Gender Differences in Jail Art and Graffiti

Lissa J. Yogan[1] and Lee Michael Johnson[2]

This paper examines the differences in art and graffiti produced by men and women who were detained at the Porter County Jail from approximately 1991 – 2002. The purpose of this investigation was to determine through a content analysis if the drawings and writings of male and female detainees differed in significant ways. Results of the study indicate that the amount, content and form of the art work produced differ significantly by sex. Theories of gender role socialization and communication are used to explain the patterns found among the words and pictures.

Visual imagery such as photographs, paintings, and graffiti can be useful in conducting social analyses. Suchar writes that the scrutiny of photographs "involves the ability to reveal patterns, features or details in a research setting or topic – such as aspects of material culture, subjects' characteristics or behavior, etc. – that are not readily apparent in less acute observations of that reality" (1997, p. 35). A review of sociological and psychological literature indicates that jail art and graffiti are unexplored sources of visual data.

Various researchers have looked at bathroom graffiti, and psychologists have administered the Human Figure Drawings (HFDs) assessment measure with adjudicated and non-adjudicated adolescents (Marsh, Linberg, and Smelzer, 1991). The Draw-A-Person test also has been used to measure personality (Handler, 1985; Naglieri, 1987). Artwork produced in prison art classes has been examined (Kornfeld, 1997); however, free-form artwork and graffiti, such as that found on jail cell walls, have not been widely studied. Jail artwork is unique in at least two ways: 1) it is a type of informal, non-sanctioned communication produced by both men and women and 2) because jails are segregated by gender, it is possible to tell if a drawing or writing was produced by a man or woman even after he/she has left the environment (unlike the artwork found on train cars and overpasses etc.).

In addition to recognizing the unique aspects of jail artwork, the reader should note that jails differ from prisons in some significant ways. Jails are designed to be holding facilities for individuals who are waiting to be transferred to a prison, waiting to post bond, awaiting trial or sentencing or even serving short-term sentences (Perkins, Stephan, and Beck, 1995; Teplin, 1990). Jails do not have many of the amenities present in prisons. For example, notably absent from most jails are rehabilitation services, preventive medical care, and spiritual, social, occupational and educational programs (like art classes). In addition, jails confine their population to their cells for the majority of the day unlike prisons, which often provide minimal periods of exposure to recreational areas and/or fresh air. Furthermore, the rate of inmate turnover in jail is much higher than in prison, thus, it is hard for jail inmates to formulate a cohesive community. Jail inmates face possibly more stressors than prison inmates due to the lack of amenities and rapidly changing social community (Lindquist and Lindquist, 1997).

In addition to the transient, stressful nature of jail, it is also a gender segregated environment. Men and women in jail inhabit different physical spaces as well as different social-psychological spaces. The social-psychological space that one occupies is tied to one's identity, which is closely related to gender. Gender socialization, which is a continuous life-long process, helps explain the development of different social-psychological realms and their influence on the behaviors and activities of men and women. Gender socialization helps us (in part) better understand why men and women in jail produce artwork that differs in content and form.

Gender Role Socialization

There are three main bodies of theory regarding gender role socialization. One is the cognitive development theory based on the work of Piaget (1954) that asserts that a child's social reality is different than that of an adult. According to developmental theorists such as Lawrence Kohlberg (1966), children actively search for explanations about how their social world operates and one of the first explanations they are given relates to gender. Children's sex identity and the sense that this 'femaleness or maleness' is a permanent trait, is given to them by the adults who surround them. "In addition to people with whom they have direct contact, children are influenced by cultural products, such as toys, story books, and electronic media, that present accounts of gender" (Kramer, 2005, p.58). A child's ability to understand the explanations given to him/her varies with his/her stage of cognitive development. Thus, a child's and ultimately a person's ability to actively structure his/her gender identity is influenced by his/her cognitive ability and level of development. This means that, at an early stage, individuals do not have the

cognitive ability to question the dominant view that pink is a girls' color and blue is a boy's color. They also are likely to mirror what they see; so a young girl's first drawings may be of things in her room (flowers, stuffed animals etc.). A boy might draw pictures of his toys which are likely to include cars and trucks.

Children start to perform gender and to enforce it by the ages of 4 to 5 years (Messner, 2000). The performance and enforcement of gender continue over the course of the individual's life, and gender role stereotyping and behavior typically increases with age (Lindsey, 1994). Gender role behavior is enforced through a system of social rewards and punishments.

This reward and punishment system is the basis for the second theory of gender role socialization: social learning theory (Bandura, 1977). The premise behind social learning theory is simple: boys and girls and later men and women are rewarded for doing the things thought typical/necessary for their gender. Similarly, they are often punished or rewards are withheld when they do not conform to gender normative behavior. In fact, one could interpret many of the drawings discussed later as products of social learning theory. For example, the women's drawings show them trying to repair relationships (a typical activity for women), and the men's drawings show them being tough or critical of the system (a typical role for men).

