in and spends the night.

Now. Sometimes because I got no money, I got to sleep on the roof of buildings. My own mother don't take me in. She just spends all her time and gives her money to her man. I try to get tricks. If I get them, I can sleep in a room. If not, I have to sleep wherever I can - with my girlfriend who will let me. When I get money, I buy dope and shoot up. I don't care if I die. Nobody else cares about me neither. Not even my own mother.

I go down to corner, see what's happening. Buy a little dope to sell, make 40 or 50 dollars. Drink with friend and his wife. Fucking them both and they don't know it. I'm a woman for the man and the man for the woman. Come home. Watch TV. Go out on stoop, rap with friends. Maybe buy some young fine pussy.

## 61. What do you do for relaxation?

Read books	5
Music	8
Watch TV	20
Occasionally shoot up	1
Drink	7
Exercise (lift weights)	1
Smoke up on reefers	5
Go to movies	8
See my old lady or visit her	2
Play the chicks	2
Home with my people - man or woman of the time	1
Clean up my house	1
Hollering out window to my friends	1
Go to parties	4
Routine married life	1
Go to gay bars	3
Go to straight bars	4
Travel	1
Sex	10
Visit girlfriends - not lovers	2
Go to rifle range	1
Skiing and ice skating	
Go out	2
Get a massage from a gentleman	1
Go to sleep	
Smoke cigarettes	1
Bowl	1
Ping Pong	1
Talk to my man	1
Dancing	4
Talking with people	11
Phone	1
Play cards	4
Bowl	1
Get oldest child to take care of kids	1
Sew	1

## 61. (Cont'd.)

Play pool	
Go to dinner in restaurants	1
Go to Broadway musical	1
Visit museums and art galleries	1
Play dice	

## 62. (a) How old were you when told how babies are made? (b) What was your reaction?

(a)

4 - 1	1
5 - 6	4
7 - 8	8
9 - 10	9
11 - 12	3
13 - 14	7
15 - 16	3
17 - 18	
Always knew	4
Don't remember	11
No answer	1

(b)

Already know of it from eavesdropping on mother and hiding under the house and listening to the conversations by my mother.

Didn't hang out with girls much. Had to do homework. No big reaction.

No reaction.

No reaction. Didn't really know where it came from but knew it came from the womb.

No reaction.

That man's big thing caused me to ask girls in the streets and they told me a lot.

I was amazed they came from there. Then I didn't know how they got out.

None.

Was scared. Said I'd never have a baby.

Very young. Don't remember.

Playmates told me. Worried if it hurt.

It was a mystery to me how this could happen.

No reaction.

I said, "Oh really" but was not really surprised.

62. (b)

Know a long time. I thought they came out of stomach. I knew how they got there. I was naive. Moved to --- and a town atmosphere. Then at 14, moved back to New York and Harlem with an aunt and learned everything.

No reaction.

No reaction.

No reaction.

About 10. When I began menstruating and my real mother explained things to me. No answer on reaction.

14. From hearing grown ups. A little mixed up as to how it was possible.

I had hygiene in High School at 16.

About 7. I wondered how all this went on. I was explained to me later.

No reaction.

No reaction.

No.

I learned about babies when I had mine at 16. My mother said if I got pregnant I had to take care of it but didn't explain how this happens. I kept getting larger and larger but didn't know I was pregnant. (Were they living on the plantation then?)

No reaction.

Always knew. Very thrilling idea.

9. I thought babies came from mother's stomach and then they had to sew mother up. I was really about 13 or 14 before I really knew. No answer on reaction.

6. None.

At 6 or 7. Shook me up. The thought made my skin crawl. Mother always complained of the pain and agony of her having us children.

8. Saw a pregnant lady and my brother explained to me. a mystery to me.

11½. I saw my girlfriend's stomach grow. I was curious and shocked. Asked mother about it but she slapped me.

When sister started bearing kids, I was in my teens. We gave birth at home and had midwives. The oldest girl gave birth and my grandmother sent us to the neighbor's house so we wouldn't see it.

13. No reaction.

6. Other kids told me. No reaction.

Mother always had her babies at home and screamed to get me out of thehouse. The girl next door told me. It put the fear of sex in me. I was afraid. No age given.

At 7. Bad reaction when my mother told me. She made it sound bad.

62. (b) Cont'd.

13. A reaction. I wondered how he came out so big.

7. Girlfriends told me. It scared me about getting pregnant from what my mama done said about it.

63. (a) How old were you when you found out about girls engaging in sex with other girls? (b) What was your reaction?

(a)

7 - 1	15 - 5
9 - 3	8 - 1
10 - 4	16 - 3
11 - 7	17
12 - 5	18 - 2
13 - 5	19
14 - 5	20 - 1
	21 - 1

(b)

Afraid	3
Humerous	1
Curious	11
No answer	3
No reaction	11
Taboo	2
Stunned	6
Happy about it	3
Confused	1

I had come to Baltimore. My godfather had prostitutes on the streets and they told me about it. These were stone prostitutes too.

I thought I was the only one like that.

I was in youthhouse for runaways when I learned of it. Hated it. Keep them away from me.

I liked mother's girlfriend to put arms around me.

I saw a grown woman doing it at 9 at my friend's house. My friend told me and we both peeked at her. I wanted to try it.

I thought it terrible. "How is that possible," I wondered.

Saw it in school. Worried what made them like that.

A gay sister had been like that all her life. She is 4 years older.

I wanted to see what it was about.

When I went to the youth house. About 11. I didn't know what to do or how to go about it.

## 63. (b) Cont'd.)

About 10. I used to watch women walk down the street and wondered what a man saw and liked it.

8. Yes. I liked it.

9. I came with her. Good.

Bad reaction. All those girls. Who did it were abnormal. They had penises. Were sick.

I did it. No guilt. Didn't know what I was doing.

Young. In Junior High School. About 13. I was overwhelmingly interested.

I saw girls in drag who acted like boys. But after I broke up with my husband, I really saw it. I was afraid of girls like that.

I couldn't see how we could do it before because we didn't have an organ to work with. I was shocked. Afraid. My older girlfriend took me aside and told me she was a lesbian and if I didn't want to still be friends with her I didn't have to be. I thought hersick. Weird. And was afraid to be in the same room with her. Finally I accepted her "ailment", and 3 years later I, myself, became one of "those". The girlfriend was 10 years my senior.

In 1964. When I came to this state. I saw chick dressed up and thought it was a man. I kept looking. I didn't see that down South. If she could be like that, I could too.

10. I caught 2 girls doing it in the school. It stayed on my mind.

I went to a party at 15 and stayed over with a girl. We played and got hot and that was the first time I ever heard of it. I had no climax.

11. My sisters told me and I think I got it the same time that they did because they seemed confused too.

About 12. I knew girls liked girls but I didn't think they did anything together. I was shocked and fascinated to learn it. A girl told me about her sister.

16. When busted. I was shocked at the idea and afraid of it.

64. (a) When did you first realize that you were different, you were attracted to other girls? (b) Was it an emotional experience to discover it?

9 - 1	16 - 7
10 - 3	17 - 1
11 - 4	18 - 1
12 - 3	19 - 1
13 - 5	20 - 2
14 - 3	21 - 1
No age given	22 - 1
15 - 4	All my life - 3

64. (b)

Yes	14
No	13
No answer	10

I was curious, then emotional.

I said "My God, how did this happen to me?"

I got the barmaid I always dreamed about.

Found out after mother's girlfriend did it to me. I was scared and thrilled. Felt funny about it. The secret almost made me explode.

My feelings were for the woman who took care of us, not the young girls - altho I let them play with me some.

At 11 I really got hot for a 13 year old chick. I talked to her like I saw the dudes do and she didn't mind.

Sister of guy I went with was bulldagger. The sister asked me to hang out with her. I liked her and my boyfriend neglected me. Used to leave me home alone a lot.

I kept wanting to know more and afraid to discover more. I was afraid people could see it in me.

A woman always bothered me at school. I told her to leave me alone. Don't know if it was her who taught me that women give you more affection.

In School. About 15. They attempted to sound me out.

I felt it was something I wanted to do or should be doing.

In the youth house. She wrote me kites and I wrote her back.

At 16. A girl showed me and it shocked me. "Oh what am I doing?" I wondered.

When I went away to school, business school in Ohio.

Went to a hooky party (all girls). But at that time girls were looking like boys. Didn't understand the physical attraction.

I liked to look at girls' big butts.

About 10 or younger.

15. Hard for me to look at it the way it was. Didn't understand it.

At 13.

Practically all my life. I used to question God about that. Never worked for me. Friends making out with men and having fun and I wanted to know why I couldn't enjoy it.

Yes. At 14. This woman was 25 years old and helped me with my homework. I started to caress her stomach and she said I was too young. She said if she didn't know I was only 14, she would never believe it. She went with my brother. I threw her down and made love to her.

## 64. (b) (Cont'd.)

Very young. No reaction. Even in kindergarten. When we played house. I was always the daddy. Little girls always fight over who will be the mommy. Not me. I always wanted to be the daddy.

About 13. Had little butterflies tingling.

19. It felt good. Better than men.

21. It was delightful to discover in me, altho earlier a girlfriend had confessed being gay to me and I had been terrified because I thought she would rape me.

When I was living with my sister. Her girlfriend lived downstairs and I was attracted to her. I felt good about it. I was 20.

16. No.

14. I think I could have gone with this one girl if she pushed it. Could she rap. She had several girls.

We kept doing it and I climaxed and learned about my feelings. Pussy is good. Put 2 of them together and its a motherfucker. No answer or reaction.

At 12. Couldn't get it from my mind after hearing it. Excited by it and frightened too.

All my life but I hide it. Not until I knew that girls actually did something together did I know what the feeling meant.

18. Yes.

11. I felt that way about my girlfriend. She had a finger in me whenever she could.

65. (a) Can you recall anybody--man or woman, boy or girl, who attempted to play with you sexually when you were a child?  
 (b) If so, who? (c) What happened? (d) How old were you?  
 (e) Did you tell anybody about it?

(a)	
Yes	32
No	10

(b)	
An older man	16
An older woman	11
A girl my age	8
A boy my age	3

(c)		
4 - 2	11 - 4	
5 - 4	12 - 3	
6 - 2	13 - 3	
7 - 6	14 - 1	
8 - 3	15	
9 - 2	16	
10 - 2	As long as I can remember	1

## 65. (c) (Cont'd.)

At 13 a man of 30 tried to go both ways at once with me. He wanted to suck me and said I wouldn't get a baby. I wouldn't do it and went home and told my father.

I was 11, she was 16 or 17. She rubbed against me and kissed me. My grandmother's boyfriend tried to feel me at 8. I told my mother.

Man of 30. Felt me and actually ate me. It felt good but I was scared stiff. He did it in his house. My mother went away and left me with a lady. He was staying there.

I got raped by a father's friend at 7. Father was out playing with some woman and his friends were downstairs playing cards. Man came upstairs and pushed me into bathtub and raped me. I screamed. My mother came running with a gun and shot him. My blood and his blood was all over me. He got his penis up into me. The man didn't die. We both had to go to the hospital. I get the scariest feeling when I see blood now. Mother was kept in jail overnight and released.

Mother's girlfriend got drunk and got in bed with me. Started caressing me, kissing face, neck, tits. I was getting hot. Then she started kissing down my body. I felt strange. Like paralyzed. Wanted her to stop but couldn't move a muscle. The she kissed me there and I came.

My own father opened me up with vaseline at 9. You think it's your own father and it can't be wrong. He got about half of it in me. I was silent and withdrawn in school. One teacher noticed it and eventually got the truth. The court took me away from my father. At 16, they let me go back and he promptly propositioned me, offering me clothes, jewelry, etc. I slept with him every night. It wasn't my fault. I was too young.

Yes. A schoolteacher. She touched me there, but I don't know if it was an accident. She adjusted my dress and stockings and somehow touched me. Did it a few times but that was all. Nothing more. I thought about it. A girl my age used to play games and take down my pants and look. It felt funny but good.

A man about 50 or 60. He bought kids candy. Had special one he liked. "Come here," he said. "I want to show you my Pinky Lee. You have to take your pants down." I said-no but he rubbed me between the legs. I ran. Scared.

A woman of about 50. Used to dry me with a towel and rub me there a lot. Spent a lot of time doing it.

A man 27 or 28 when I was 7. He pretended to be playing with me and always rubbed me between the legs. He was paying an 8 year old girl to let him rub her. He was sent away. I also did some rubbing against girls around my age. Only did it once.

A friend (male) of mother's. I had buds (breasts) and he squeezed them. In front of mother but not really so she could see it. It happen out in the streets while I was playing. She thought he was only playing when I told her.

## 65. (c) (Cont'd.)

Yes a man about 48 played with my tits when I was 13. A woman went down on me at 13. She was 36. I didn't tell anyone. It felt good.

Yes a man of 18, I was 12. He tried to feel me. I told my brother to get him beat up.

A man of 24 when I was 11 put finger in my vagina. I was afraid but let him. Earlier at about 5, a 28 year old man tried to get me and my cousin to screw each other and pay us. We went home and told it.

Yes. Mother's boyfriend, I was 4. He was in 30's. I was in bed and he took off my pajamas and started licking me. I screamed and he ran out. Came back later and pretended he didn't know. Gram didn't believe me.

Yes. A girl my age at 11. She played with me and I enjoyed it. When she tried to again the next day, I beat her up. Her mother called my aunt. But when my aunt wanted to know why I beat her up, I told her.

A little boy of 9 (I was 7) and I played house. He went under my skirt. Mother caught us. She told me I would get pregnant if I let a boy touch me.

A man and woman used to play with each other and even fuck in front of me. A young aunt too. I learned early what was going on and I used to sell a young girl's pussy under the stairs for 15¢. If she didn't do it, I'd beat her up.

My aunt and uncle. Aunt used to eat me and stick finger in me and uncle took and placed his penis between my legs but I wouldn't let him go in me. I was 5 or 6 and told my grandmother on him but not on her.

Yes. A woman about 17 or 18. I was 13. I went South every summer and played games with the girls down there. This one would wait until I was asleep and creep over and play with my breasts and other parts of my body when I was asleep. I woke up and caught her. I never told anybody.

We were using and playing with each other.

Yes. Boy of 15, I was 12. He play with me. I told my sister. With my girl cousin. We played house and she wanted me to be the daddy. We rubbed together. I was 6 or 7. Didn't tell anybody.

At 7. My mother and father had gone to a dance. Three female cousins were staying with me. They talked about what their boyfriends did to them. One cousin taught me how to masturbate. I didn't tell. They also seduced me. They were older girls.

Yes. My sister. She had just gotten out of girl's school. I was asleep on the bed. She tried to do it while I was asleep but I woke up but pretended I was still asleep. I was 12 and didn't tell.

## 65. (c) Cont'd.)

I don't know if I dreamed it but I recall a woman with a big bust who used to nurse me when nobody was around and put her hand under my dress. I must have been 4 or 5. She didn't have any milk and I just sucked there.

