12-1-2013

The sacrificial lamb of capitalism: The impact of private prisons on African-Americans in Georgia

Randall L. Dellemar
Clark Atlanta University

Follow this and additional works at: http://digitalcommons.auctr.edu/dissertations
Part of the Political Science Commons

Recommended Citation
THE SACRIFICIAL LAMB OF CAPITALISM: THE IMPACT OF PRIVATE PRISONS ON AFRICAN-AMERICANS IN GEORGIA

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF CLARK ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE

BY
RANDALL L. DELLEMAR

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
DECEMBER 2013
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I give honor to the most high whose wisdom placates the universe causing man to seek answers in awe of the mass knowledge of the world. I thank my mother, Mrs. Effie Randall-Dellemar, for instilling in me that quitting is not an option and “can’t never could do nothing.” I honor the memory of my sister, Mrs. Linda “Faye” Dellemar-Lawson, for her encouragements and accolades. Even today, when I stall I reach back to her memories and find that commingled encouraging and humorous character, uniquely hers, and drive on with a smile. I thank my entire family for their patience, as this project has taken far longer than ever anticipated.

In academia, I would like to thank Dr. Marvin Haire for encouraging me to stay with what interests me, African American oppression, disproportionate incarcerations and the justice systems. Thanks for throwing out the lifesaver when I was drowning in an ocean of information. The gratitude afforded Dr. Clarissa Myrick-Harris and Dr. Norm Harris for their directions and support as readers/advisors for this work is grand. My thanks to them is ostentatious. Thanks again for the invitation to your lovely home to discuss the thesis over the perfect dinner. I am forever grateful to both for their wisdom and concerns. Finally, I would like to thank Dr. William H. Boone not only for his guidance as an advisor on the thesis work, but also for sharing his knowledge in the many courses throughout my matriculation in the political science department. His example and high standards are well noted by the appreciation of all students, past and present, of the department.
Table of Contents (continued)

Research Delimitation .................................................................................. 46
Research Methods: Data Analysis and Procedures ..................................... 47

IV. TARGETED CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS AND LOBBYING ............... 51

Historical Background and Contemporary Cause .................................... 51
Legislation ..................................................................................................... 59
Contemporary Actors ................................................................................. 61
  Rep. Terry Coleman ................................................................................. 63
  Rep. Larry Walker .................................................................................. 70
  Rep. Mickey Channell ............................................................................. 78
  Rep. Thomas Buck ................................................................................ 84
  Sen. Carol Jackson ................................................................................ 91

V. PRIVATE PRISONS .................................................................................. 100

Private Prisons .............................................................................................. 100
  Private Prisons in Georgia .................................................................... 101
  Disproportionate Compensation .......................................................... 102
  Speculative Prisons and Economic Demand on
  Private Prisons ....................................................................................... 107
  Legal Issues ........................................................................................... 113
  Plantations or Private Prisons: Similarities in
  Functional Goal ....................................................................................... 117

VI. ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL DISPARITY ................................... 120

Educating African Americans: The Beginning ......................................... 121
  Education and Incarceration ................................................................. 123
  Economic Disparity and Incarceration ................................................. 129
The War On Poverty: part two ................................................................. 132
Findings ...................................................................................................... 137
  Chapter #4, Theory #1 .......................................................................... 137
  Hypothesis ............................................................................................ 137
  Chapter #5, Theory #2 .......................................................................... 139
  Hypothesis ............................................................................................ 139
  Chapter #6, Theory #3 .......................................................................... 140
  Hypothesis ............................................................................................ 141
Conclusion .................................................................................................. 141
Table of Contents (continued)

APPENDIX

A. Employment Disparity ................................................................................. 145

BIBLIOGRAPHY .................................................................................................. 149
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Population Data on Whites from U.S. Census in Georgia Counties 1970-2000</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Population Data on Blacks from U.S. Census in Georgia Counties 1970-2000</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Person Below Poverty Percentage in Georgia Counties – 1999</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Population Data on Whites from U.S. Census in Houston County 1970-2000</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Population Data on Blacks from U.S. Census in Houston County 1970-2000</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6 Persons Below Poverty 1999 in Houston County</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7 Population Data on Whites from U.S. Census in Georgia Counties 1970-2000</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8 Population Data on Blacks from U.S. Census in Georgia Counties 1970-2000</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.9 Person Below Poverty 1999 in Georgia Counties</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.10 Population Data on Whites from U.S. Census in Muscogee County 1970-2000</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.11 Population Data on Blacks from U.S. Census in Muscogee County 1970-2000</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.12 Person Below Poverty 1999 in Muscogee County</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Population Data on Whites from U.S. Census in Georgia Counties 1970-2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Population Data on Blacks from U.S. Census in Georgia Counties 1970-2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>Person Below Poverty Percentage in Georgia Counties – 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>Population Data on Whites from U.S. Census in Houston County 1970-2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>Population Data on Blacks from U.S. Census in Houston County 1970-2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>Persons Below Poverty 1999 in Houston County</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>Population Data on Whites from U.S. Census in Georgia Counties 1970-2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>Population Data on Blacks from U.S. Census in Georgia Counties 1970-2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>Person Below Poverty 1999 in Georgia Counties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>Population Data on Whites from U.S. Census in Muscogee County 1970-2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>Population Data on Blacks from U.S. Census in Muscogee County 1970-2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>Person Below Poverty 1999 in Muscogee County</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.13 Population Data on Whites from U.S. Census in Georgia Counties
1970-2000 ................................................................. 94