The third theory of gender socialization is gender schema theory. Gender schema theory is based on ideas about how the brain processes information. Bem (1981, 1983) says that, once an individual learns appropriate cultural definitions of gender, he/she organizes all other information around these definitions. Research by Martin and Halverson (1981, 1983) indicates that gender concepts are acquired in a specific order: 1) gender identity, 2) own-sex schema, and 3) other-sex schema. They also indicate that gender schema impacts the memory of children. Friedman and Pines' (1991) work supports the idea of gender schema influencing memory. They find that men's memories were more active and women's were more emotional. In her later work, Bem (1993) notes that children accept the norms, values, and beliefs of their culture without recognizing that alternatives are possible. They grow up with a one-gender schema and cannot envision a society organized in any other manner. This theory may also help explain the differences in activity pictured by the inmates as well as the different kinds of emotion expressed.

The process of gender socialization occurs through communication. All three theories rely on some type of communication: between children and adults or between children and social institutions, or children in interaction with their peers. The hypothesis of this project is that the artwork produced by men and women will differ in form and content just as the language produced and used by men and women differs. Both artwork and language are forms of communication, and both are influenced by gender socialization.

Gender and Communication

Lakoff (1975) pioneered the work on gender differences in language. Over the past 30 years, researchers have studied various gender differences in language and arrived at three major explanations related to gendered language (Lindsey, 1997). First, the dominance model argues that gender differences in language reflect women's subordinate social, political and economic

status (Coates, 1993; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1994). The type of communication learned by girls, according to the dominance model, is one that keeps them from acting or sounding independent and/or powerful. Henley (1977) believes that this model extends to non-verbal communications as well. Her work says that facial expressions, body movements, and type and length of eye gaze as well as studies on interruptions all reflect the inequality of power between men and women. We contend that these differences are also present in the non-verbal communication (images) presented within this paper.

Second, the dual culture or difference model says that the interactional styles of males and females are different simply because girls and boys are socialized differently. This model says the communication of boys and girls develops separately because they interact in sub-cultural groups that are typically homogenous by sex. This model does not support the idea that gender differences in communication are due to power dynamics. If miscommunication occurs, it is because the two sub cultures do not understand each other (Crawford, 1995). This model is helpful when looking at work that men and women produce together (through interaction); however, the pictures and words drawn on the jail cell walls were created by individuals and/or groups of men or women, not both.

The final model is the social constructionist model. This model is guided by symbolic interactionist theory and focuses on the context or setting of conversation. According to the social constructionist model, men and women "organize their talk via gendered norms but alter it to their advantage as they move between conversational settings" (Lindsey, 2005, p. 91; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003; Reid, Keerie, and Palomares, 2003). Language is seen as a symbol by this model, and social constructionists focus on how the symbols of language affect our perceptions of reality. For example, they might ask, how does using 'he' as a generic shape our understanding of what men and women can do? Within the jail setting, the question becomes: "how is what men and women draw influenced by the setting of jail? And, how is that work influenced by gender norms?"

There is little written by sociologists and/or psychologists that examines artwork, doodling or shared graffiti as elements of non-verbal communication. And yet, most people readily agree that what we draw or write says something about what we are thinking or feeling. Typically, non-verbal communication includes eye contact, use of personal space, gestures, and touching (Lindsey, 2005). This paper will argue that, just as language and body movement, (verbal and non-verbal communication) differ by gender, so does the artwork produced by jail detainees. Not only does what women and men write and draw while being held in jail symbolize their feelings about what has happened to them, but it also does so through the lens of gender.

Background

In October of 2002, Porter County, Indiana, completed the building of a new jail. Immediately after detainees were transferred out of the old jail, the County Police Chief observed a great deal of fascinating artwork drawn on the walls and invited researchers to document it before it was washed away. Most of the drawings were located in regular lock-up cells, where the artists could better isolate their work and avoid detection. These cells typically

housed anywhere from one to four individuals. Some photographs were taken of images in the holding cells, which were used to temporarily house many individuals who were waiting processing. The pictures taken in the holding cells are usually distinguished by a great deal of background markings, and the artwork is layered (image upon image, words added to images etc.). A few drawings and writings were also located in day-use areas (larger area in which inmates could interact) and just outside the cells in the corridor areas**.** The artwork primarily consists of drawings made with pencil, pen ink, crayon, scratching and other small objects on the walls and ceilings of the jail. It was estimated that the walls were most recently painted approximately 10 years prior to the jail's closing (D. Lain, personal communication, October 2002). Thus, the artwork that was photographed and analyzed was likely produced between 1991-2002.