I was 9 and a boy of 6 manipulated my clitoris and it felt good. He was always asking me to give him a "piece". I played with him too. My mother kept me so belittled as a child that I didn't gain my superiority over men until I was 21. The more she battered me down, the more belligerent I became. (Why such a young boy for a girl of 9? What did

Yes. An older woman. I didn't know what she was doing. She got between my legs and held me. I thought she was playing. She came up from the South too and is now a mail driver and living with a white broad. In the South, she didn't dress as she does now. I was 11 when this happened and I used to hang around her a lot. My mother detected something and wouldn't let me play with her anymore.

A man about 50. I was 14. He was playing with me there. I didn't tell but I screamed the first time he tried it and mother ran into the room. She had a baby by that man. She put him out.

The usual stuff with girls my age. Playing house. Sometimes they got on me and played daddy. I was always the mommy.

This older woman was my baby sitter. As long as I can remember she would rub my vagina whenever I cried. God, that felt good. But I didn't tell. I was crazy about her. She was my first sex experience. She never did anything else to me.

An older man, my mother's friend. When I was 8 and my girl-friend. I slept at her house when I was 9 or 10.

## 66. Who did you discuss your problems with most when you were a child?

Mother	7
Grandparents	1
Father	2
Cousin	2
Mother and Father	1
Nobody	18
Sister	4
Girlfriend	6
Aunt	0
No answer	
No problems	1

67. Who did you spend most of your time with when you were a child?

Other children	8	My girlfriend	5
Grandparents	1	Mother	2
Grown-ups	15	Aunt	1
Cousin	3	My animals	1
My family	4	Father	1
By myself	5	Sisters and brothers	1

69. What were your favorite toys, games and animals when little?

Dolls	8	Rabbits	2
Birds	4	Chickens	2
Disliked dolls	18	Cards	2
Doctors kit	1	Cleaning	1
Jumping rope	5	Teddy bear	1
Monopoly	4	White mouse	2
Dogs	21	Firetrucks	1
Fish	3	Bingo	1
Cats	7	No games	1
Puzzles	1	Trains	4
Climbed trees, etc.	7	Roller skates	2
Scooters	1	Swim	1
Played with guns	5	Track	1
Play ball	6	Elephants	1
Play donkey	1	Playing army	1
Street games	3	Guns	5
Cooking set	2	Books	1
Daydreamed	1	Play house	1
Horses	5	No animals	1
Tree houses	1	Sports	1
Boy's houses	1	Fighting boys	1
Boy's toys	8	Marbles	2
Play house	3	Play basketball	1
Hide and seek	2		

70. (a) At what age did you get your period and (b) what kind of experience was it to you?

7	-	1	12	-	10
8	-	1	13	-	10
9	-		14	-	4
10	-	2	15	-	4
11		8	16	-	2

70. (b)

When I ran to father and showed him the blood and I wasn't even cut, he had an emotional experience.

It didn't bother me too much because mother had told me about it before.

It was not emotional, I didn't like it.

Told sister I was bleeding and she told me what to do. I got it late.

It was an emotional experience because of the blood. Bought back memories.

No bad experience.

About 11 or maybe 10 even. I think because he (my father) opened me up., I got it early. I was sort of shocked but a girlfriend of my father's was there when it happened.

Got period at 7 and tits at 10. I was afraid of bleeding. Ma told me I was like a big girl. She was wearing kotex and showed me.

No. I knew what to expect.

I was prepared but still shocked. Mother not at home. Told girlfriend's mother and she helped.

Frightened to death. Nobody had warned me.

No reaction. I thought I had hurt myself. Told mother. She gave me kotex.

Traumatic. Because mother didn't prepare it.

I was scared. Altho mother had explained it.

14. Upset. Panicked. Thought I was dying. Aunt told me what was happening.

I was happy I got it because everybody had it.

At 11. I was scared to death. Didn't tell mother for 2 weeks.

At 15½. Emotional. Embarrassing to confront parents with altho I had been prepared.

At 10 or 11. I was scared. Didn't know what it was. Told granny. I was glad I was growing up.

At 11. I didn't know what it was. I showed it to baby-sitter and she knew and told my mother.

At 12. I was fucked up. Thought I was dying. Too scared to tell anybody.

At 10. I screamed. Didn't know what was happening to me.

13. Scared. Didn't know what was going on. Thought I was cut. But the boys I was playing with knew what it was and told my mother. She only gave me a kotex and that's all. No explanation.

No reaction.

Yes, an experience at 12. Wasn't expecting it so soon.

## 70. (b) (Cont'd.)

At 11. We were in church and every 5 minutes I looked behind me to see if it came thru the dress. I had bled while washing up and didn't know what to do so put on 5 pairs o panties.

No. I expected it. I was 13.

14. Quite an experience. I wasn't ready for that. I was being a tomboy.

At 8. Emotional experience. Just before going to school, I had climbed over a fence and hurt myself. We had had hygiene in school and we were talking about it. The period had been explained by the teacher. I went home, went to the bathroom and found blood. I called my mother and was crying. She made me a home made belt and said your father will explain it to you.

None.

My parents got an emotional experience from it. I was 13 or 14 and just wanted to know what to do.

14. Didn't like it or want it.

13. Yes. I bled all day long as I was afraid to tell anyone. I went to bed and told my mother I was sick. But told my father when he came home and he was mad at my mother for not educating me.

At 12. I was frightened. Nobody told me what to expect.

16. No reaction. Mother had drilled it into me.

No emotional experience at 11.

15. I was riding a bike and found blood on my dress. Mother had said don't mess around with boys or I'll kill you, but never really explained it. I was afraid to tell her. She'd think I did something. When she found out she told me - now you are a woman.

I got it at 12. It only scared me because of what my mother said could happen.

At 15. I hated it.

13. I thought I got cut or something.

At 13. In training school at Hudson, New York and was scared stiff. Some girls told me what to do. All of us there were fooling around together.

## 71. (a) How old were you when you lost your virginity (cherry)?

(b) How did you lose it?

(a)			
9	-	1	16 - 9
10	-	1	17 - 4
12	-	4	18 - 3
13	-	2	19 - 2
15	-	10	Don't know - 1

71 (b)

I was curious. I got up and beat him up later. He hurt me. I had to go to the doctor's. He was 20.

I liked this guy and gave it to him.

14. Went out with older fellow and he seduced me. Got pregnant later in same year by a different one.

When I started messing with women. She opened me up.

Not in love but felt left out because all friends were having sex. Got married before I gave in. Horrible experience. He tore my nightgown. Hit him with a lamp. He went to hospital for stitches. I did too because of the blood from penetration, I went into shock. Later I explained it to him and he was gentle with me. But every time we had sex I had to get drunk and pass out. I never cared for sex but I had it in mind that he was husband and I should do it for him.

15. All the girls were doing it and I felt confused about boys. Wanted to find out.

Age 9 when my father finally got his penis up in me.

The first boy at 13, said he loved me and gave me things. I was really high at the time.

Wanted it to happen to find out.

About 10 started with some boy. Then one day, it really hurt at 13. I guess I must have lost it then.

I did it to fool the boy. I thought he could read my thoughts on the girls I had seen and how curious I was. It really hurt. I was sore for weeks.

I was attracted to older men. I started at 15 going with boy of 21. He got tired of only kissing and forced me. It hurt. I thought I was going to die. After 7 or 8 times, it stopped hurting. I thought the 1st guy was the one you married.

I was 15 and at his house. He rapped real good and his hands were working too.

I loved him and gave in at 16.

I wanted to do it at 16 for the experience.

I was curious. It was in the backyard. Wanted to see if I would bleed. Not in love.

He was my boyfriend and I loved him.

Dude was my girlfriend's boyfriend's friend and he liked me for a longtime. I went out with him and it just happened.

I wanted to do it. We had done it before. I went to his house and slept with him. Aunt thought I was with girlfriend.

I was 17 and not in love. Everybody else was doing it. I was curious. It was nothing.

At 12. I fooled around with this dude who had stuff (whores) in the streets. He popped me up side my head and made me do it. He was 38 at the time.

## 71. (b) (Cont'd.)

17. I was raped by mother's ex-boyfriend. He kidnapped me and took me to Philly and told me that when I was younger, he put me to bed and that he often ate me. He had a dick that was 12 inches long. He put a pistol to my head and forced me to submit. Raped me 2 times.

15. Was forced by the guy mentioned before.

It was taken from me. I struggled.  
a rape.)

15. Dude gave me a hard rap. (Talk). I was going with him and in puppy love. Everybody talked about how good it was so I tried it.

When I got pregnant. We grew up together and families were close. We drank, then stopped off and did it. We lived together for 12 years.

Going on 20. This guy I was going with for 3 years got hot and wanted to do it so I let him.

15. I got raped.

With the guy already mentioned. Was 14.

18. My mother felt it was time for it and didn't want me to become a bulldagger. She knew before I did that I was gay.

Young. 12. I wanted to do it.

I was in love and gave it to him.

At 23, when I got married. Hurt like hell. I was built small.

16. My mother trusted this guy. He was helping to paint our house, and my mother and the family left him there when they went out. He did it and it hurt.

18. This man had always told me that he would wait until I was old enough. When I got old enough, I did it with him after he paid me.

14. We were at a hooky party and smoked some pot. I didn't even remember his last name.

19. He was an old man and he hung around the soda fountain. He was good to me in giving me money, etc. He had a pool room and offered me \$5. He said he wouldn't hurt me. I did it and felt dirty.

An older man had been giving me money for a long time. I gave it to him at 15.

16. I was confused about liking girls and I thought if I let a boy touch me, I might like them better than girls.

16. I was in love with a boy.

71. (b) (Cont'd.)

I don't know. Mother's boyfriend had it in me at 8. But I'm not sure. I don't remember bleeding or anything. And the girls used their fingers a lot at 10. They could have broke it. Not sure.

72. (a) Do you remember ever feeling confused about sex or sex roles? (b) In what way?

(a)

Yes	21
No	20
No answer	1

(b)

Yes. My relationship with boys and being a woman and the idea of getting a baby.

Yes. What I was doing with my father. It created terrible desires that frightened me. At 16, when I climaxed with him -- Oh God -- I thought I would die --.

Yes. All the time. I was afraid of boys but wanted to see their things. And girls too. See how deep they were. I mean inside the lips.

About babies and what to do with a man in bed.

Yes. Boys didn't excite me but I wanted to marry one. What did girls do together?

No things were happening so fast. Over in Harlem I was exposed to so much and I read. It all fell into place.

The climax.

Yes. A lot. About babies.

Yes. Just generally confused that I didn't feel like other girls. Didn't like girlish things.

No answer.

Not really, altho wanted to find out about the man's role.

No.

I couldn't understand why I dug women.

Yes. A lot. My cultural role confused me from the time I was 6. It was a constant argument. Mother told me "be lady like, not so tom-boyish. Be like your sister."

Yes. About being submissive in a role.

No. But angry about the things a girl has to do.

Yes, I felt funny around girls. My heart would beat fast and I didn't know why. I liked doing boys' things. I even once tried to piss standing up and became ashamed of myself and tried to forget I ever tried it. This feeling was present as long as I can remember.

## 72. (b) (Cont'd.)

Yes. This man picked me and my girlfriend up and said I made him hot. He jerked off over me. Another guy wanted to "French" and he did. I made him stop because I liked it. What he was doing was wrong, I felt.

Yes. I knew I was a girl but I liked hanging out with the fellows. I had boyfriends.

Yes. What did girls do together? And how?

About sex. About roles no. I was a woman and they approached me as a woman.

## 74. What is your attitude toward men in general? (a) They can't be trusted (b) Irresponsible (c) Get girls pregnant and abandon them (d) Not true to any woman (e) Need one to make me happy (f) Better than being with another woman (g) They drink too much. (h) Feel secure with them (i) Other (what?)

I trust men but watch them. I like to know a man's moves. If he's moody, he's treacherous. I been shot at, beat up, and a man tried to run me down with his car.

They are all right. None of the above applies.

They are alright.

They take advantage of a woman.

None.

Can't be trusted, also b, c, d, and g.

Don't trust young men. Prefer older guys. Older are experienced.

Most ain't shit.

Can't be trusted and all the other categories up there.

They are low life and creeps. I hope you're talking about males but I have never met a man in my whole life. I have no feeling for them. Maybe I need to get out of the ghetto. Men want you to go out on the block for them. You're no prize for them to look up to.

Suspicious of them.

They should be more understanding. They don't like women's lib.

They aggravate you. Men don't want you to go nowhere. Jealous if you talk to another man.

Irresponsible.

I ain't see no right man yet. Bullshitters.

The majority are bullshit. Some are good.

I'm always suspicious of a man.

Depends. Varies. I don't trust any motherfucker.

I did trust at one time. For those who understood me.

Full of shit.

## 74. (Cont'd.)

Some can be trusted. Some are responsible. Some drink.

I like men better than women. Get along better.

Men basically have an ego to feed. I don't mind men at all as long as it stays at friendship.

Not so good. As far as black men are concerned all of the above apply. White men are different in terms of family. Black men make babies and leave them. Then when the kid grows up they say, "That's my son." They never take care of the kids. My husband was not black but white.

I trust them as far as I can throw a stone.

Don't trust them as being faithful. Given the opportunity, will go with another woman.

Not trustworthy. Don't believe in them. I was hurt.

I like men all right. They will take advantage of you though and get violent.

I liked guys because of my brothers. Best friends are fellows. But not sexually.

I like men better than women but not as lovers.

They's worser than drugs.

Can't be trusted. Irresponsible, get girls pregnant, not true to any woman, drink too much.

75. What is your attitude toward other women? (a) Can't be trusted (b) Can trust more than a man (c) Make more faithful lovers than men (d) Will steal your man (e) Would rather have a woman lover (f) Make good friends (b) Other (what)?

A woman is the most treacherous thing on the face of the earth. Catty. Jealous other women. She will tell your man things about you.

Would rather have a woman lover. Women make good friends.

They can't be trusted. They will steal your man.

I can take or leave most women. A good masculine, older woman can turn me on.

Don't trust women. Bunch of women makes trouble. Take your man. Some of them ain't shit either.

Get along better with them than a man.

Can't trust them any more than a man.

Some the same as men. Suspicious and mistrustful of them.

But get along all right.

a, d. Don't make good friends. Prefer men.

Women are phonies and non-acceptable as people. Always trouble-makers.

A lot are full of shit and some are lovely.

## 75. (Cont'd.)

I trust women more. More compassion between women. If a man did me dirty, I might try to hurt him but I would accept more from a woman. Give her a chance to explain.

I don't trust them neither. I just cope with them. Depends on the situation.

Have doubts about trusting men or trusting women.

Some talk too much. Can't trust all of them.

Some women make me disgusted to the stomach. They drink. Fuck everybody in sight. Walk around naked in front of lots of men. Meet men at the door half naked and drunk.