1.14 Population Data on Blacks from U.S. Census in Georgia Counties
1970-2000 ................................................................. 94

1.15 Person Below Poverty 1999 in Specific Georgia Counties ................. 95

1.16 CPN Calculations ................................................................ 98

2.1 GDC Offender Statistics by Race, 2004 ........................................ 103

2.2 Georgia GDC Offender Statistics by Race, 2004 .............................. 103

2.3 Georgia Department of Corrections, Comparisons Between the General
Population and Black Population Within James, Coffee and Wheeler
Correctional Facilities ...................................................... 106

2.4 Incarceration Rate – Georgia Department of Corrections, 1970-1999 ....... 115

3.1 Education Disparity, 1998, 2000 & 2003 ....................................... 125

3.2 Education Disparity, 1990-2000 .................................................. 127

3.3 Employment Disparity in the Prison Population 2000 ........................ 131
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

"Nobody's free until everybody's free."
Fannie Lou Hamer, Washington, D.C., 1971

The American society has a long history of discrimination in legal judgments against minorities and the poor. This research is conducted to identify the presence of collusion between private prison owners and politicians and to note the impact of this relationship on Georgia’s African American community.

The elasticity of the U.S. Constitution (specifically found in Amendment XIII, sec. 1, Amendment XIV, sec. 1 and Amendment XV, sec. 1.) has historically been used to deny, or at least delay, African Americans’ constitutional rights and is now used against them with tough crime laws and the expansion of private prisons in society. Political power is used in Georgia to pass racially discriminatory laws that lead to the disproportionate incarceration of African American men. History supplies examples where blacks have had their constitutional rights denied to advance the economics of whites and exclude blacks from the American social life. Booker T. Washington expressed a willingness to compromise these rights of the race by accepting inferior condition in his speech at the Cotton States and International Expedition in Atlanta, Georgia in September, 1895.

Conscious African Americans are more aware of actions derived from (rather than literature presented) American policy making, which enables them to recognize the
initiation of disparity in the law. The rights accorded by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution (Amendment XIII, sec. 1, Amendment XIV, sec. 1 and Amendment XV, sec. 1.) were frustratingly elusive for blacks and required more legislation to secure their intent. Sharecropping, Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) and the Grandfather Clause are examples of obstacles that barred the fulfillment of lawmakers’ intent.

In Georgia, blacks represent 28.7% of the state population and 61.7% of the state’s incarcerated population.¹ Abuse of the “punishment clause” in the Thirteenth Amendment (sec. 1) is allowing laws to be passed that incarcerate black males disproportionately to their white counterparts in the state. Therefore, there may be connections between race and class, the expansion of private prisons and oppression causing African American communities to lose men. The collusion between policy makers and private prison owners is an immoral act involving capital, political/legal power and oppression in the African American community.

A pattern and history of unpaid and underpaid labor of African Americans can easily be traced throughout the building of America. With a disturbing spin, private prisons are a continuation of this practice. Advanced technology has placed labor in less demand for capitalism. Imprisoning the labor source is now more lucrative because cheap labor is not so necessary. For example, in the technological advancement of a single piece of farming equipment such as the tractor, a lesser need for manpower in agriculture is created, therefore, downsizing occurred. The computer age has created many instances in

---

which the need for manpower has been seriously decreased because of computerization and the victims of this decrease in available work have overwhelmingly been African Americans. Identifying protection for the victims of capitalism’s quest for gain requires a methodical examination of the relationship of African American men and the Georgia legal and political systems being influenced by private prison owners for capital. There has been a recognizable increase in America’s prison population that began in 1980.\(^2\) Support and pledges to enforce harsh drug penalties became an effective election campaign for America’s politicians. Instead of ensuring education and employment for hopelessly displaced citizens who, because of distress had turned to drugs (possibly due to technological advances and the greed-over-need sentiment of capitalism), policy makers were persuaded to incarcerate these victims rather than use proactive corrections. Political support for mandatory minimum sentencing for drug offenses was a popular proposal for politicians to support by 1990.