Figure 1: Entrance to cells

It was also reported (D. Lain, personal communication, October 2002) that before moving to the new jail, the inmate population was about 80% White, 10% Black and 10% Latino/a or "other." Because the jail inmates were composed of residents of Porter County as well as residents of other counties (who were arrested in Porter Co.), it is meaningless to compare the racial composition of the jail inmates to the racial composition of Porter County. It was also impossible to tell if a drawing was made by someone of a specific race. Thus, while race might be a factor in what one draws or writes, it was not possible to isolate and code race in this study.

The old jail's total inmate count was at times as high as 250, but there were never more than 12 females present at any given time (D. Lain, personal communication, October 2002). Thus, the jail population was between 95 – 100% male. This figure is higher than that reported by Gilliard and Beck (1998) who found that 89% of all jail inmates tend to be men.

The majority of writings and drawings were located in the men's cells and holding areas. Drawings by women were scarce. This is in part due to the far fewer numbers of women who inhabited the jail and is similar to the findings of Otta (1993) who examined graffiti in Brazil and found that only 18% of all graffiti collected in university buildings in 1990 were located in women's restrooms. Loewenstine, Ponticos, and Paludi (1982) conducted a study on sex differences in graffiti style and found, that while both men and women make inscriptions to fulfill a need for communication and recognition and to relieve boredom, only 31% of the women compared to 65% of the men indicated they would take part in contributing to graffiti already present because they enjoyed communicating with people.   Additionally, Loewenstine et al. (1982) found that the majority of women indicated they would not draw or write on the walls while others were present because they feared recognition. Thus, lower numbers of women in the jail as well as women's attitudes toward the production of graffiti and fear of being caught likely contributed to the large difference in amount of work produced by men and women.

Method

Qualitative research often uses inductive reasoning (Esterberg, 2002). This approach is often called a "grounded approach" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) and begins with the examination of data. By analyzing and coding the data, theories gradually emerge. Upon entering the jail, the student photographer and assistant professor conducting the project made notes that indicated the location and designation (individual cells, common areas, holding units etc) of the areas that were photographed. These areas were, then, labeled by gender (the men's holding area was marked differently than the women's) systematically entered, and photographed. These photographs became the data.

When photographing the artwork, wide angle shots and close-ups were taken. A few pictures of the corridor inside the jail as well as the 'typical' bunk area of a cell were also photographed. A few cells were completely covered in artwork. In these cells, images were frequently isolated and a close up of the piece was taken. In some cells, it became clear that different people at different times had contributed to the overall canvas. In other areas, the images were unique to one artist and appeared more like a mural that spans several walls.

There were 275 pictures developed. However, this does not represent the number of actual images inside the jail cells. Because many of the images were photographed from several angles, the first step was determining how many unique images actually existed. After eliminating duplicate shots of a single image and shots of the jail cells as background, approximately 90 images existed. The reason there is not an exact number has to do with the way entire walls of graffiti were photographed. It was hard to get a clear shot of an entire wall; thus, some walls were divided into several frames so that the images contained on the wall could be clearly seen. Our unit of analysis was a discrete image. Ultimately, what we needed to analyze were the images produced by men and the images produced by women. We sorted all the images we found in our photographs into the dominant themes or categories produced in our coding stage and also identified each image as being male or female based on the image's original location in a male or female cell.

Following the ideas of Strauss and Corbin (1990), grounded theory was used to work with the images and develop our two-part coding process.   In the first stage, each of us worked independently and closely with all the photographs. Individually we grouped and regrouped photographs and wrote down observed similarities among the images. Esterberg (2002) calls this process 'open coding' and advises that after researchers have done open coding for awhile, some recurring themes should emerge.   After we each arrived at several potential themes, we met, compared notes and developed the themes by which the next phase of coding proceeded.

In the second phase of coding, we developed a typology of the photos based on recurring themes present in the jail art. We also compared our categories to those discovered by Reeves and Boyette (1983) who studied the artwork of eleven year old boys and girls in order to discover what children's art says about gender. They found that boys' artwork was more action oriented, and more angular in form, and human forms were more likely to be drawn in profile, whereas girls' artwork depicted domestic scenes and was more round in form and humans were depicted frontally (Reeves and Boyette, 1983).   The work of Reeves and Boyette (1983) did not influence our typologies since the artwork we looked at had distinct themes different than that of 11 yrs olds. However, their work and its relationship to gender helped explain some of the gender differences we found within our categories and also helped us identify subcategories.

We created our final categories, coded our images and words by category and sex of the cell in which it was found and placed the images into our typology for the final analysis.   Our independent variable became sex and our dependent variable(s) became the type of artwork found in the images. In each category, we compared the artwork produced by men to that produced by women.

Results

The final typology of jail art consisted of eight different categories. The eight categories are: (1) Graffiti (words); (2) Secular common images; (3) Religious images; (4) Fantasy images (non-violent); (5) Hate/violent images; (6) Cartoon-like images; (7) Life-like images of body parts; and (8) Scenes involving buildings/rooms. In this section, we will describe the images in each category and address how those images differed by gender.