Women too treacherous.

Some can be trusted and some love to gossip. I only trusted one woman in my whole life. (Her white lover).

Can't be trusted. Treacherous.

Can trust them better but watch them too.

They will sleep with you, have sex with you, and cut your throat the next morning and not even get a pad to blot up the blood.

I like them all right too. They will take advantage too if you are too easy.

I like to love a woman but I don't trust them. Ain't nothing in the world worse than a mean woman.

Can't be trusted. Will steal your man. Even the stone butches will do that. Can't trust none of them.

A. What do you think about the terms: Queer; Homosexual; Bulldagger; Dyke; Butch; Lesbian; and Gay? (a) Do you dislike anyone of them? (b) What is your preference?

(a) Don't like	Queer	34	
	Bulldagger	27	
	Dyke	17	
	Butch	11	
	Lesbian	8	
	Gay	5	
	Homosexual	8	
	No. All OK	3	
(b)	Gay	26	
	Lesbian	6	
	Homosexual	4	
	My people		
	Different outlook on life	1	
	No answer	7	

## 75. (b) (Cont'd.)

Prefer not to have a title	1
Prefer human being	1
Butch	1

I don't like lesbians. Lesbians will kill you. They are dangerous and violent. 2 of my girlfriends got killed by them.

Prefer my people.

Don't like any of any of them. Prefer "different outlook on life."

Don't like "Queer" altho we use it ourselves.

Dislike queer but we use it from time to time. Depends on how it's used.

Don't like any but prefer gay if I have to use one.

Dislike all except gay.

They are all OK. And true.

Don't like butch, dyke, bulldagger and queer. Prefer homosexual, then lesbian.

Don't like any. Prefer human being. Aint no different from anybody else.

Gay is my preference, if I have to have one.

I don't like queer and dyke. I use bulldagger or femme. Gay is my preference.

Dyke is a white people's term.

I am not familiar with the word "butch".

I don't like queer or butch. Gay or lesbian is my preference.

## 76. Do you associate in public with gay women or men?

Yes	31
No	5
Sometimes	6

## 77. (a) How did your other family members treat you generally? (b) Did you feel comfortable with them? (c) Did you feel they loved you? (d) Rejected you? (e) Were you lonely? (f) Misunderstood? (g) Did you feel any were favored over you.

(a) Good	32	(b) Yes	29
So - so	4	So - so	4
Bad	3	No	8
Didn't associate	1	No answer	1
Don't apply - only child	1		

77. (c) Yes	32	(d) Yes	11
Somewhat	2	Sometimes	3
No	5	No	23
Some did	2	Some did	4
No answer	1	No answer	1
(e) Yes	20	(f) Yes	27
No answer	1	No answer	1
No	19	No	12
Sometimes	7	Sometimes	2
(g) Yes	19		
Don't know	1		
No	17		
No answer	1		
Doesn't apply	1		
Sometimes	3		

78. (a) Are you happy you were born a girl instead of a boy? (b) Were your parents happy about it?

(a) Yes	23	(b) Yes	34
Sometimes	6	No	3
No	9	Unknown	5
Don't know	3		
Never thought about it	1		

79. (a) Did you ever want to be a boy? (b) If so, how old were you?

(a) Yes	26	(b) 5 - 8	7
Sometimes	4	9 - 11	4
No	12	12 - 15	6
		No age given	7
		16 - 18	2
		Always	3
		Don't know	1

80. (a) Did you ever secretly or otherwise want to wear boys' clothing? (b) If so, how old were you at the time?

(a) Yes	27
No	15

80. (b)

5 - 7	1	16 -	1
8 - 9	4	At 18 -	4
10 - 11		19	
12 - 13	1	20 -	1
14 - 15	1	21 -	
Always	3	Older	2
No age	5	17 -	1
		Later	1

No. I had to be a little girl to attract my father.

Couldn't climb trees in a dress and ribbons.

I did. Sometimes now. Started at 15, after the baby.

I have. Sometimes do it now.

Since I've been grown.

Yes. All the time.

Yes. At 23. To make people know I was gay.

Yes. At 20.

Yes at 7 or 8.

Sometimes. In my teens. I wanted to be like one of my brothers.

I admired him. I thought I could do like he did.

Yes. I did when I was younger. Did it for a while in my 20s too.

It was rough then.

Yes. I do it now when I am away and my daughter won't find out.

Yes. Lately.

81. (a) Do you prefer to play a certain role with a woman in a relationship? (b) What?

(a)

Yes 35

No 7

(b)

Butch 15 Woman to woman 1

Superior to her 1 Aggressive 1

Femme 16 Active one 1

Either 3

83. (a) In the affairs you've been in or know about, do you or the person you know always take the same kind of role or (b) does the role change from time to time.?

(a)

Yes	36
Don't know	1
No	3
Not all of them	2

It changes sometimes in a different relationship.

Depends on who you're with. But there is no situation where roles change back and forth between a couple. You're one thing or the other in any one relationship.

Remains the same always.

It remains the same.

No roles at all.

I'm always femme.

Always the same with me. Once I met a femme but she was confusing. The chick looked like a movie star - all dreams, long hair, etc. In bed she wanted to be 100% man. Didn't last long.

Switch roles to me it's the same. No preference.

Don't change in the affair but could in a new affair. Could then be the butch.

I do when I can. Sometimes. You have to be another role to make contact but change if you can.

Stays the same. The bulldagger likes to satisfy the woman like a man who likes to touch a woman, but not have woman touch his penis.

Stays the same in relationship. It could change if I see someone and she is femme. I might change to butch. But I like to be femme.

Always a butch.

It may change from relationship to relationship, however.

Yes, role stays the same but can change. However a person feels better in the one role she prefers.

We both play each role. I can't give nobody more than I get.

Yes. I am sometimes a butch if the girl doesn't have any experience.

Some do. If in a relationship I would be the aggressor because of my personality. But that doesn't make me a butch. I don't approach any girls.

In a new relationship, it may change, altho in some it stays the same.

## 83. (Cont'd.)

Remains the same.

Yes. Usually stays the same.

Yes. I do now. Started as a femme until I discovered the real me.

In the past, yes. Don't know about whites. There was a kind of exhibitionism.

Yes. Sometimes. I change within the same relationship.

Yes. But the role may change in a new relationship. Sometimes you want a new girl who don't know the rules of the game and you have to show her.

Yes. A butch usually wants to remain a butch.

Yes. The role stays the same. The white girls say they switch back and forth. I never seen it.

## 84. (a) Are you equally attracted to the butch or the femme type of lesbian? Or do you prefer one type over the other? Why?

Prefer femme 19

Prefer butch 16

Equally attracted  
to both 4

Depends 3

When you are in the act, it doesn't make much difference.

I prefer the femme role because I don't get confused that way but I am attracted to femme type women equally as much.

Like only feminine women. Not attracted to other butches.

I had one girl who was very feminine but she played the butch when we were alone. More dominant.

No. I like the ones you look at and know what they are but they don't show it that much. Don't like obvious butchy type that dresses like a man.

Don't like obvious butches.

I'm the butch - the dominant one.

Usually butch. I like masculine women.

I'm feminine and the butches like my thighs and legs.

Both. A woman is a woman. No preference.

They are more masculine. I'm feminine enough.

Either one but prefer the butch.

Something about a butch that appeals to me. A femme is like me.

I like femmes. I'm a closet butch.

Either one. Just feel that way.

Prefer femme. I don't know. Power situation.

## 84. (Cont'd.)

Like femme type. Woman who dresses like a man something wrong with her.

Both. They are all women.

Can't say. It depends on girl's personality. No butch or femme types only personality difference. Some girls don't dress the part and yet want to be a butch. So personality is the thing.

Butch. They have more experience.

Got to be femme. Only attracted to that type.

Femme. I like to be superior.

Femmes, my preference. I like very feminine and very helpless.

Prefer the femme. I am the active one.

Prefer butch. I like the femme role for myself.

Femme. The pretty ones. Maybe cause I was like that once myself.

## 85. Do most women you know like to engage in some kind of role playing?

Yes 39

Don't know 1

No 1

Not all 1

All do.

Yes, all. Even the ones who say they don't if you examine it.

Yes, but of late more go either way. But someone is always the boss.

Yes. A lot feel insecure.

## 86. Do you dig going drag or having your girl go drag?

Yes 12

No answer 1

No 26

Up to her 2

Depends 1

## 88. Did you find it difficult to communicate with boys when you were growing up?

Yes 20

No 20

Sometimes 2

89. Would you describe yourself as a feminine girl or a tomboy type?  
Why?

Feminine	16
Don't know	3
Depends on situation	1
Tom boyish	16
Both	6

Tomboy all the way. Climbing trees my hobby. I would hide there and pick pears, etc.

Feminine now. Used to be a tomboy.

I'm feminine for to be a butch.

Feminine. Can't see myself as boyish.

I adapt to situations.

Feminine. I think like a girl and am a girl. I had to fight. Everyone in the ghetto does - but I don't like it.

Feminine. That is basically my nature. Altho I can fight if I have to.

Tomboy. I can fight good.

I am feminine. Very.

Feminine. I carry myself that way.

Very feminine and soft. But can be rough if necessary. I put up a protective shield.

Feminine. I know I am.

Feminine. Personality proves it.

In between.

Both.

Tomboy. I like pants and to sit with my legs sprawled apart.

Feminine. Everyone says so.

Tomboy. I am more mannish than some men.

90. When you were a little kid, what did you want to be when you grew up?

Lawyer	1	A preacher	1
A nurse	12	Actress	2
A teacher	6	Writer	1
A model	3	Like a certain boy	1
Don't know	2	1st black President	1
To make money. Have something that is mine	1	A mommie with a boy and girl	1
Policeman	3	On flying trapeeze	1
Fireman	1	Cowboy	2

## 90. (Cont'd.)

President	1	Phys. Ed. Teacher	2
A wife	1	Music Teacher	1
Boxer	1	Dietician	1
Beautician	1	Scientist	1
Secretary	3	Social Worker	1
Doctor	5		

## 91. When you were growing up, did you ever see anyone around or in the movies, etc. that you wanted to be like? If so, who?

Yes	19
No	17
Don't remember	1

Yes. Mohammed Ali. The chicks would dig me and go crazy.

Yes. Grandmother and Lena Horne. Lena is beautiful. Not visual beauty but deeper.

Yes. A lady I used to know. She was just beautiful. Had everything and especially a husband who treated her like a queen. She had manner, style and all. Never saw a black man who treated a woman this good.

Aretha Franklin because I sing.

Roy Rogers.

Jayne Mansfield's big bust and wanted to bite them.

Yes. She was a Phys. Ed. teacher. Single too. I now think she was gay. She loved to play around with girls. Especially when we were getting dressed.

Hopalong Cassidy.

Sugar Ray Robinson. Some say I walk like him.

## 92. Do you believe in fate or luck?

I believe in fate	7
I believe in luck	20
I believe in both	5
I don't believe in either	8
Uncertain	1

93. (a) Do you consider yourself a homosexual or lesbian? (b) Why?

(a)

Yes	17
No	22
Don't know	3
No answer	0

(b) If I was one I would not have gotten married. These are just things that a human being will try out. Women go down on you just like a man and use her body the same way.

No. Just myself, that's all.

No. I am just a girl who happens to like other women.

No. I am bisexual.

Bisexual. At given times. I can put up with a man's shit and some with a woman. Then I don't want either one.

No. I prefer men over women. There is another name for what I feel and that's really bad. Being a homosexual is good compared to that.

A lesbian yes, Homosexual is for men.

Just a role I play every once in a while Not a regular thing. Not a homosexual.

I feel bisexual. I prefer women but also go for men.

Lesbian. I like women.

No. I am just me. Why put a name on it.

Maybe a lesbian because I've been with women.

No. Because I'm different person and changeable. I'm different at different times. I change. Don't know what to call myself.

Yes because of feelings toward girlfriends.

No. Just because I have engaged does not mean I am. I believe one is all the way or she isn't really homosexual.

No bisexual because I don't do it full time.

Don't know. A bisexual maybe.

No. A bisexual. I like both.

No. I feel this way. Everybody should do as she chooses and never be ashamed of what you do. Nothing wrong with that.

No. I think homosexuals are crazy.

Yes. Because I am.

No. I don't think I am because not too many people know what I do. A freak maybe.

Neither one. A homosexual is one who will do a little of anything. Go with anybody. Man, woman, child, dog whatever.

## 93. (b) (Cont'd.)

Will drink piss... [Screw]in the behind, etc. Wear a wet towel so somebody can take it and beat the hell out of them.

Yes. I like women and I am a woman.

No. I deal on emotions. Whatever I feel, I do. Couldn't describe it. I don't know the term or anything about being a homosexual.

Lesbian. I used to accept the homosexual term but now prefer the term lesbian.

Homosexual because I don't have sex with a man at all.

Yes. Because I get involved with my own sex. I am not happy with a man.

Yes. I like women. They get me hot. Sometimes I think I'm getting a hard on.

Yes. A homosexual. Lesbian is a slang term. I am a female homosexual because ever since legal age, I have preferred women to men.

Yes. Because I dig women. I'm not a butch because I'm not all the way. I do have sex with a man but don't get any kicks from it.

Yes. Because I like women more than I like men.

No. I am just a girl who likes other girls. I don't see anything wrong in it.

Yes. A lesbian because I go with women.

Yes. Both. I dig a split tail.

Of course I am. I fuck women don't I? "What is that?"

Yes. And I don't care who knows it. I likes women.

No. A good man who treated me right, a strong man coulda broke me if he really loved me.

## 94. Have you ever climaxed with a woman? (a) Always. (b) Usually (c) Sometimes (d) Never.

(a) 16

(b) 11

(c) 13

(d) 1

## 95. Have you ever climaxed with a man? (a) Always (b) Usually (c) Sometimes (d) Never.

(a) 2

(d) 6

(b) 7

Don't know 1

(c) 26

95. (Cont'd.)

Very seldom climax with a man.

Only 2 times.

By screwing, no but with a head job, yes.

96. (a) If you climaxed with both, which climax is usually better?  
(b) Why?

(a)

With men	5
With women	33
The same	3
Don't know	1

The feeling is the same no matter who gives it to you.

With women. She shows more affection toward you.

Women. Better technique.

Since I never climaxed with either one, I don't know and it doesn't apply.

Woman. She is superior to men.

Women. I feel it more. Put more into it.

Women. More gentle. Want to please you and can because are women to.

Women. It's a building up of the urge. A woman strives for that. A man lucks up. But I have heard that men are getting better.

Woman. It leaves you weak and helpless. A feeling you can't describe.

Woman. She makes you feel different by being a woman.

Prefer sex with women. Men don't do much of what they do.

Woman. Because a woman knows her organs and where to hit to feel good.

Men. I have more men than women.

That's hard. Sometimes men are good too. Equal.