Unrest and protest surrounding the Vietnam War and other active protests that surged throughout the nation and particularly on college and university campuses fostered the political sentiments of the late 1960s. The Vietnam War, women’s rights, and racial equality were some of the issues that demonstrators were reacting to. These conditions climaxed on the fourth of May in 1970 in Ohio at Kent State University when students were fired on and killed by the Ohio National Guard. Congress responded with an anti-crime bill, to which President Richard Nixon added narcotics, thus spurring the

\(^2\) James Austin, Mario A. Bruce, Leo Carroll, Patricia L. McCall and Steven C. Richards, “The Use of Incarceration in the United States” [a policy paper presented by the national policy committee to the American society of criminology, Washington, D.C., February, 2001].
war on drugs. Nelson Rockerfeller, New York’s governor in 1973, supported legislation that inflated the prison population by calling for mandatory 15-year prison terms for those charged with narcotics possession, even in small amounts. James E. Hawdon identifies moral panic as a means to sustain the unnecessary war on drugs. These political decisions lead to prison over-crowding and caught the attention of businessmen determined to make a profit. Private prisons became ventures through which to compete against public facilities for monetary gain.

Politicians attempting to get elected or re-elected are willing to sacrifice minorities to appear tough on crime. They began pledging their commitment to lower crime rates by adopting tough on crime policies, ignoring the fact that education (free post-secondary education) and jobs with decent salaries can deter much of the crime. Laws began to be passed that disproportionately incarcerated minorities while policy makers ignored the need to implement an effective racial justice act to ensure equal treatment in punishment for all crimes subject to felony incarceration.


Private prison owners influence policy-making decisions in a manner that leads to increased profits for such owners and an inflated number of African American persons being incarcerated in private prisons. In essence, the poor and minority elements of society are being incarcerated for the benefit of political leaders and the U.S. Prison-Industry Complex through the incarceration of non-violent black criminals. Politicians get votes leading to political power: private prison owners get their prison beds filled thus, generating capital gain, and black men become the victims of an incarceration scheme that discriminates against the African American community.

Theoretical Context

The incarceration of non-violent criminals increase prison population, therefore making it appear that crime is threatening the safety of society. Black men are cast as common criminals by building on the fear of the media-depicted criminal black man in television shows such as “COPS” and in local and national news programs. The rural and sluggish southern economies, damaged by jobs lost to technology, thus, downsizing and competition from cheap labor overseas, are depending on black men who are being unjustly sentenced when compared to white men who commit the same offense and sent to private prisons in rural areas to boost rural economies. Policy-makers are being encouraged to rid their districts of crime by supporting “tough-on-crime” legislation. New private prisons can be built without the usual governmental requirements and tax

dollars associated in building public prisons, making them appear as a viable solution to prison overcrowding.\(^9\) We have politicians attempting to get elected and private prison owners (entrepreneurs) supporting a reactive rather than a proactive response to crime, yielding an oppressed African American community.

The proactive responses to crime, such as viable rehabilitation programs, that improve social, economic, and educational conditions for poor and minorities, are being ostracized while reactive responses, such as building more prisons and "tough-on-crime" legislation are embraced. Economically weak and rural areas are vulnerable because private prisons can offer the affected regions jobs that allow prison owners to take advantage of cheap labor in highly non-union areas. Other employers in these areas usually have no unions and the "right-to-work" condition is being exploited. Private prisons allow judges (theoretically, district attorneys since many drug crimes have mandatory minimums) to more frequently sentence non-violent criminals to jail because private prisons provide more incarceration space, and the victims are disproportionately African American males.\(^{10}\)

**The Overall Significance**

The scenario of black men in the American political arena and correctional system decimates the African American community to gain profits for private prison owners and

---


10. Rachael Young, Common Sense Says... That Mandatory Minimum Sentencing is Unfair, Ineffective, and Expensive [The Common Sense Foundation, 2003].
political power for politicians. The African American community is deprived of too many men because of this behavior. Since America is undoubtedly a patriarchy, figuratively the very backbone of the African American community is being removed, leaving a deformed and vulnerable community. These citizens incarcerated in private prisons are often from dilapidated African American communities that were formed from the aftermath of slavery and/or racism and classism, as indicated by private prison populations being majority black and poor. The negative effect of private prisons on the African American community is enhanced with tough crime legislation as indicated by an increase of blacks being incarcerated by laws evolving out of tough crime legislation. However, a color-blind justice system is expected in accordance with the U.S. Constitution (art. 14, sec. 1, *Due Process and Equal Protection*).