Category One: Graffiti

Graffiti was most commonly found in the holding areas for men and women. Both of these rooms had walls that were marked by numerous drawings and writings. Moran (2003), who interviewed graffiti artists in New York City and Toronto, says that each artist defines graffiti differently, but that most agree that a true artist (not a scribbler) produces artwork with a message. For our analysis, the category of graffiti includes images that were accompanied by written words or the presence of written words alone.

Both the men's holding cell and the women's holding cell produced the most images in this category, although graffiti was also found in the lock-up room and some cells. In this category, the work of men and women differed by both form and content. Five subcategories emerged within the overall category of graffiti: 1) angry words or words of protest, 2) optimistic

words or positive sayings, 3) song lyrics, 4) declarations of love, and 5) a miscellaneous category.

Men produced all of the images that were categorized as angry, and women produced all the images categorized as optimistic. Common to the angry category were symbols and words that protested the person's being detained. Phrases such as "Every Cop is A Criminal" or "This one's for You – PCJ (Porter Co. Jail)" were typical as illustrated in Figure 2. The optimistic words written by women included phrases such as "Love, Laugh, Be Happy" and "Without the Rain there would be no rainbows" as shown in Figure 3.

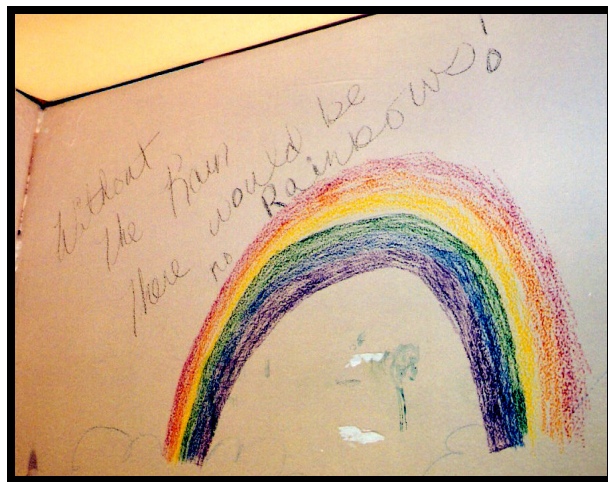Figure 2: Male drawing of middle finger   Figure 3: Woman's drawing of rainbow

Both groups produced work that expressed declarations of love, although this was far more frequent in women's graffiti than men's. Women wrote the names of music groups such as "Cool and the Gang" on their walls, whereas men wrote the names of groups, such as "Metallica", "The Beatles", "Ozzy Osbourne", as well as portions of song lyrics.

Category Two: Secular Common Images

In this category, there was little writing. The photographs captured artwork that reproduced common images. These ranged from a can of spray paint to a dream catcher to tribal tattoo art. The sex of the artist was related to the form of the images. For example, the six drawings done by women captured images that are typically regarded as child-like or innocent (puppy face, rainbow, dream catcher, sun/moon, and flowers (both life-like and child-like) as in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Sun/Moon drawn by a woman

Men's drawings (13) included a replica of Stevie Ray Vaughn's guitar, cars, tattoo art, gang symbols, and images that appeared to reference drugs (magic mushrooms, a bong) as shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Stevie Ray Vaughn's guitar drawn by a man

Category Three: Religious Images

Religious images included pictures of Jesus Christ on the cross, pictures of Jesus' head with the crown of thorns, a Bible laid open, Bible verses, crosses, and praying hands as illustrated in Figure 6. Ten different images were put into this category, and all of them were drawn by men.
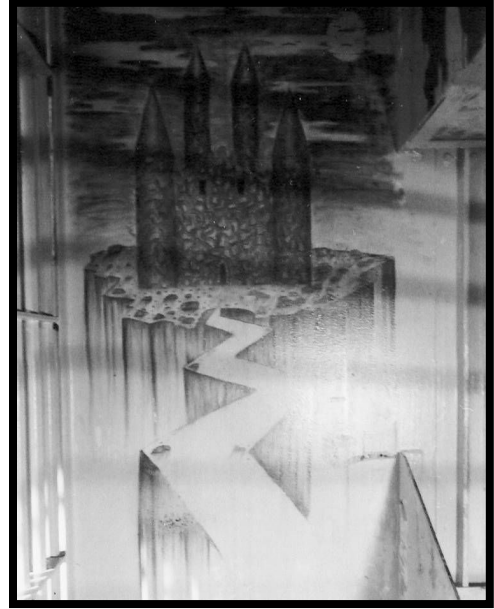
Figure 6: Jesus image drawn by a man

Figure 7: Castle drawn by a man

Category Four: Fantasy Images (non-violent)

Only four drawings fell into this category and all were drawn by men. The drawings were of castles (2), a dragon (1), and a Viking-type person (1) as shown in Figure 7.