Men. My husband. He does what women do.

Woman. Most have taken the time and effort to satisfy. I found only one man who has taken the time to want to satisfy me.

Men. I like men and women but have been with more men than women.

Women. Because she is female and that makes it better.

Women. When I'm with a man, I masturbate when they go to sleep.

Women. Have never climaxed with a man.

## 96. (b) (Cont'd.)

Because when I reach a climax with a woman, it's much more complete. They are so soft and cuddly. Men feel hard.

Women. Longer lasting. It lingers. I don't feel physically abused as I do with a man.

Women. I have never climaxed with a man. Climax easy with a woman.

Women. She knows how to tease and please. Men get on top and boom, that's it.

Women. I'm turned on by her body.

Women. I think there is a feeling of power involved.

Women. The softness drives you wild.

Women. You don't have to worry about getting pregnant. A man will run off. My sister's children have no father. He never even seen his children.

Women. They put more into it.

97. How many males have you had as sex partners in your life? (a) 500 (b) 100 (c) 50 (d) 25 (e) 10 (f) 5 (g) 2 (h) 1 (i) none.

(a)	1	(e)	14
(b)	3	(f)	9
(c)	5	(g)	1
(d)	8	(h)	1

98. How many females have you had as sex partners in your life? (a) 500 (b) 100 (c) 50 (d) 25 (e) 10 (f) 5 (g) 2 (h) 1

(a)	1	(e)	8
(b)	9	(f)	4
(c)	5	(g)	5
(d)	8	(h)	1 -

I was gonna say 50 but I don't want to lie. I have had about 22.

Only had 1 woman

More than men. Maybe not quite 100.

Really 200, not 100.

Could be more. Had a woman every night. Sometimes 2 or and some days 5. Sometimes I paid for it.

100. 100  
100.

100. (a) Do you think lesbian relationships last long or short? (b) About how long on the average? (c) Why is that?

(a)

Long	18
Depends	8
Short	12
Average	3
Hard to tell	1

(b)

Days	0	3 years or more	10
Week or months	13	Don't know	2
1 year	7	Overlapping answer	4
2 years	7		

(c)

There is always somebody out there more tempting than you are. Three years is a long time. I been together my girl that long. It is beautiful when it works out but I have problems between us, altho women satisfy real good.

I know friends who been going together since elementary school and are faithful.

Women like to change.

Short. Most break up because of a man and they go back when she breaks up with him. A real honest to goodness man with a good job will break up 2 women any day.

Long time but I like to move around. Women get catty after a while and I move on.

Girl finds fellow she's interested in and quits.

Mine lasted 4½ years. Women more affectionate. Try to please her partner.

Depends on how involved they are if they stay together. The aggressor will spend more time in gay life than the femme.

But average woman would not be gay if men weren't the way they are. I hope to meet the right man and have a family.

I know guys who ask their women to have a baby for them.

They have business to take care and have another woman. That's why relationships are short.

Don't know why so short if only 2-4 months.

They get tired of each other. Argue, fight and break-up.

Because they are always after another woman. Just like men if they can get it (short).

Last long. About 1 year. Don't know why.

After a while, I can't spend too much time with a woman.

Short. Women too jealous of each other. Jealous of her man and her woman.

## 100.(c) (Cont'd.)

Lasts 6 months to 3 years. Will change if you are uncomfortable in it.

Last longer than a man-woman marriage. 5 years. Because women have more understanding than men. Both think alike.

Last at least 2 years because I'm an understanding person. Some women mess up. May see someone they like better.

Long. Some last overnight, 2 years, 6 months. Break up because they want a new experience - just like a man.

I stayed with one 9 years and with another 8 years. I was going with both at the same time.

Depends. I seen lots of one nighters and lots of 5 years. Seen one last 19 years. The average is 9 years. No answer on cause.

Depends. Lasts 1 year. That's about as long as nonnal marriage if you don't count staying together for the kids.

Hard to tell. I've been in 2 worlds. In the past, they were longer lasting. Now they are shorter. Don't know why. Maybe because of the change in society itself. There is more of a selection now. Thus people are less stable. In the past, you held on to what you had because companions were hard to find.

So-so. Favorable to male/female marriages and we don't have any kids to hold us together. Lasts 2 years. Because the love is more sincere than with a man.

Last long about 1 year. I was with one for 12 years. But most times, one is bi-sexual and will slip off to a man.

Long and short. A couple of weeks to a couple of years. Because you find somebody you like better.

Long. I went with one chick 4 years. She loved me but some dude offered her a lot of money and she went because of the money, not because she loved him.

Short but longer than with men. A couple of months. I don't know why.

Sometimes last only weeks. Most women would rather have a man but the men you meet are shit heads, You get disgusted and turn to women.

101.(a) What do you think causes women to become gay? (b) Can they be turned around by a good man? (c) Is it a sickness? (d) Can it be cured? (e) Can a woman who digs only men be made gay by a good bulldagger?

(a)

When you are unhappy at home you become gay. I see so many people have a good time that way, I went into the field. Can't stay in a rut.

Born that way.

Don't know. You tell me why. I really want to know.

## 101. (a) (Cont'd.)

Girl rapped with me and told me how people would talk. Then she kissed me and I got a feeling. It went on from there.

Because a woman's body is more fascinating than a man's. Female is attracted quicker to a female just in general.

Don't know.

In my case, my father. I feel ashamed of it and yet I tell a lot of people - not all I told you but the main facts. Do you think I get some kind of thrill from talking about? Do I feel proud in a strange way that he wanted me? I think about it a lot. Do you think I'll have a breakdown or go to the funny farm some day?

Born that way. Some stop for a while when they get married but start back later. It's in the blood. Some fight it. I had 2 that never did it before but I got to them.

Lots of girls have been hurt by men and some are born gay. Girls who are masculine are called bulldaggers.

A lack somewhere. Maybe way she has been treated by a man. A million things. Could be her family. I loved this fellow. By being neglected, I went out and searched for something else. If he hadn't done it, I probably would not have been gay. Being gay with some people is a sickness. They actually believe they are males. The right man can cure it if it is not a mental thing. A mental thing needs a psychiatrist. A straight woman can be made gay and the one who does it don't even have to be a "good" woman.

What caused me to be gay was a man. I had tried it with girls and liked it but a good man could have kept me straight. He was no damn good.

Lack of security with right man. Woman learns what a man stands for and when he don't have it, she reverts to someone else.

Women get fed up with men and want something new. They can be turned around by a man but I'm still waiting. Cured? What is there to cure?

Mistreatment from a man is part of it. Can't be turned around by a good bulldagger.

Just wanted to know and did it. I wasn't born that way and nobody forced me. I liked it.

Men do. They think they do. Say one thing and do another.

They have a stepfather who plays with them. They get raped or just grow up like that.

Male rejection. Women can't cope with society. Peer groups also cause it. I think it is a sickness and can be cured.

It's in them and they want to try it. Experiment with it. Just like you're taking a chance with a man, you're taking the same change with a woman.

## 101. (a) (Cont'd.)

Mostly when intoxicated, I get the urge. A man can't change her if she is born that way but mostly he can.

Something about a woman's body turns me on.

Environment.

A lot of women do it. Because they choose to. I believe every one on earth is inquisitive and will do it sometime. I don't know about changing a straight girl. I know one that a girl tried to make "her people." But the girl said, "Ain't nothing happening baby, 'cause the dick is too good." I say wait til next time.

A man. A man can turn a woman around if he is good in all ways, in bed and taking care of her.

The majority use it to escape. A lot of them go with one or 2 men and they treat them bad and they go to a woman saying ain't no woman going to push me around like a man.

Sometimes they are neglected by family, or hurt by a man. Sometimes the family treats a man like a woman and vice versa. It's not a sickness. Just something you like.

From my experience and hildhood. My husband misused me. He goes out on payday, stays out a week and then come home and is ready to beat my behind. A woman has to stay home with the kids. There has to be a better life than this. Homosexuality can be cured unless a person is definitely a bulldagger or faggot. No return from that. But no one is born to be that.

Her feelings. They are born that way. Can change a straight woman. I did it to quite a few.

It is just my thing and don't know of any other reason. Can't understand it myself.

Some are born that way. It is a faith. Something you believe in. Probably comes from being misunderstood from male/female relationships. For those who never experienced a male, that's the way they always were. No answer to the rest.

Society. Because I believe men and women are born bi-sexual. Society puts people into categories. If you don't fit, they put you in another category called homosexuality. They label you. Society has a big hang-up when it comes to sex.

A homosexual is one who doesn't go with men. A gay is a bi-sexual. One is not made gay. There are a lot of gay people who are gay because they are unattractive, etc. But they basically like men and are not really gay.

Women are tender. When one tender woman shows affection toward another, it is needed by a woman. Need to love. I never found it with a man. Once a man knows you are his woman, he treats you badly. Don't spend the necessary time to learn his woman.

## 101. (a) (Cont'd.)

She is born that way. Yes. A woman can change another one. A woman knows another one's weakness.

Don't know. Too controversial. There is a strong possibility that they are born that way. Extenuating social pressures then aid what may already be there. A man can change her only if her gay life has been so painful that she is emotionally destitute in her homosexuality. Then she is looking for something else. A woman who is straight can only be made bisexual.

There was somebody in her family that she admires very much and feels she wants to be exactly like that person. She has seen a lot and heard women who act like men in a room and she wants to try it. I doubt if a man can turn her. And it can't be cured unless that person has a strong constitution.

When I heard my mother say that she might expect me to get pregnant but not my oldest sister, that stopped me from playing around with men. A man can't turn a woman. It is a sickness and it can be cured.

It's a bad experience with men that causes it. A sincere man can break it up. And a good woman could not turn a straight woman if she's got a real good man. A half-ass one, yes.

She gets jammed up into the experience. A man's got to know how to hit the clitoris to satisfy his woman, but a woman automatically knows. Once a woman comes with a woman, she will do it again if possible because the feeling is different with 2 clits together.

I could never figure it out.

They got to be born that way. I know I was. A woman can't be really turned around by a man but she can be made to dig men too. When I was younger, I was a stomping butch. Some dude got to me. I even wore a dress for him and make-up. He turned out to be no fucking good. And I went back to the life. I don't say I would have been straight but I could have made him a good wife.

Because of a man.

Men do. I even tried to kill one and I didn't care anymore what they did to me. But the bastard lived and I went to prison. Yes another woman can be made gay because no man is going to do right by her but will fuck up and the woman knows it.

Causes of Homosexuality

<u>Men</u>	<u>Born that Way</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Just like it</u>	<u>Environment</u>
21	8	3	5	3
	<u>Inquisitive</u>		<u>Society</u>	
	1		1	

101. (b)

No answer	1	No	7
Yes	27	Depends	5
Can't answer	1	Sometimes	1

(c)

Yes	7
No answer	1
No	34

(d)

Yes + (psychiatry)	12	No answer	1
Sometimes	2	Maybe	1
No	25		

(e)

Yes - + (the easiest trip you can make)		34
Depends	2	
No	3	
Don't know	1	
No answer	1	

102. (a) Do you consider yourself to be a happy or contented person?  
 (b) Why?

(a)

Happy	5
Contented	26
Happy and contented	2
Unhappy	8
So - so	1

(b)

I let nothing upset me.

To a certain degree. Don't have everything I want.

So - so. I'm unlucky.

All right. No complaints. I'm young and got my health.

Contented maybe. Not happy. To be happy everything in life has to be all right. I need too many things.

Contented. This is not the life I want forever. But enjoy it at this time.

Yes. When you ain't got money you are unhappy. Am only contented.

## 102. (b) (Cont'd.)

Happy. I am satisfied with what I got.

Contented. Not happy at all. I am a woman and I want things I can't get. Nice apartment and clothes, food, money. Nice things.

Contented. Cause I don't feel that happy to speak about it.

No. I still haven't found what I want.

Yeah contented altho greedy.

No. I ain't neither. Life is not the way I want it.

Happy. I don't reach out for what I can't get.

Contented. Don't believe in happiness.

Very unhappy. Lonely. Discontent. Because I'm alone and don't have a lover.

Contented. I am divided in 2 places. My kids and my girlfriend.

Unhappy. I don't care if I die or if my mother dies. I hate everybody - especially her. I don't care.

Contented. It's fate and you gotta accept it.

## 103. (a) Was there ever anyone you really and truly loved? (b) Did anyone - anyone at all -- love you that way? (c) How do you know?

(a)

Man	14	Nobody	2
Woman	13	A man and a woman	9
My mother	2	No answer	1
Grandmother	1		

(b)

Man	13	My mother	0
Woman	16	Don't know	2
Man and woman	7	Nobody	2
Grandma	1	No answer	2

(c)

Because when I left, he cried.

Baby's father really loved me. I saw what he went thru. But I don't believe in marriage. Won't last.

The dumb P. R., my first love. He said he was coming back to marry me. But there is a lot I have to explain to him first like the fact that I like women. He got married but has a gold frame of me on his mantle and his wife was mad. They are split now. She told me that "I have heard about you all time I was married and I got it up to here over you."

Now I think I was in love with mother's girlfriend.

## 103. (c) (Cont'd.)

No. Nobody ever loved me that way. Nobody at all.

My husband loves me. His actions show it. I loved him and another man maybe the second one because I've known him so long.

Loved my mother. Never any man or woman. A man of 50 loved me and wanted to leave me everything.

Yes. Girlfriend's brother really loved me.

I loved 2 males and one of them loved me. I saw it grow as we were together.

Nobody loved me.

Yes. A woman, 2 of them loved me. They couldn't do without me.

A woman can tell if a man loves her. He does everything for me.

I loved women and every one I had loved me. Could see in things they did. Shows in every way.

Yes. Many women have. 3 committed suicide over me.

My white southern girl. She loved me too.

I loved a woman and a man. A lot loved me, both men and women. They showed it.

I loved a woman and she loved me. She almost took her life when I wanted to leave her.

I loved a woman and she loved me. I know because of the way we wanted to be together. Money or lack of it was no barrier. We found great pleasure in doing things that cost no money.

A woman and she loves me too. I think she do.

Every woman I ever fucked, I loved for a time. No. There were really 2 I truly loved. Two were women and one was a man. They loved me too and showed it in everything.

Yes. The man I tried to kill. The father of my first child.

A woman I lived with for 5 years was good to me. One man said he loved me, 3 women truly loved me.

## 104. (a) How important is finding true love to you? (b) Do you feel you are searching for it?

(a)

Very important	36
Important	1
Not important	3
No response	2

## 104. (b) (Cont'd.)

Very much so	27
Not really or so-so	4
I found it	4
Not at all	5
No response	2

Everybody looks for true love. Hardest thing on the face of the earth to find.

Most important thing in my life. I search every day.

It used to be important. I thought the man I was with truly loved me and sometimes I feel disgusted.

Ain't important. Don't want anyone to love. Care for me, do for me, but love me, no. Because I get all tied up.

Not important because I found it already.