Category Five: Hate/Violent Images

This category had 24 different images that fell into the broad subcategories of sexual violence (7 images), hate group associations (5 images), skulls/fire (9 images), gun violence (1 image), and themes of revenge (2 images). All the images were produced by men. Those images in the sexually violent category included graphic drawings of oral sex among men (2) and images of oral sex performed by a woman (1), a naked woman sitting on a pitchfork or penis (2), and naked women sprawled on their backs who appeared to be awaiting intercourse or had just had sexual intercourse (2) The last two images of naked women are also cross-listed in category 7: life-like images of bodies or body parts.
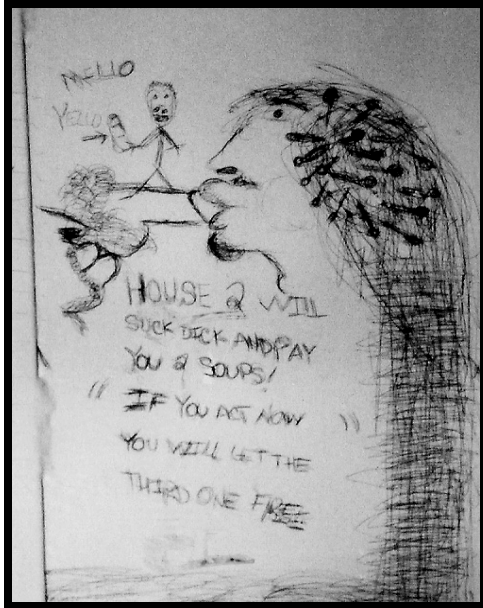
Figure 8: Oral Sex between men   Figure 9: White Power image by man

Nazi symbols, words expressing 'white power', (Figure 9) and drawings of Ku Klux Klansman were placed in the hate group association subcategory. Skulls appeared rising above flames of fire or grinning in a demon-like way as shown in Figure 10.
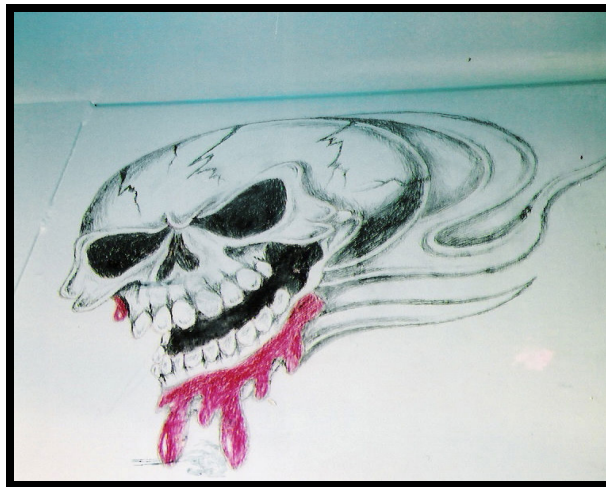

Figure 10: Skull drawn by man

One drawing in the gun violence category showed a hand holding a pistol to someone's head (Figure 11). Words condemning the Porter county police, jail officers, and judges were placed in the revenge or protest category.

Figure 11: Gun to head drawn by man

Category Six: Cartoon-like images

Some of the images in this category were original (a floating head on a real body that said "fuck porter county jail"), but most were reproductions of copyrighted images (the Budweiser frog, Homer Simpson, Goofy, or the Monopoly game police officer [Figure 12]). In all, there were 9 drawings that contained all or part of a comic-like portrayal of someone. All of the drawings were done by men.

Figure 12: "Monopoly-like" police officer

Category Seven: Life-like images of body parts and/or people

Both men and women drew realistic images of parts of the human body. However, which part they focused on differed by sex. There were six drawings attributed to male artists and three attributed to female artists. Men drew naked women lying on their back with their legs spread apart (2 images- also referenced in the sexual category of hate/violent images) and hands: one of a hand holding a cigarette, others with the middle finger raised. One man also drew a picture of the human heart (realistic looking, not the heart-shaped symbol, Figure 13).
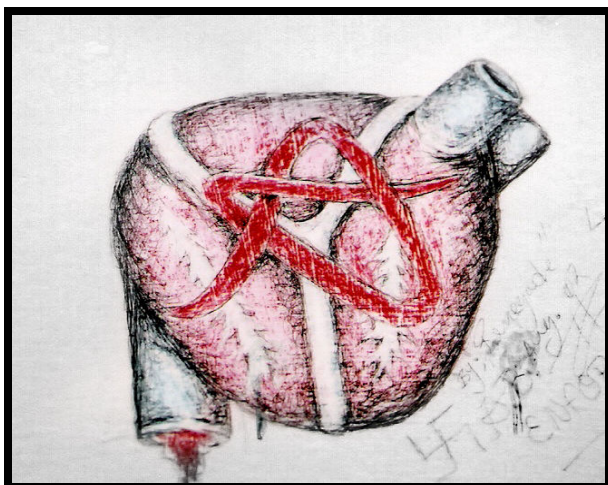

Figure 13: Human Heart with swastika

Figure 14: Face drawn by a woman

Women drew either a face or a single eye. The eyes and hair of the two faces drawn by women always showed great detail, and both images had tears dropping from one eye. It was also noted that in neither drawing were the eyes the same as illustrated in Figure 14. This was also found in the drawing of the sun/moon that was done by a woman. In that drawing, the moon's eye was half open, and the eye of the sun was fully open.

Category Eight: Scenes involving 'real life'

In this category, all the images depicted parts of the detainees' normal lives that were now missing. One scene depicted downtown Valparaiso. The storefronts of several known businesses were drawn, and police cars patrolling the alleys and streets were included. In another cell, someone drew very realistic looking appliances and other items commonly found in one's apartment, including a stove complete with burners and oven (Figure 15), a refrigerator door pulled open to reveal its contents, a sink, a radio, a towel rack with a towel hanging on it, a liquid soap dispenser, a shelf holding lotions, and a drinking cup.

Figure 15: Stove drawn by a man

Outside other cells, a doorbell was drawn with the instructions to ring for service, and a ventilation grate was transformed into an exit sign that commonly appears over doorways.   In the men's common area, a dart board was drawn onto the wall, and a checker board was drawn on the floor. Both the dartboard and checker board were drawn to scale and actually used by the detainees. Also found in the common area were several month long calendars. All of these depictions of items and scenes from real life were drawn by men.

Table 1: Summary of Placement in Categories

CATEGORY	# of Cases drawn by men	# of Cases drawn by women	Total # of Cases
1. Graffiti*			
2. Secular Common Images	13	6	19
3. Religious Images	10	0	10
4. Fantasy Images (non-violent)	4	0	4
5. Hate/Violent Images	24	0	24
6. Cartoon-like Images	9	0	9
7. Life-like images of body parts	7	3	10
8. Scenes depicting 'real-life'	6	0	6
TOTALS**	71	9	80

* Graffiti was not counted due to the difficulty in determining single cases. The holding cell walls were covered with sayings, a few drawings and various scratch marks and doodles. The themes contained on the walls were identified and noted, but the images themselves were not counted. Refer back to the description of what was found in this category to review male and differences in graffiti.

** The total number is calculated adding the total column and subtracting 2 for the two images that were cross-listed in two categories (hate/violence and life-like drawings).

Discussion

There are many differences between what women and men drew and wrote on jail cell walls. Women's artwork differed from men's artwork in form, content, and amount. The drawings and writing of women did not typically include sexual scenes, comic figures, and scary fantasy figures such as skulls in the midst of flames, or angry statements. It did include faces (often with tears), words that were optimistic, and symbols that were innocent and childlike. The work did appear more round in form. For example, flowers were typically drawn with big rounded petals, a rainbow appeared, and round mushrooms were present as were large hearts linking two lovers. Women concentrated far more on the human eye in their drawings than men did, and in the final analysis their work represented only 11% of the total amount of artwork in the jail.

Men's drawings contained more variety (they had images in all categories), were far more angry in tone, and were far less likely to contain expressions of love or hope (unless housed in religious terms). Men did not draw realistic human faces (any human-like characters were drawn with a comic-like face). They did depict people in forced sexual acts, and they often referenced a group with which they related (iron workers, musical group, white supremacist, gangs).

How does gender role socialization explain these differences in form, content and amount of images? The differences in content are addressed by social learning theory, cognitive developmental theory, and the dual culture or difference model of communication. Deborah Tannen writes in her hallmark book *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*: "Even if they grow up in the same neighborhood, on the same block, or in the same house, girls and boys grow up in different worlds of words" (1990, p. 43). She likewise discusses the fact that boys and girls play different games and use language in these games in different ways. The artwork that falls into the categories of graffiti, secular common images, hate/violent images, and cartoon-like images are explained by gender socialization.

Social learning theory tells us that we learn through interaction with others. Thus, boys learn what language content is appropriate for them as they grow and develop. Boys' groups are typically hierarchically structured. Leaders in boys' groups resist doing what others propose. One achieves status by resisting others' attempts to take over, by telling jokes and by challenging and interrupting the stories and jokes of others (Tannen, 1990). The males' artwork demonstrates this when they propose that police and correctional officers submit to their authority or sexual power. Drawings and writings to that effect were found in both the graffiti and hate/violence categories. The drawings that depict humor or subvert the power of the place also demonstrate typical male interaction patterns. Remember it was only the men who had drawings categorized as 'comic-like' and only the men who pictured themselves holding guns, forcing oral sex, or defiantly displaying their middle finger toward the 'system' and its officers.