At one time it was important to me after I lost my lover but now I have learned to be contented with companionship. I'm still not completely over her yet and it's been 5 years.

Most important thing in life. Yes.

I have given up on ever finding it. I'm trying not to search too hard because you grab and see things in people that are not there.

Very. Everyone on the face of the earth searches for it or is a liar.

## 105. (a) Have you ever made love to an undercover gay woman? (b) If so, why was she undercover?

(a)

Yes 32

No 10

(b)

Yes. She didn't want her family to know. They were doctors, lawyers, etc. She had to cool it.

Yes. She is a school girl now. Only 17 years old.

She was undercover to her man. She felt he wouldn't understand.

Yes. She was married and very butch. She carried her men's clothes in a little bag and put them on here.

Many times. Some got hang-ups. Sometimes they got a position to get hurt if anybody finds out. Some are married. Some are rich.

She was married and didn't want anyone to know. Even talked against it.

All my affairs are like that. She had a man and I did too.

## 105. (b) (Cont'd.)

Yes. I made a bet with a faggot that I could get a certain woman to sleep with me and I got her. She also gave me \$25.

Yes. The very first one who seduced me was a real beauty and and was hiding her homosexuality from everybody. Was very wealthy and high-bred.

Yes. She had a man. She was ashamed to admit it even to herself that she liked women.

She was pretending to be high class.

Yes. One was married and the other I caught her at the right time and place. She was in hiding because these things were not talked about back in the 40s. I even came out of my pants altogether for that girl. I looked feminine with lipstick and all so no one would know.

Sure. They have hang-ups over what they are doing.

Yes. She was hiding it from people and maybe from herself too.

106. (a) In your experience, do you think that a lot of women who have children but no man sometimes engage in sex with other women for relief or even to get some support money from them? (b) Do you know of any situations like that?

(a)

Yes	37
No	4
Sometimes	1

(b)

Yes	38
No answer	1
No	3

107. When these women do get a man do they break off with the women or continue going to bed with both of them?

Break-off	6
Continue with both	25
Some do, some don't	3
Don't know	4
Don't apply	3
No answer	1

Some break off and have a skeleton in the closet.

Both. A man gives more money but stops after he's had you for a while.

## 107. (Cont'd.)

Don't break off if they can keep both.

Usually both if their money is good.

Break off. I did it with my husband.

Both. Most women don't trust the man until he proves himself.

If they cut off, they would be out in the cold if things went bad.

Depends on the man. If he's real, they break off.

I've seen all kinds of couples and combinations - if the money is good.

Depends on the kind of woman. A lot of them are greedy.

Go with both until she is certain about her man.

## 109. (a) Have you ever been so low that you thought about committing suicide? (b) Why? (c) If so, at what age?

(a)

Yes 18

No 24

(b)

Love. Lost it at New Year's. I have thought about doing it many times. Just last year.

Right now. I am helping brother through college and I am sometimes so broke.

Yes and no. Thought about it but knew I would never do it. Over love. Tough times.

Yes. When they took me away from my father.

Yes. I was down in the dumps. Love relationship went wrong. It was over a guy.

Yeah. I was high and unhappy. Just myself - my condition.

Yes. Male rejection or ego.

Yes. Sister kept picking at me. Fight me for no reason. I got depressed. I was 16.

Yes. Life not lived to the fullest. I wanted to be somebody.

Yes. About 5 or 6 times. Depressed over things I wanted to do that I never got to do.

Homicide but no suicide.

Yes. A overdose of sleeping pills once. Tried jumping out the window because of mother. I wanted love from her. Mother had a different man every night and would fix breakfast for him. Give him steaks and me pork and beans. All I wanted was a little love from my mother.

## 109. (b) (Cont'd.)

Yes. Confused and in love.

Yes. When the whole world is against you and walls are closing in. I have even taken pills to die. 12 pills to commit suicide.

Never.

No.

Yes. Depressed about life in general at 18 and 21.

Oh no.

Yes. I broke with my husband and got involved with this girl. Everything was new and different. Emotional. I couldn't take it. At 18.

Yes. Last year. I wanted to kill her and me. A white woman who was married and had a 20 some year old daughter. I called a minister and he talked to me over the phone for over an hour to get me to change my mind. I'm a 50 year old woman lonely and grasping for straws. A pitiful sight.

No.

Yes. My husband was going on long distance trucking. When our baby died, he wasn't even there orr the funeral.

Yes. At 15. Because of the numbers man.

No. I love me too much.

No. Heavenly Father, no!

No. (Surprising)

No. I was at a point where I didn't give a shit what happened to me but that's not suicide.

## 110. (a) Would it bother you to have your children taught by homosexuals in the schools? (b) Why or why not?

(a)

Yes 6

No 32

Don't Know 4

## 111. What is your opinion on having women cops, firewomen, and other positions that used to be for men?

Good 29

Not in favor 8

If they want to 4

Don't know 1

114. (a) Do you go to gay bars? (b) How often?

(a)

Yes	26
No	16

(b)

Not often	0	Twice a month	0
No answer	15	Once a month	3
Once a week	0	Don't apply	16
Twice a week	0		

115. (a) Do you hide the fact that you like women? (b) Why?

(a)

Yes	13
Sometimes	5
No	24

(b)

That's human nature. Why lie?

Don't care who knows it. This is me.

No. I am me and others have to accept me.

Not really. But I do around my family and certain people.

Yes. That is my personal business.

Yes. As far as family goes. Mother would have a heart attack.

Don't want my daughter to know. So none of the people in my neighborhood know about me. That's why I disappear only week-end and come here.

Don't want anybody to know it, I am a closet butch.

Yes. Because I prefer to present myself as one who is not in the game.

Because I got a man and because of society (I hide it).

Now I do. With a man. He knows I've been gay.

No. If a man is open-minded, it wouldn't bother him about women. He has to have a complex about it.

Yes. I'm undercover. Because I like men too and don't want everybody to know my business.

Sometimes. In situations where I have to.

Well I don't broadcast it. I got a son who is 15.

Most of the time. Why put it on TV?

No because I believe that if people don't like me and what I do in my bed, I don't need them.

## 115. (b) (Cont'd.)

Yes. Only around my child and my family or people who will tell them. I ain't ashamed of it but I don't want them hurt.

## 116. How and where do you meet gay women companions?

Got them in my family. They introduce me to others	2
Advertized activities in certain papers	1
Introduced by friends	19
Go to a club or bar where they be at	13
At parties	14
In regular bars	5
On the streets	5
Go to straight bars	1
Make friends with her	1
Everywhere	1
Couldn't say	1
Around clubs	2
Park	1
United Nations	1
Meet in hotel	1
In school	1

## 117. (a) Would you want your children to be gay? (b) Why?

(a)

Yes	0
No	18
Don't care	1
It's their own choice	21
Don't know	2

## 118. (a) Does your family know you are into the gay life? (b) What would happen if they did? (c) Do your children know? (d) Do you show affection for other women in front of them?

(a)

Yes	23
Don't Know	3
No	16

## 118. (b)

Don't know	6	They would be hurt, shocked	6
They don't accept it	1	They would accept it	9
They would reject me	3	No answer	17

## (c)

Yes	11	Don't know	1
No answer	4	Don't apply	8

No	13		
----	----	--	--

## (d)

Yes	10	No	27
Sometimes	1	No answer	4

## 119. If your children became gay would it be because of the way you raised them or because they were born that way.

Raised that way	6	Neither. They selected it themselves	12
Environment	1	Curiosity	1
Born that way	18	Don't know	1
Developed it in life	2	Fate	1

## 120. What is your attitude toward white?

Nothing against them	27
I don't like them	13
No attitude	2

Race ain't no color to me. I am not prejudiced.

They are human beings.

Treat them the way they treat me. We are all human.

Don't hate them but could do without if it wasn't for the need to make a living.

No whitey can be trusted.

Don't trust them too much.

Kill them.

I could do without them to a certain extent.

They turn me right the fuck off.

Hate them. Some are all right.

I dig them.

They have hang-ups. But they are not danger to me.

They are devils. I try to deal with them individually. On the whole, I don't trust them.

## 120. (Cont'd.)

Some are nice, some are not. The same as with blacks.

Have white and colored friends.

I've got a white wife.

Nothing against them. They sometimes treat you better than your own.

## 121. (a) Did you ever make love to a white man? (b) If so, is there a difference between him and the brothers?

(a)

Yes	27
-----	----

No	15
----	----

(b)

Yes	18	No difference	3
-----	----	---------------	---

Don't know	2	Doesn't apply	15
------------	---	---------------	----

No	2
----	---

No answer	2
-----------	---

Yes. A white man don't last as long as a soul brother.

Baby's father is white. The difference is he is a gentleman type. Not really a difference. He comes quicker.

Yes. When I was doing numbers.

No big difference, but it is usually straight in and out quick.

I never been able to come with one.

Yes. He didn't know how to fuck.

Don't like to make love to them.

Yes. I felt a little funny. It didn't feel good to me. Maybe mental.

Yes. Depends on the man. No racial difference. Had some blacks worse than some whites.

Once. He wasn't shit. I asked him what are you doing? Tickling me with that little thing?

I was married to one. Never made love to a black man.

Yes. He is more out to satisfy the woman than the black man is.

One white man shocked the shit out of me tho. He was at my house. He wanted to suck out my ass. I never heard that before. I let him do it. He paid me.

Yes. They treat women a little better.

122. Do you find white women sexually attractive?

Yes	15
No	16
Some are, some not	11

Yes but they are more freakish.

Have to give it some thought. No. But if half breed, is ,because they're more interesting.

No. All are ugly. Deformed in some way.

Some of them. Just like some blacks.

Not a whole lot.

I have.

123. Do you think white lesbians find black women especially sexy?

Yes	37	Maybe	1
No	0	Don't know	2
Some	2		

Hell yes. They got a thing for us. Especially if the black woman looks sexy.

Definitely.

Sure. I think they want black women more than white men do and that's a lot.

They sure do.

Yes. All whites find all blacks attractive. They don't know what to do with us or without us.

Very much so. I had one tell me that she climaxes when a rough-looking black woman just talks to her.

Yes indeed. They are really turned on to us. I had my first one at 13 in training school. She chased me til she got me.

124. (a) Did you ever make love to a white girl? (b) Would you accept or turn down the chance to do so?

(a)

Yes	21
No	21

(b)

Accept	4	No answer	5
Depends	1	Doesn't apply	21
Turn down	11		

124. (Cont'd.)

No. But if I liked her, she wouldn't be treated any different.

No. Heavens no. Would turn it down.

Well - Yes, a few.

Turn down the chance unless she took care of me with money.

If with money, I would take a chance to do it.

No. Would turn it down.

No. I was offered a chance to make love to a white girl and refused.

No. As much as I like money, she couldn't pay me enough.

Yes. It was very boring.

Yes. I did. Had a white southern girl lover. She was my true love and I was hers.

Yes I did. Black girls are better.

125. (a) If you did make love to a white girl, did you find her better, the same, or inferior to black women sexually? (b) Why?

(a)

Better	1	The same	9
Depends	3	Don't know	1
Not as good	6	She is different	1
Doesn't apply	21		

(b)

Not as good because she just lets go. Comes just like that. A lot ask me "Am I as good as a black woman?" I tell them yes because I don't want to hurt their feelings.

Don't remember how she was too well. I was not that impressed.

Well she's a little different. She's like the white man, she comes quicker. She's more mental. The black butch is more physical. It depends on what you're into.

In pure sex, the black women is better. But the white butches and some femmes too must lay awake at night dreaming up crazy things to do. They are not as physical as black women. Don't hit you. They come more than black women. More affectionate.

Depends. Her actions are softer. She does what you tell her better than the sisters do. They ain't hard and they like to show you they love you.

I liked them both. I like something about white women. It was new. And after you've had it, you go back to blackness.

Inferior to a certain extent. She wanted to know if she satisfied me better than any black woman. I told her, "Hell No". She told me that she heard blacks were much better in bed than white people.

## 125. (b) (Cont'd.)

Inferior. But money-wise better. I was bored with her. My superior was white on the job and I did it with her.

I feel it's up to me. I am supposed to make a woman want to give and feel like giving emotion to me. No difference.

The same. Lot of them got soul.

I can't say better. She was certainly more affectionate. My love had a sheet white color and was blond.

No difference. More freakish.

The same. No better. A woman is a woman.

Inferior to black woman. I'm used to verbal expressions - moaning, swearing, crying, etc. that black women do. Some black women even yell out, "Fuck me, motherfucker, fuck me" in the heat of passion. A white girl might say "Oh Honey!"

The same. From my experience.

It's an individual thing. I find this one better than any woman I had because I love her, not because she's white.

She is not better but she is different. They do different things than we do.

Blacks are better. Just better.

They give you more affection in sex than black women do. I need affection and for me they are better. Black women use better techniques though.

## 126. If you did make love to one did you find her more passionate, less passionate or roughly the same as black women?

More passionate	12	The same	3
Less passionate	4	They vary	1
They fake passion	1	Don't apply	21

She was more passionate. Change that. Roughly the same. She wasn't sure of herself. She was afraid to let herself go. She was too anxious.

Little more passionate and a lot more affectionate. They are also freakier. They're into some way out things.

They come more but pretend more. More passionate from what I see. Our color turns them on.

They like you to get rough. Pull their hair. Show them who is boss. Especially the ones with money.

Less passionate. I had to tell her what to do. Best way to communicate is to touch.

126. (Cont'd.)

No difference. It depends on me.

The same.

Far more passionate. More sensitive in private area than blacks. Never rough. Whites, however, are more freakish than blacks.

More passionate.

I think they put on more. I don't like girls to con me. If it's good let me know it but don't fake it. That turns me off.

Strangely they have multiple orgasms but hold their feelings in more. They appear not to be as passionate as black women.

More passionate. I remember one who came to my house and got in bed with my mother. My mother put her out. She was a classmate of mine.

More passionate.

More passionate.

She is much more passionate. I can usually make them pass out.

More passionate.

126. (a) If you did make love to one, do white lesbians prefer a difference style or technique than those used by blacks?

Yes. A whole lot. You can find some dumb white women and have to show them what to do.

Don't know. I made love to her and it was not returned. I sucked her and she did nothing to me.

Yes. Freakier things. Mental trips. I had one cream cheese my whole body and lick it off. One stuffed my vagina with cream cheese and sucked it out like an orange. You know how you siphon gas with a tube?

Yes. They do all kinds of things we never think of. I had one eat strawberries out of me. They loved to be slapped and have their hair pulled - even the butches. Also a lot of the butches (white) will want to act femme for a black woman.

I bit one's tit almost off. She liked it. I even pissed on one. She liked it too. They like to kiss a lot and touch you a lot and talk love a lot. They also like you to talk dirty to them. "Come here you motherfucker, come here." Stuff like that. Turns them on more. When they are married and husband is away and you visit them at home, they want you to put on husband's clothes or pajamas.