In contrast, social learning theory tells us that girls are rewarded for acting 'like girls' (Bandura, 1977). For girls, social life is centered on best friends. Girls tend to play cooperatively in small groups. Even though some girls are clearly more skilled than others, they are expected

not to boast of their abilities. Girls do not often challenge each other directly; they are more interested in being liked than they are in besting each other in an attempt to gain power (Tannen, 1990). Girls' intense focus on intimacy and avoidance of appearing dominant helps explain some of the female drawings. In one drawing of a face, the artist wrote: "I know he wouldn't let me down, he loves his Poo-Poo." Below this picture is written "Everything is gonna be alright when I get home."
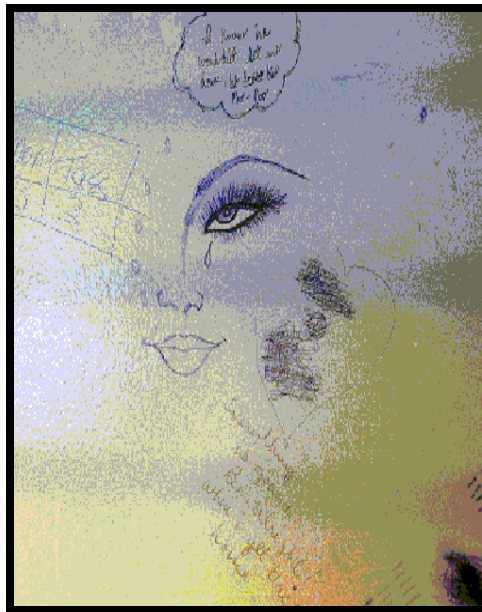

Figure 15: He won't let me down face

Freud claimed that "we are never so defenseless against suffering as when we love" (1930, p. 82) and found that, in his work, women were always the exception to his theories about relationships. For Freud, the establishment of adult relationships demanded that children separate from their parents, and often this was accomplished in an aggressive manner. Carol Gilligan, a leading researcher on women's moral and cognitive development found that women appear to have relationships that do not have separation or aggression at their base: "Demonstrating a continuing sense of connection in the face of separation and loss, women illuminate an experience of self that, however disparate from Freud's account, speaks directly to the problem of aggression" (Gilligan, 1982, p. 47).   Thus, the woman who writes that her man will not let her down and everything will be alright when she gets home speaks to the enduring power of connection found in relationships. Her lack of anger over her condition (being jailed) and her strong belief in the future also reveal ways in which women may cope differently than men in stressful environments, such as jail.

Aggression is associated with masculinity, and being a "real male" is the subject of William Pollack's work (1998). He claims the society mandate that boys reject nurturing roles and associate masculinity with negative expressions is causing a crisis for boys. Pollack uses the term "boy code" to refer to society's mandate that boys act tough and independent, and he notes that this code conflicts with the late 20th-century rhetoric that encouraged men to become more

nurturing and take on more of the familial and domestic responsibilities. "We now say that we want boys to share their vulnerable feelings, but at the same time we expect them to cover their need for dependency and *hide* their natural feelings of love and caring behind the mask of masculine autonomy and strength. It's an impossible assignment for any boy, or, for that matter, any human being" (Pollack, 1998, p. 12-13). Yet, the major socialization agents (parents, peers, media and schools) continue to socialize in ways that reinforce fairly rigid gender roles and tell boys that the way to become masculine is to build their strength and independence, not their relationships and communication skills (Yogan and Henry, 2000).

Getting arrested and placed in jail is not usually something about which one feels pride. In fact, many people will be embarrassed to admit they have been jailed. Boys and girls typically handle shame in different ways. The handling of emotions, particularly of shame is talked about in gender schema theory. That theory of gender socialization and development reminds us that gender will be the construct around which action is formulated. However, the context of the situation or environment will also be a factor.

Boys are far more likely than girls to use violence when handling emotional situations, and girls are far more likely to express sadness and/or fear (Garside and Klimes-Dougan, 2002). Pollack says that, while no one wants to feel stupid or vulnerable and will work to hide or isolate themselves; boys are shame-phobic: "Rather than expose themselves…..boys, in the face of suffering shame, engage in a variety of behaviors that range from avoidance of dependency to impulsive action, from bravado and rage-filled outbursts to intense violence" (Pollack, 1998, p. 33). All these behaviors are illustrated in the artwork of male detainees. Their drawings in the hate/violence category stand out as representing avoidance of dependency (on women), as being full of bravado (writings inviting others to 'fuck them'), and representing rage (belief in white power groups, threats of death or revenge etc.). In a similar fashion, the emotions of women that are possibly associated with the shame of being jailed and the sense of loss they feel are depicted in the life-like images category. There we see women's faces always depicted with a tear. The faces look more sad or fearful than angry. These findings support gender schema theory and the work done by Garside and Klimes-Dougan (2002) who examine gender differences that are linked to psychological distress.