They don't get on top of you like a man. They like to kiss and play and suck - everywhere, even between the toes.

126. (a) (Cont'd.)

Don't think so. Most like to be caressed more than blacks.

Yes. They are freaky. She wanted me to whip her with a belt to make her come. Wanted to make love on the refrigerator, on a chair in the park, etc. Brutality, I don't go for.

They are more jealous than blacks.

No.

Yes. Black women like soft treatment. Whites like rough treatment so as to get the feeling of being with a man.

Yes. Most like oral love. Masturbate a lot. Lot use of objects when masturbating but not in making love. They like to cuddle. Like lots of foreplay - even to the point where they can't stand it anymore.

No.

They like a slap technique on the clitoris. You take your hand and slap it until they come. I can do the same thing with me on top.

No they accepted whatever I dished out.

No.

They are less physical. They like to play with the fingers instead of the real thing. My woman is like that. Now she prefers body contact.

Yes. If you get one that never has been with blacks before, they don't know anything about body to body. They like to use their tongues and their hands - until they learn.

Yes. They like to lick the asshole. I don't dig that. They are more freakish. Some want to be beat with a belt. Some want you to lick them all the way down and on their backs too.

Yes. They kiss a lot. Feel you a lot. Suck a lot. Black women like to ride a woman like a man.

126. (b) What is the major differences between the white lesbian style of life and the black lesbian lifestyle. Or do you think all lesbians are more or less the same?

If she's got money, it's a different style. But even without money, whites are more freakish. They like to see you pull off all your clothes so they can see your whole body. To Blacks it doesn't make that much difference to take off everything.

All the same.

No big difference. But a lot of them dress like girls - don't wear boy's clothes.

Don't know.

White women go on a mental trip, black women on a physical trip. Whites do more with the mind. Not so physical. They claim they don't go for male and female roles but they do. They hide what they're doing more.

White lesbians are freakier than black lesbians but softer. Like a mother. They do things us black chicks don't think about. The first had my ass licked, it was a white chick. Some things I think they are afraid to do with a white man.

Whites talk a lot about hating men and that the world needs to change. They talk about going to work and all that. What's stopping them? They talk about the right to come. They come more than we do.

Yes. White women being up there can do what they want. The black woman has to hide it.

Yes. White lesbians work on a professional basis of building something together, like a home, life, career. And black lesbians are so profound on being butch or feminine.

More blacks dress very hard - whites are more conservative.

Yes. Black lesbians are more up to date and white women are trying to get into today's life.

Whites always want to make love, love, love, all the time. Blacks only certain times and they want you to stay at home and wait for them.

All the same.

None.

Yes. There is role playing with blacks. Not with whites. Lots of black women use gayness as a crutch. Say they can't get a job because they are black and gay.

Yes. Just like black and white straight life. Environment, culture and everything.

None really except that more of them are all the way gay.

## 126. (b) (Cont'd.)

It is hard to say. I'm now living among whites and they are hung up on their whiteness, their middleclassness, their self-importance. White lesbianism comes out of this kind of culture and its bound to effect their approach to human contact. Hell, I came farther than any of them will ever travel. I started from 116th Street in Harlem as a Nurse's Aid, became an aide in Physical Therapy, then studied it and now I'm an Assistant Director. I still appreciate the simpler human values. A good person, a noble gesture can bring tears to my eyes.

White girls want to fight a lot if a man talks to them. They gets an attitude. Blacks don't.

With white lesbians, the one who is butch is more dominant.

Whites are hung-up on liberation and on not being lesbians. They call it woman to woman but its still a woman fucking another woman and one of them is running the show no matter how they slice it, and call it something else. But not so many of them are hard dressers. But when they do, watch out.

Whites talk a lot about women's lib and hating men. I don't listen to that shit. That's their thing. We got our own problems. They say there aint no butch and no femme anymore. That's a lie, they don't want some man to set them down, they want to work. That's crazy.

They are more freakish.

The white ones try to be more romantic. They even read you poems. You don't catch no black ones doing nothing like that.

## 127. Do you have wet dreams (dream that you're having a climax?)

Yes	20	No	20
No answer	1	Sometimes	1

## 128. (a) What do you think of the practice of playing with your own sex organs? (b) Have you ever done it? (c) At what age? (d) To a climax? (e) How often? (f) How did you feel about it afterwards? (g) Do you do it now?

(a)

Against it	22
Not against it	19
To each his own	1

I don't do it cancer. . . Fingernails. Get a scratch and get cancer from that.

## 128. (a) (Cont'd.)

I wondered after doing it, why I did it.

I do it when I have to. Whenever I ain't got no woman or when I see one I want and can't get to her yet.

Never did it.

No but I have taken douches, it felt good to me.

I started doing it only after I started with a woman.

No good. Too many people out there to satisfy you.

No good. I tried it once and it turned me off. If I can't get a man to do it, let it go.

Don't do it. When I need something, I go out and get it off. Don't see what a person gets out of it.

Never wanted to do it. Always had someone to satisfy me.

I only did it when I started going with girls, and when I got hot and nobody was around.

I do it sometimes after I got grown. When I am thinking of someone or angry with a person I want to be with but refuse to see, I do it.

Yes. When I ain't got anybody. I sometimes pop my legs up and let a stream of water run over my cunt in the bath. Sometimes feels better than a woman.

Normal. How much I do depends. In jail I do it more. In the streets, seldom.

If you like it. As a kid I did it all the time and enjoyed but now I don't like it. I feel guilty.

To each his own. I don't do it. I prefer the real thing.

It's OK. I've used a vibrator. As a kid in High School. When an exam came up, I got a strong sexual urge in the vagina and discovered I could cross my legs, squeeze my thighs and climax and then take the exam completely refreshed. I started at 15 and carried it into adult life.

It embarrasses me when I do it. I get mad at myself and don't do it too often.

I didn't do it when I was younger but after a couple of bitches left me high and dry, I tried it. I was in my 20's.

No good. It makes you weak-minded.

128. (b)

Yes. 18

No. 22

Only when small 2

(c)

Can't remember.

15 or 16.

From 5 on up.

10 or 11.

All ages.

At 18.

At 11.

At 19, not before.

At 7.

18.

Grown.

13.

8.

Long as I can remember.

I was 10.

15.

Grown woman and after first making love to a woman. When I can't see her and I get hot, I do it.

At 16.

To each his own.

Against it. Never did it.

In my 20's

At 18.

(d)

Yes 16

No. 3

128. (e)

Not often	3	Every morning	1
No answer	1	When I got hot	4
Depends	6	As many as I need	1
2 or 3 times a week	3		

(f)

Guilty	8
Not guilty	11

(g)

Yes	6
No	6
Sometimes	7

129. Do you think most girls secretly play with themselves?

Yes	32	Don't know	3
No	5	Sometimes	2

130. How did people of your own age group or playmates treat you as a child?

Well liked	27	Lots of jealousy	8
A leader	16	Misunderstood	3
A follower		The brains	1
Lonely	8		

131. (a) Was there any particular playmate who was something like a leader who everyone tried to copy? (b) Did you?

(a)	
Yes	12
No	30

(b)

Yes	7
No	4
Some	1

132. (a) What was the attitude toward sex of the group you grew up with? (b) Any of them get pregnant? (c) Any go with lesbians? (d) How did the group respond to actions that were different?

(a)

Open attitude	32	Closed attitude	4
Don't know	2	Didn't discuss it	1

(b)

Yes	37
No	4
Don't know	1

(c)

Yes	37
No	4
Don't know	1

(d)

Rejecting	18
Permissive	23
Don't know	1

135. (a) Do you have reason to suspect that some other person in your family might have had a sex problem? (b) If so, how much time did you spend with this person as a child? (c) Who?

Yes	24
No	17
Don't know	1

(b)

A lot	13
Not much	8
No answer	8

(c)

Aunts	3	Sisters	9
Cousins	4	Mother	2
Brothers	8	Son	1

136. (a) Does your best friend know you dig women? (b) Is she into the life herself? (c) How about your other friends, both men and women?

(a)

Yes	34
No	5
No best friend	3

(b)

Yes	20	No	15
I think so	2	No best friend	5

(c)

Yes	20	Some only	11
No	10	Don't have any friends	1

138. (a) Is there a big difference in making love to a man compared to with a woman? (b) Which is better? (c) Why?

(a)

Yes	34
No	7
Don't know	1

(b)

Woman	34	Neither	5
Man	2	Don't know	1

(c)

Neither. After you get the feeling off of you, it's the same.

Yes. The whole thing is different.

Nothing like an old-fashioned fuck.

She is more compassionate. Men are like animals.

Used to be a big difference but not any more. Men are getting better.

With a woman you feel her around you. Depends on how long her tongue is. I don't like no fingers. But a man you can feel it up inside you. Stretches longer than a tongue.

Man is brutal, women gentle.

No. The only thing that is missing is the male organ. All the women I've been with do it to me and I do nothing. Some like me to finger them but not eat them. A woman is better. She does what I want. A real butch don't ask me to do it.

## 138. (c) (Cont'd.)

Either way you climax if he or she is good. Women are more gentle but it is even.

Because they are females, they are better.

Getting on top of a man is a whole lot different from getting on top of a woman. He still has something in me.

Most men think that if they jab it enough times, you should climax. There is more to love than that. Tenderness, sympathy, understanding. You get these with women. Women are better.

A woman is a woman and a man is a man. There is no comparison. Women care about you. Men are shallow in feelings. They only get deep with their pricks.

She know how to find your weakness better.

## 139. Do you hit your woman or get hit by her when jealous or mad?

Yes 29

No 13

## 140. (a) Did a man ever hit you when jealous or mad? (b) What was your reaction to it?

(a)

Yes 33

No 8

(b)

No. They wanted to but was afraid of what I might have in my pocket.

No reaction. I had gotten high and he got mad. He smacked the shit out of me but we were only good friends. We were that much all right.

Husband. He can't stand the dumb P.R. I was nagging him, telling him about my P.R. dream man.

Sometimes when I'm drinking I do it to see how much they love me. (man and woman.)

Yes. My man now, my husband and father. I got them jealous. When a man loses his head and beats a woman, she knows he loves her.

Nothing. I was his woman and he caught me wrong. He was right.

Yes. I cried. I don't cry when a woman hits me.

Yes. I was hurt. We fought. I got stitches. Black eye. He was jealous.

## 140. (b) (Cont'd.)

Yes. I was shocked. Cried. And stayed away from home and him overnight.

Yes. I hit him back. Then we fought. He wound up in the hospital - 11 stitches. I had 3.

Yes. My jawbone was broken.

Yes. He hit me and I almost killed him.

Yes. A couple of times but I stabbed him.

Yes, A lot. Uncalled for. Man shouldn't hit a woman.

Yes. And I was ready to tear his ass up.

Sure. Not hit but a fight. A drag-out good time. I was hurt both ways (emotionally and physically.) I fought back.

Yes. I wanted to fight. I have had 10 fights and 4 of them with men. I beat one man good.

No. I don't mess with black men.

Yes. One time. I cried and wasn't strong enough to fight him back. He couldn't control me and that's why he did it.

I walked out on him. He was an evil nigger and I knew he would kill me.

Never. I would fight him like a natural man and beat his ass.

Yeah. I wanted to know why they hit on me? I hates men now. They know they're stronger. They want womens to fight over them.

142. (a) How does the ghetto community accept your situation of going with other women, that is if it's known? (b) Why do you think that is?

(a)

Open and above board or accept	36
They resist it and are repelled by it	5
They don't know	1

(b)

They can't do nothing else.

They accept it because can't do anything about it. Some do get nasty.

I am well-liked and ghetto people are more open-minded.

Everyone has got to do own thing. When both people are getting on their feet, they dig it but if there is no progress, they are against it.

Everything goes here.

Why condemn it if it ain't doing no harm

## 142. (b) (Cont'd.)

Everybody done seen everything in the ghetto and nothing shocks nobody here.

A lot accept it. No real flak. It's an everyday thing.

See so much. Like dope fiends but view it as a weird sickness.

They accept anything. Used to it.

It don't shock anyone but older people will never get used to it.

They are realists. They see it so much.

They just give you strange looks because they don't understand the situation as it is. Judge by face value rather than facts about the person.

Doesn't faze them. It's all over the streets.

They think it a part of life unless real old and frustrated.

Beautiful. People in Harlem don't care anymore.

Some don't mind because they are so busy doing own thing, they've got no time to worry.

Accept more so than high society. It's all around them. They have no choice.

They don't know it but this is going on in the ghetto all the time now. Everything in the ghetto is radical. Like playing the numbers.

They are against it - especially the men. I think it is a threat to their masculinity. Also even the females look down on it in disgust. "God made you one way," they say.

Don't pay no attention like years ago because they generations have changed. This is a new century.

They accept it. Two mens I know get upset only. My husband accepted me. He married me knowing it.

More open and accepted. Years ago, it brought great shame to be thought of as homosexual or "butch broad" years ago. Sex education, etc. has changed the situation. More educated people.

This is no big thing anymore. People are doing things worse than this all the time anymore. This is mild.

## 143. (a) How do you think society in general views your situation of going with other women? (b) Why?

(a)

They accept it	12	They are repelled by it	20
No answer	2	Some for it, some against it	3

143. (b)

Accept it. Everybody is trying to see what it's all about.

In general they are for it cause a lot of them are involved in it themselves.

They overlook it. Old timers say, "God didn't make the world like that." Once on a subway train, one of my friends (girl) reached over and kissed another girl. And a black woman (late 60's) got up and said, "That's why Adam and Eve was made, not Eve and Eve."

White society still against but are hypocrites. Things is changing. They will accept it completely one day.

Whites don't want to let on that they dig it. They're phonies. Fakes. And they make it extra tough cause they want to do sneaky like.

Accept it altho they prefer to be fooled and don't want you to do it openly.

They think it's sick. Don't understand human nature and they are phonies too.

Beginning to accept it now. So many are gay now. More people are going that way.

It's dirty to them. Feel these people are corrupt. But they do the same thing in different ways.

Society labels it very heavily. More rejecting even tho it is widespread now.

Tougher. They don't approve.

Society is a closet case. Now willing to take a peek. America is fucked up as far as sex is concerned.

Not as broad about it. They are fakers.

Don't give a damn for it. There are more heterosexual women who are against it than men.

They look at it as a sickness. These are stereotype patterns of thought.

Society is more against it right now. The powerful people still don't want to change.

There is a lot of publicity going on but still society as a whole views it with negative attitude.

Lots of them scorn it. They probably are doing it behind closed doors but not in the open.

The world is changing there too but not as fast as the ghetto. The ghetto reflects reality and basic, simple life. This is real life and people do do it.

## 143. (b) (Cont'd.)

Things is changing tremendous. 25 years ago everybody was in the closet. Now they're coming out. I was out 25 years ago and people treated me with disgust. Everywhere people hated you. You couldn't get a job or nothing. Society still do not like it but it's changing. Women's Lib is a joke. I was out in front fighting before them. We are the ones who changed things. Let me tell you this. A lot of them think they are better than us because they ain't hard dressers. Well we are the rebels who make them look respectable.

White women are more into it than black women. I mean it's the real thing to them and so white society accepts it. With black women, I think a lots of us gets into it just to try it or get money or mad at men and we just stays.

## 144. (a) Do you think it's harder or easier to be gay in the black ghetto than say, in white, middle-class society? (b) Why is that?

(a)

Harder	3
Easier	36
The same	3

## 145. (a) Do you have "straight" friends? (b) Do they know about you? (c) Accept it? (d) Do you display affection for other women in front of them?

(a)

Yes	40
Some	1
No	1

(b)

Yes	16	No answer	6
Some	5	Don't know	2
No	11	Yes and no	2

(c)

Yes	18	Don't know	5
Some	1	No answer	6
No	1		

(d)

Yes	10	If I feel like it	1
No	26	Sometimes only	5

146. (a) Do you have any contact with gay women who are not poor but who are making good money? (b) Explain. (c) How about the ones who live in fancy neighborhoods?

(a)

Yes 32

No 10

(b)

Met her at a party. She liked what she seen and I did too.

Met them thru friends.

She was working in the Post Office and had good job, then I was 16. I didn't go with her but did visit homes of rich guys out of town. Beautiful places.

Met on the job and we are friends.

They offered to take me home from work and in other ways get me into their car. Some are rich. They like to take me to their house and show off their money to influence me.

Yes. I used to run numbers. Met even rich whites who wanted some kicks. The men used to proposition me and so did their wives when the husbands were not around.

With white ones. Some of the white chicks actually come at you panting like a dog. They sure loves dark meat.

Meet them at gay bars.

Met them while working for them. You can tell. I wear my skirts short and they watch me bend over. You can almost see than get hot.

Met thru parties.

Met them during Methadone Clinic interviews and rap with them. In bars too.

Met them on Broadway when I was working.

From a pimp who lives in a fine house. I never seen a house like that. Beige carpets, big windows. Fantastic. Like the movies.

Yes. I have been living there too and met them. I've had cadillacs. Know how to pay for things and get them.

Yes. My superior was white. I visited her house. Even laid up there.

By living in good neighborhoods myself.

Yes. Meet them on the job and in various functions.

Meet them on my job and am invited to their homes.

Met them thru my sister.

Yes. Meet thru friends and thru different activities.

146. (c)

Visited her in her fancy neighborhood	25
Did not visit	2
No answer	4

147. What do you think is the major difference between gay black women and gay black men?

Some men get hostile. Women play it cool. But not all. Some.

No difference.

Gay black man is bolder.

Black men don't care who knows it. Women are more careful.

Gay black men only into sex. Emotions don't mean nothing to them.

Gay men want to get laid everyday by new cats. If they ain't got a dick up their asses they ain't happy.

Big difference. They go for one night stands. Women don't do that. Men go for quick sex.

Black men want the whole world to know it.

Attitudes they project. They switch. They go for men, then for women. But women do the same thing. No difference.

Not really.

The men are more noticeable.

I can't understand why 2 men can do it. In the ass.

Yes. A woman is more jealous than a man.

Yes. I can't explain it but a faggot turns me off.

Of course. Black women are more conservative than black males.

Strategy. Black gay men go to extremes. I can't get along with younger black gay males. Older ones, yes.

Black men engage in it more as a sexual thing than a lifestyle. Women more of a lifestyle together.

Gay black men are more promiscuous than black women. They overplay their roles. Women are getting out of the bull-dagger thing. Now wear women's clothes.

Faggots like to show off. Be noticed. Put on a big show and boast how many they had, "I had him, honey."

Men are more promiscuous.

I would be curious to know how the gay black mens do it.

Most gay black men has got to dress like a woman and switch around. They don't have to let everybody know what they are doing. It makes it harder for them.

## 147. (Cont'd.)

Black men are more obvious than black women

Black men want the world to see.

Gay black men are sex-crazy and want everybody to see them.

<u>No difference</u>	<u>Sex-crazy</u>	<u>Want to be bolder</u>	<u>Women cooler</u>
18	7	10	1

<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Women more jealous</u>	<u>Don't like them</u>
2	1	1

Don't understand why they do it  
2

148. If you wanted to spend a nice evening with your gay lover, describe how you would go about it? What activities would the two of you engage in?

Stay home	11	Music	2
Send kids to spend .the night	1	Share a good meal	2
Play records	6	Eat	8
Make love home	16	Concerts	1
TV	9	Buy a little gift	1
Talk	4	Drink	17
Smoke up	14	Get some coke	3
Go to a bar	13	Movies	7
Go to a party	2	Go to bed	7
Go to restaurant	8	Travel	1
Plays	2	Go to new places never been before	1
Visit her pad or she mine	5	Drink	5
Make love outside	5	Dance	5
Go to Disco	1	Whatever she wants to do	3
Nothing special	1	Dry fuck	1
Talking	1	Stimulate her mind	1
Play cards	1	Bowling	1
Regular married life	1	Read	1
Study	1	Dope	1
Go to a show	1		

148. Cont'd.)

Went to places with her never been before. Took me to UN, plays, restaurants, away from ghetto. Traveled. She was rich. Went to concerts. Met big people. How can an underprivileged kid see all of this on her own? Nice to be on other side for a change.

The same as any married couple. No dances because we would break up and end with men.

At home. Soft music, lights. Wine, dine, smoke up. Let it ease into the act.

Get high, listen to records, play around like with a man. Basically like with a man.

Meet her on the job. Surprise her. Take her to dinner. Go to the movies. Buy her a little gift. Go home. Heat up the food. Prepare her a bubble bath. Wash her back and body. Drink. Go to bed. Never get involved with just any kind of woman. Go only with the clean kind.

I live with my lover and our 4 kids. Not much we can do but stay home and live a quiet life.

I'll tell you what I did with my lover. I picked her up at her house and her husband was pleasant. We went to several fine bars. Only once did we go to a gay bar and then we were nervous. Then we would go to the finest restaurants. This woman was very chic and striking for a woman in her late 30's. Then we'd go to my place and make love. I'd tell her to wash up first by saying, "Let's wash up." I couldn't get her to respond as fully as she felt. She held it in. Some things I wanted to do with her that she balked at. For example, I wanted her to sit on the toilet stool and let me sit on her lap. I would urinate softly over her clitoris and lips and the urine would pass harmlessly into the bowl. The warmth of it from me to her would turn her on.

Go out to somebody's house or get together and go to bed.

Go to her house; eat, watch TV. Drink. Wait til her children go out or we came over here. She's got one daughter, I think knows where we're at because I think she's in it herself. But nobody says nothing. But we come here, drink some more and go to bed. Sometimes we go to a show.

149. If you wanted to spend a nice evening with "straight" friends, how would you go about it? What activities would you engage in?

Drinking	25	Eat or cook	14
Play cards	15	Theater	1
Play records	14	Go out to dinner	1
Dance	8	Watch TV	2

## 149. (Cont'd.)

Stay home	1	Converse	16
Do what they do	1	Smoke up	14
Can't be too for real with them.		Best to go out with them	1
They can't accept it	2	Movie	5
Go to bar	9	Get some coke	6
Party	6	Hang-out for awhile	1
Visit their house or they mine	6	The usual	2
Talk about kids	2	They must accept the situation	1
Go to Arcade and play games	1	Dope	1

I like to hang out with straight women more than straight men altho they can be catty.

Lots of time, I swear there straight people wants to do it but are afraid. They never get wiped out and I know why. If they drink too much, they are afraid of what they might do.

Smoke reefers with them; Listening to the latest sounds. Drinking. Wine with reefers.

I had some dudes sound good and promise everything until they get you. I test them. The next night after I give it up, I ask for \$100 for the rent. If the rigger thinks the pussy he already got is worth \$100, you've got a good man. If I got a good man, I play it straight with him until he fucks up.

They must accept the situation when they come over here.

Don't have any.

If I was invited to a straight party with my woman, we would play it cool. If someone wanted to dance with me or her OK. We probably would not dance together. We would drink, smoke up, play cards, watch TV and mostly talk a lot about show business and who is doing what.

The usual straight thing. Talk, drink, act silly.

I have a couple of straight friends (men) who get women for me and likes to watch. Sometimes they give me their own chicks. But mostly I do what others do. Drink, play cards, go out to bars, talk, dance, have fun.

150. If you wanted to spend a pleasant evening around men friends, what activities would you engage in?

Drinking	24	Eat or cook	12
Play cards	17	Play dice	1
Theater	1	Play records	14
The usual	1	Dance	11
Usual female stuff	1	Watch TV	11
Do what they do	1	Conversate	17
Go to Arcade and play games	1	Smoke up	14
Talk about the kids	1	Go out to dinner	4
Go to night club	5	Get some coke	7
Go to movies	4	Go to a party	7
Go to bed	1	Run around the streets for a while	2
Visit their house or they mine	3	Visit a bar	5
Sometimes they want to see me fuck a woman	1		

Don't let them spend money on you or they'll want something. Sometimes they want to see me fuck a woman and I did it once or twice when really spaced out.

May flirt a little. Like doing that with men.

I hang out with men. We party. I pull girls for them. Don't hang out with women.

If I dig them we might have a bed party.

Men like to talk and I like to listen. You should hear the male ego. Too bad, half that shit ain't true. They say, "Man I fucked this bitch and she wanted to take me home." They tell who was cold and who was good.

Don't get along with straight men too tough. You are the 1st straight man in my house.

Sometimes I have been known to be attracted to a man for some reason. Butch and all. I can't explain it. Usually I hate myself afterwards and don't know why.

Men like me. They say I'm OK.

151. (a) Did you have any childhood fantasies or day dreams about falling in love? If so with whom? Boy or girl?

(a)

Yes	27
No	11
Don't remember	4

(b)

Of boys and men	19
Of girls and women	6
Boys and girls	2

152. (a) Did your father or mother's boyfriend ever attempt to touch you sexually? (b) Did he succeed? (c) Did it go on for a long time?

(a)

No	36
Yes	6

(b)

Yes	3
No	1

(c)

Yes	1
No	3

153. In your opinion, were you the victim of a rape?

Yes. I was coming from a movie. I knew him. He gave me a ride and raped me.

Yes. My father's friend raped me at 7 brutally.

No, unless you consider my father.

No. Not really. Nobody got his penis in me.

No. But close. A guy chased me home with his pants open.

Yes. I was walking down the street and 2 guys grabbed me. I was 20.

Yes. Once. A few years ago. I went to Washington and went to visit a friend of my girl buddy. He grabbed me when I went to the bathroom. He did rape me and I got away. I had to pretend to go along with it. Then I ran. I lost my sweater.

153. (Cont'd.)

Almost. I was coming home and a man chased me. I was 13.

Yes. I was 26. A guy and I went to a place and the guy took advantage of me.

Yes. A woman raped me.

The first guy forced me but that wasn't really rape.

Yes.

Yes. The last one kidnapped me. He is now in jail. I reported it.

Yes.

Yes. By the father of my child when I had the abortion. He did it as resentment for what I did to his child.

No but a near rape. A guy slipped a mickey in my drink in the bar.

Yes. I was drunk and high off of pills. He almost killed me and climaxed and ran.

No really.

Yes	11	No	31
-----	----	----	----

154. Do you think that the fact that you were poor influenced your life? In what way? Did you get the things a child should have to be happy or were you deprived of them? How about Xmas, birthdays, etc? Was there a daily struggle for food and the needs of life?

No	35	Yes	7
----	----	-----	---

Yes. I would not have been raised like that if rich.

Yes. Things I could have had, I didn't. Just life alone would have been better. Wouldn't have been exposed to some things if not poor.

Yes. Things I wanted that family couldn't buy. I had to give out to people to get them. I had a mink coat, diamonds. Bought by both men and women.

Yes. I felt deprived as a child. Only got a gift on birthdays and Xmas.

Yes. Because it made me more independent. Helps me to cope now.

Yes. Never got the things I wanted.

Yes. I see now a lot of things I did was because of money. I was deprived as a child. It was hard. Wore hand-me downs.

155. How did the fact that you were black influence your life? Do you think that being black hurt your chances in any way? Did prejudice harm you.

No	36
Yes	5
Some	1

To an extent would have a better life.

Years ago yes. Today no.

In a way it did. I could have done more.

Yes. It cut down my chances.

Prejudice might have helped some too. Make you strong. Ready for life.

Yes. I was expected to marry black but black men treat you bad.

Yes. Everybody said I was pretty. If I was white, I coulda married a rich man.

156. Do you think that the experience of growing up black is something related to lesbianism? (Mad at the world! Rebellin'! etc. Getting even!)

No	38
Yes	4

Yes. Being black made me poor and made me like that and got involved with my own father and with women.

Would have happened anyway.

Yes. I would not have been in this environment if rich.

Yes. In a lot of cases, black men cause the women to turn.

157. Do you feel life would be easier if you had been born white?

No	31	Could be	1
Yes	4	Don't know	2
Sometimes	1		

No but being rich would have.

Yes. I had a white co-defendant and she got off easy.

Probably would but I don't want to be white.

Who the hell knows.

Now? No. But when I was younger, yes.

158. Which do you think is most important: advancing Gay Liberation; advancing Women's Liberation; or advancing Black Liberation?

None of these	3	All are important	9
Gay Liberation	0	Black and gay and women	
Women's Lib	1	Black and Gay	2
Black Liberation	27		

Black Liberation is most important.

None of these.

Black Liberation. I guess because you don't have to push gay liberation.

Black and gay.

None. I don't like black liberation. Don't want no black president. With power, blacks go beserk.

All three are important.

Women's Lib.

159. If a woman let you suck her but did nothing back for you, would this make her a homosexual? Why?

Depends	1	No	22
Yes	16	Could be	2
Can't say	1		

Yes. She wouldn't let you do it if she wasn't gay.

No. You don't have to be a lesbian to get head. That's for sure.

Yes. She still is letting a woman mess with her.

No, because she just let it happen and didn't do nothing herself.

Not if she didn't do it, I did.

No because she didn't do any homosexual activity.

No. Just a thing she wanted to do.

No. Because a man could do the same thing.

No. Just doing things with a woman don't make nobody a homosexual. Not if she goes with men too.

No, because it would only be an experience. Deep dark secret only.

Yes. She would have to be to be in that situation.

Yes. In a way it would. A woman involved with another woman is gay.

No because she might be in a state of shock.

159. (Cont'd.)

Yes. Because she let me do it.

No. She might just been high and I bull-shitted her.

No. She's only playing a sex role.

She could be and is trying to hold back.

No. Just someone getting herself off.

No. If she was homosexual, she would return it.

No. She is frustrated. Afraid to express her feelings. Scared to let self go and find out about herself.

No. Because if she did that once she was only doing what she feels and it shouldn't have a title.