The work of women also illustrates a hopefulness that their lives and relationships will be okay and even continue once they leave. Seemingly the jail experience does not cause them to lose hope even though jail is a stressful environment. Their drawings and sayings look similar to doodles one might find on the notebook of a female student sitting in a lecture. The intense focus on the eye and the ever present tear drop is all that gives us a glimpse into the sadness or isolation some of them feel. Their artwork is very 'feminine' in nature, with rounded forms, heart-shaped dots of letters and lack of aggressive images or words.

The artwork produced by men is far more direct in its display of anger toward the system and people who arrested them. Few words of hope are written unless displayed as part of a religious sentiment that God loves and forgives. There is a prevalence of violence associated with the male words and drawings. Most of the fantasy images are violent, as are the depictions of sexual acts. Many of the drawings expressing affiliation show a link with hate-filled groups.

Connection among the jailed men and the outside world seems fragmented. The communication of men is centered not on relationships but on gaining 'justice' and exerting power.

Conclusion

The three theories of gender socialization and the theories of communication are useful in analyzing the artwork within jails. In particular, social learning theory (which talks about gender development as a process influenced by society's rewards and punishments) and gender schema theory (which looks at gender, cognitive development and situational context) help us understand the differences found in the many jail art images. Additionally, the dominance theory of communication seems to be the most accurate in explaining the artwork as a form of non-verbal communication.

The artwork in the graffiti section, which conveyed detainees' sentiments, typically expressed stereotypical thoughts of men and women as described by gender schema theorists. The hopeful words written by women in the graffiti section indicate their belief that being jailed is a situation to 'get through' so that one can return to and restore relationships whereas the men's words, which were often angrier in tone, demonstrated the 'boy code' to which Pollack referred (1998) and were typically filled with bravado, threats or 'tough images'. The work in the hate/violence category is predicted by what we know about men's reaction to shame and emotion-filled situations. The comic-like drawings typify men's desire to subvert the situation of jail or show bravado. The women's work in the life-like images category shows their reaction to the emotional situation of being jailed.

The images in the secular image category are explained by social learning theory. The women draw what they have learned and know to be appropriate for their sex (rainbows, puppies, flowers etc.). The men draw what they know to be associated with masculinity (sex, aggression, cars, rock bands etc.). The life-like drawings produced by women also reflect the dominance model of communication. The drawings of women's faces, typically with one eye looking as if it were beaten and crying, reflect the lack of social, political and economic power of women. Many of the drawings reflect communication patterns that do not allow the women to sound powerful or independent. These non-verbal communications are contrasted with the drawings of bodies and body parts done by men that do express power (a raised middle-finger, a woman lying on her back in a very vulnerable position).

The gender theories are less able to predict or explain the images found in the religious, fantasy and real-life categories. Yet, these images appear to be among the most common found in prison art. Phyllis Kornfeld (1997) who worked with prison artists for over 15 years writes that artists within the prison culture tend to use and reuse standard images to vent their frustrations, communicate their true personalities to others, and to show a sense of humor. She says that favorite images include the crucifixion, giant hands praying, the Grim Reaper, and skulls and skeletons. While prison art is different from jail art in that it is typically produced through sanctioned programs such as art classes, all of these images were found in the Porter County Jail and were categorized as religious, hate/violence or fantasy. Kornfeld (1997) also reports that the most popular genre is known as 'fantasy art' and includes castles, dragons, naked

Viking women and wizards. We also found that a small percentage (5.6%) of the men's drawings fell into the category of non-violent fantasy images described by Kornfeld.

The final category left unexplained by either gender socialization theories or prison art history is that of real-life scenes. Kornfeld (1997) talks briefly about this and says that the reproduction of familiar objects is simply a way of connecting with outside life. Prisons and jails are stressful and isolating environments. One way to feel less stress and more connection is to create an environment that feels like home. What was interesting in our study is the fact that all of these real-life drawings were located in the men's areas. It may be that drawing stoves and towel racks is permissible given rigid gender definitions about what types of images are masculine or feminine. It is likely that drawing a towel rack and radio does not threaten a male detainee's masculinity.   It is also likely that women's reluctance to get caught and the fact that so few of them were detained may also explain why this is a male and not a female phenomenon in our study.

Due to the fact that all the artwork was taken from one county jail, it is impossible at this time to tell if the patterns we found are duplicated in other jails across the country. This study demonstrates that "underground" (non-institutionally supported) artwork created by incarcerated persons is relevant to social theory. More research of its kind would be informative. More extensive analyses could include accompanying forms of data, such as art objects created by the detainees and interviews.   However, since writing on the walls is largely forbidden, interviewing the artists might put them in a difficult position. Clearly, more work needs to be done be to further understand the nonverbal communication through art and graffiti that occurs in jails. Drawings, doodling and graffiti are all forms of communication, and the findings of this study suggest they are influenced greatly by gender socialization and environmental context.

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