Yes. Cause she layed there and took it.

No. Because she's not.

Maybe. She's shy or not ready to get into it.

Yes. I'd call her a nut. She is into the life whether she admits it or not.

No. If she didn't feel like reciprocating. She might not feel like it then but it's just a matter of time.

No. Because there is no limit to making love if you're a homosexual,

No. They can go back to a man at anytime.

Yes. She is just not relaxed. But don't have to be to enjoy a woman sexually.

Yes because she is having sex with a woman.

Yes. If she lets me make love to her, then she has to be.

She may be one. In all walks of life there are the takers and the givers. She may be selfish.

I won't say it. She just got hot in the tail and just didn't care as long as she got her kicks over with.

Yes. She would be one soon or she wouldn't do it.

That depends. Not all are. Maybe her curiosity made her do it.

No. It takes 2 to tango. She's sick.

Sure she is or she wouldn't be doing it.

Hell yes. If I get my tongue in her, she knows it's not a man.

Yes because I did it.

No. I did it to her, she didn't do it to me.

160. (a) Did you ever find it necessary to accept money for sexual relations with men from time to time? (b) If so, what did they usually want you to do sexually? (c) Were these usually white or black men?

(a)

Yes	31
No	11

(b)

Regular sex	17	Look at you	1
Suck you	4	No answer	3
Suck them	11	Put penis between my breasts	1

(c)

Black	11	Both	7
Oriental	1	No answer	2
White	11		

Yes. Needed money in a hurry and it was right there being offered.

Yes. Quickly for cash.

Not often. Have to really be in a bind. They like to watch you suck them and pay more for it.

Usually with white men. A black man wants you to be his woman if he gives you money.

White men like a lot of panting and emotion.

He wanted to fuck and eat me. I am together with my man now because of money. But I love him in my way. The first time, he offered me money. Wants to outdo women. Always asks me, "Do I do it better than a woman?" I tell him yes, but I lie.

Some whites wanted me to squeeze them between my legs when they had their mouth on my pussy. Almost suffocate them with my legs. Blacks usually want to make love.

Yes. But never tricked. Wife is nothing but legal prostitute.

Only twice in my life did I do it.

When you ain't got no money, it is necessary. They wanted me to play with their thing. Asked me to suck it but I wouldn't do it. One rich whitey, you won't believe this, he wanted me to roll hard boiled eggs under as he squatted on the floor and yell "bombs away." He got his rocks off that way. He gave me \$75. Must have been a war nut.

At times when the price was right and things were tight. I just lay there and let them do weird things to me. They were white

## 160. (c) (Cont'd.)

No black man would up no real money on pussy. 'Too much free stuff out there.

Yes. Go down on them. Black and one Oriental.

No. Both Black and white offered me money but I wouldn't do it.

Yes. Put penis between my breasts. White.

Yes. Sex. Both black and white.

Sometimes. Regular sex. Black men.

Always. Fuck. Both.

No but a woman always asks for money sooner or later. I don't say, "pay me and you can fuck me," but if I'm giving it to him, he should be willing to help me out.

Yes. Frenched them. Mostly whites. They have the money. Black men will lay you all night long. They will try to make a home.

No but it is funny. If they know I'm gay, the black men try harder to impress me.

Yes. I was going with this white dude's wife and he didn't know it and neither did she know about him. I used to blow him cause she won't do it and she used to blow me. How's that for all in the family?

Yes. They want a head job. Some want it up my ass. I won't do that. They were white.

Yes. I didn't do that much. Only when I had to. They wanted sex and they were black. Only one or two were white.

## 161. Has any woman offered you money to sleep with her or have you offered any chick money?

Yes 33

No 9

Yes. I was offered money but refused it.

Yes. A couple. Older women. In 30's and 40's.

No. Not right out. Might get money in the long run.

No. But some have given me money at various times.

Yes. Usually white chicks go that route.

Yes. Ones that ain't supposed to be gay.

Yes. Some very rich women have.

Yes. Older women.

Yes. But I can't pretend. If they don't appeal, I don't accept.

161. (Cont'd.)

Yes. I didn't do it. I have morals about myself and money can't buy it.

Yes. Didn't accept. I make love because I care.

Yes. I did it for a while and felt guilty. I was in school.

Yes. An older woman. It didn't take long for her to come. Just by being with a younger woman. She gave me everything. I was in my 20's and she was in her 50's.

Yes she was older.

No.

Yes. They offered me when I was young. Now I paid some chicks to sleep with me but only when depressed.

162. (a) When and how did the first girl turn you out? (b) Did you climax? (c) Did it thrill you? (d) Did you feel guilty? (e) Did you daydream about it afterwards?

(a)

A prostitute started me who worked for my godfather.

I turned myself out. The guy I was with taught me to be broad minded and he didn't mind when a girl slipped in bed with us.

At 12 or 13, I got the barmaid. I washed her car and she took me home. We smoked up. She took a shower. Came out buck naked. Said to me, "kiss me." Then it happened. I gave her some head and she said I made her come.

She kissed me and shocked me with it. I went away but it stayed on my mind. Then I had sex with her and wanted to be with her all the time and do what she wanted to do. I don't know if I came but it felt good. I was 16. She didn't go down on me but finger fucked me. I didn't know how to return it. Some women can come just from talking to a woman.

I was at a restaurant and found I had no money to pay check. She came to my assistance and drove me home. I was impressed. She was rich and had a very well-known and glamorous job. She took me places I had never been before. Ski trips. She had a cabin. She washed my back. We had brandy with butter in it. She kissed me (I didn't expect it). Then we went out to look at the moon. She got poetic. She handed me a beautiful night-gown worth \$200. I put it on in front of her. We went to bed. She asked me if I was afraid of her and I was. So she went to sleep. Next day, she did it all to me. I went to live with her. It lasted a year and she took care of me completely. I didn't have to work at all. She was in the diplomatic corps. I could never meet a man of this position.

Mother's girlfriend at 12.

162. (a) (Cont'd.)

The girls played with me in the home but a 15 years old girl got me when I was 12. She gave me advice. We were good friends. We smoked reefers together, then it happened.

She was older.

I was in jail. She was a year older. She sent kites and I answered. It took 3 weeks. She was moved to my floor. She was a butch.

I met her thru my 1st boyfriend's sister who was bulldagger. At a club. We talked to get to know each other for 3 weeks before she made love to me. It felt good but not the best and I didn't feel guilty because it was my boyfriend's fault.

I was in school. She called me from the window and bugged me into curiosity. Bought me things and gave me money. About 2 years before I gave in.

She started rapping and I liked her looks and her reputation. She winked and dined me. Flowers and cards. About a month. Birthday telegrams. Then I gave in.

She kissed me up and down. I was curious - wanted to see what it was all about. It got so good I knocked down the lamp.

My cousin. She is 2 years younger. I was sick a lot and she would rub and comfort and it went from there. Did not really thrill me. Didn't like it at first. Didn't feel guilty but strange.

The woman mentioned at 13 sucked me. I was in her house and she talked me into it. The man involved was her cousin. She ate me and he ate and fucked me together.

In corrections. She wrote me kites. We hung out. Everybody thought I was her woman and so I did it. But a school girl on the outside almost got me at 12. Got her finger in me but no more.

I helped guy to decorate his apartment. He told me a girlfriend of his wanted to go to bed with a woman. And since money was involved, I said OK. I let her. I got up. Took a bath and went home. I was 24.

The first one I turned out. I heard my sister talk about it and I tried it.

In school. Didn't have a boyfriend. Out with girlfriend and her boyfriend. They got me high. They dropped me off. I was high on drink and smoke. This beautiful girl who always talked of boyfriends came in and saw how high I was and forced me back on the bed and raped me.

She got me to smoke. (I went out with her 5 or 6 months) and then when high, I gave in.

## 162. (a) (Cont'd.)

We were playing, experimenting and it got good and we just kept on.

A friend of my mother. I was 10. She told Grandmother she was taking me to the zoo. She took me home with her. Cooked dinner. Showed me a film of naked women and then ate me. From the top of my head to my toes (stop in the middle and lunch awhile). I felt a strange sensation as she lingered on the "man in the boat", my clitoris, and I was wet. If I didn't come, I damn sure was wet.

She got me high and my nature goes up. Started talking and kissing and one thing led to another.

I couldn't remember that. I was so young. I was 10.

It was a freak party. Me, another girl and a man. We made a party out of it.

My best girlfriend. We got head bad, raggedity. She said let's go to bed and I felt cold chills over my body. She pulled my clothes off and said, "you belong to me anyway." We fought because I wouldn't let her and I got a black eye.

Later I got high on reefers and my other girlfriend took me to a hotel as she was supposed to be protecting me. She then seduced me. I later lived with her for years and she gave me a wedding ring. Not together now.

My cousin did it. We played house and I was the father, she the mother. We went to bed. I got on top of her and did it to her. I was 8. Felt guilty because she was my cousin.

I rapped her into going to bed with me. She thought I was God. I only had her one time and she still think I'm God.

I met her in a bar. I got drunk and went with her. I was 19. I didn't climax, wasn't thrilled, felt guilty and didn't daydream about it.

I was 13 years old. She was a good friend of mine. We started kissing and feeling each other. She had just gotten out of girl's school where women were going with women. I was curious and wanted to try it. Called her in the bathroom and we tried it.

She offered me money but I had seen her a lot and liked her. She was about 35 and gave me money often. Never asked for it back. Then one day I was in her apartment and she said, "you know you could get a lot of money, not just \$5 or \$10." I know a woman who'd really dig a chick like you and lay 50 big ones in your hand. When I asked "who", she said, "me".

I met this fine chick away in the big city. I didn't know what to do with her so I came home to ask a girl I knew who was in the life. She told me but wouldn't show me. I went back and did all those things she mentioned. The girl pretended she knew nothing but I later found out that she was a skilled and experienced woman. We went together for months. I was madly in love. We sensitized each other's body to the point where I could respond to her at the slightest touch. We made love 3 times a day. Then she broke it off.

162. (a) (Cont'd.)

I was living with my sister. I was 20, the woman 30. I went to her house. We drank. Danced. Hugged. She said, "lay down with me". I was hot and I did it. When my sister came and knocked on the door and said, "I hear you in there with her," I felt embarrassed. We didn't open the door and I denied I was there later.

She was young and I fell for her. She gave me a lift. I turned her on by kissing her ears in my house when my mother was gone and we did it.

I was 16 and she was a barmaid where the numbers man used to take me. Very pretty and feminine looking but a stone butch. She talked to me. Said men treat you dirty - women are different. She got me up to her place and started to talk about the numbers man and his women. I got to crying. She comforted me and kept it up until I was too hot to know what I was doing.

I was invited to a party and met her there and asked her to stay all night. I was 15. She was 14. We played around and got hot. Didn't climax with her at first but did later.

She was 14 and I was 14. We were taking a bath together and I noticed her long clitoris. She told me how she used it. (Called it a spur tongue). I was fascinated and kept getting curiouser and curiouser. After 5 weeks I was dying to see it get hard and then we did it. It was not that good but I think I know even then that I should be on top.

I was in jail and got kites from them. Girls school. A lot goes on there. I picked the timidest girl there and secretly let her teach me. Actually, I had some experience but no real sex with a girl outside before going to jail. I didn't feel guilty. The atmosphere in jail makes it all right.

A girl did some playing with me when I was 12 but that was nothing serious. But when I got busted at 18, I went to jail. Everybody do it there. This girl write me a kite. I thought about it. I was scared and lonely. She say nice things and know a lot. I gave in.

I was over to my girlfriend's house at maybe 9 or 10, and she showed me what her aunt did to her. Her aunt took care of her a lot. She used her finger and wiggled it back and forth real fast. It felt good.

## 162. (b)

Yes	24	No + (too scared)	14
Don't apply - too young	2	Can't remember	1

## (c)

Yes	34	No	3
So-so	2	Can't remember	1

## (d)

Yes	8	Some	4
Can't remember	2	No answer	1
No	24		

## (e)

Yes	35
No	4
Can't remember	1

APPENDIX III

DEFINITIONS OF SOCIAL CLASS USED BY THE INMATE AND  
PRISON OFFICIALS' PANELS

This survey is absolutely confidential. It is necessary for me to place the following inmates somewhere in the class structure of our society. To do so, I am using what is called, "the reputational approach." In other words, I leave it to you to evaluate these individuals as to social class. It does not have to be based upon anything more than your impression. With that in mind, please select for me the class that you feel reflects each individual's station in life in the free world. The definitions below may be of help.

- Upper-Class: Its members possess wealth, are well educated, and have "good" family connections. They usually live in what could be described as "the choice neighborhoods."
- Middle-Class: Its members possess a fair amount of money, enjoy a comfortable standard of living, have a good education, may own a business, occupy a position of management in a large firm, or practice law, medicine, etc. They also are often upper-grade white collar workers. They live in neighborhoods where crime and delinquency, if present, are certainly not very apparent. They want, expect, and have set aside some money for their children to go to college. "Respectability" is important to them.
- Upper Lower-Class: Its members "work for a living," are manual workers, or lower grade white collar workers, have a lower income, are employees or wage earners, lack a "good" education, and lack economic security. They mainly support the morals and standards of the larger society and try to live in what society defines as a "respectable way." They believe in getting ahead through work. They live in neighborhoods that are going downhill. They manage to keep aloof from the vice around them.
- Lower Lower-Class: Its members are "poor" and may or may not be (or have been) on welfare. They live in the most crime-ridden areas of the city and the neighborhoods where they reside are either further along the road to deterioration than the neighborhoods mentioned above, or they have already deteriorated. Their commitment to living "a respectable" life is not as strong as the people mentioned above. They have a more disorganized family life, do not plan their day to day living very carefully, and do not manage the way their money is spent very well. They have no great regard for getting an education. Their work records are often below standard. They have relatives and/or friends who have been in jail or reformatories. They believe that the "system" holds poor people down and that hard work will not necessarily help them to get ahead in the world.

APPENDIX IV

GHETTO'S CHILD

In becoming the girl I am today it was not an easy task,  
I fought against the many and had to move real fast.

I had no path to follow, no one to call a friend,  
Loneliness accompanied me and remained 'til the end,

I roamed the streets searching, my mind and soul in pain,  
Before long, me and the streets were one and the same.

A single day meant nothing to me; many meant even less,  
Just struggling to keep alive permitted me no rest.

Pimps, bookies, pushers -- they're all the same,  
Human vultures who pick your bones to reap ill-gotten gain.

Ghetto big-shots is how they wish to be known,  
And if hungry, you surrender your body for a petty loan.

In time you turn to women for tender loving care,  
But they bloody your emotions too and often lay them bare.

Theft and crime are unavoidable when you have to eat,  
Yet the merciless cops shoot you down right on the street.

What a way to go when black and only eighteen,  
Still, I'm Ghetto's Child and my destiny is foreseen!!!

-- A Respondent  
1977

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