A society that combines capitalism and incarceration must be free of discrimination and is in great need of scrutiny and protection for any afflicted segment of its population. African American men, in particular, receive the most harm, which is evident by statistical data indicating disparities in crime and incarceration rates, as well as education, employment by sex and race.\(^{11}\) Capitalism is a system that allows for the exploitation of the weak and/or needy by the wealthy and/or greedy. Borrowing a viable definition; “Capitalism is an economic system in which most wealth is in private hands and is used (invested) to create more wealth for its owners. The incentive for economic

---

activity by capitalists (those who own and invest large amounts of wealth) is, therefore, the accumulation of profits."^{12}

CHAPTER TWO
METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

"We are not fighting for integration, nor are we fighting for separation. We are fighting for recognition as human beings."
Malcolm X Shabazz, New York, New York, 1964

Research Questions

This thesis examines the causes that have led to a disproportionately large number of African American men in Georgia’s private prison population. This study will analyze the influence of private prison owners in shaping policy-making decisions (i.e., tough on crime legislation and the inception of private prisons). The research questions are:

1. What evidence exists of collusion between public policy makers and private prison owners in relation to the inception and profitability of private prisons?
2. Is there a relationship between the rise in the use of private prisons and public policies in the area of criminal justice?

Hypothesis

Targeted campaign contributions from private prison owners to politicians in specific political parties and geo-political regions are used to influence policy-making that supports the inception, expansion and profitability of private prisons. To ensure legislative support for private prisons, owners also contract with lobbyists who push for
tough crime legislation that ensures that their businesses are needed because of increased incarcerations.

**Normative Assumption**

The media, namely television, is an enormous enemy to a solution. The roles available for black men in films and lopsided willingness to picture then committing negative acts in the news when white men doing the same are not as often shown, lend credence to an image. It perpetuates a disproportionate black male prison population by depicting black men as common criminals and portraying society as saturated with crime to increase ratings. The Media influences the perception among policemen and citizens that black men are the most criminal element of society, therefore, perpetuating that the racially disproportionate black male prison population as justified.

Politicians, responding to media’s depiction of their districts being saturated with crime, are influenced to make a change. Private prison owners, supporting capitalism in the incarceration arena, are determined to turn a profit. And misinformed constituents, afraid of the pseudo-criminal black man, are all embracing tough on crime legislation. Owners are seeking to influence politicians via campaign contributions and lobbyists. The targeted poor and minority citizens normally have less education and fewer employment opportunities that cause them to be more desperate and take more chances with law enforcement to escape poverty. Going to jail has become the norm for far too many black men, making it an unwanted, but realistic part of poor, black men’s culture in Georgia.
The history of discrimination against African Americans in Georgia’s legal system warrants investigation. When the large and disproportionate black male prison population is identified the cause must be sought rather than more incarceration room. Conscious Americans must challenge society to determine how and why this large and disproportionate black male prison population evolved, and must finally be reflective on a solution. Ingrained in American society by its Constitution are the protection of property and the dehumanizing of people for gain, of which both take precedence over moral justice (art. 6 and art. 1, sec. 2). Private prison owners, as entrepreneurs in a capitalist society, want to ensure capital gain. Politicians want to do what constituents want and react to media’s depiction of the dangerous black criminal. Racism and classism have a place within the cultural tapestry of American society that makes proving an acceptable hypothesis based on their negative impact extremely challenging.

Guard Against Biases

I am an African American male and have experienced several “driving while black” (DWB) incidents. Therefore, I must be careful to guard against bias. There must be interplay between the facts of the research and impartiality in presenting the information regardless of personal experiences. Offering conflicting views, seriously scrutinizing each and using acceptable statistical data will limit contamination of the research in a biased manner. By using empathy when examining opposition and citing only scientific data that has been accepted by the scientific community, biases will decrease.

Biased data to identify biased action of the collusion between private prison owners and politicians will produce a useless compilation of rhetoric on a problem that deserves far better. Focus will be on presentation of reliable data, scrutiny and cross reference of such data, and unbiased presentation of the findings. Where there are possible chances for biases or inaccuracies to influence research and no better method is reasonably available, the possibility for such will be acknowledged.

Major Concepts

African American men, males of African descent residing in America, represent a disproportionately higher percentage of Georgia’s prison population. Various concepts involving the independent variables lead to a majority black and poor prison population, the dependent variable. Since African Americans earn less than European Americans on an average due to economic and educational disparities, African Americans tend to experience harm from both race and economic class. Blacks fall overwhelmingly into both oppressed categories of minority and poor, putting them into an exploited welfare state that leads to a police state, causing black men to absorb more harm than white men in Georgia. Wacquant, author of “From Welfare State to Prison State: Imprisoning the American Poor,” displays his understanding of the scenario, writing:

It is easy for advocates of neoliberal policies that involve stifling the welfare state to claim that introducing “flexibility” has stimulated an increase in wealth and job creation, but are more reticent about discussing the consequences of wage dumping: in this instance widespread social and physical insecurity and a spiraling in inequality leading to segregation, crime and the decay of public institutions.

But it is not enough to measure the direct social and human costs of the system of social inequality that the U.S. is proffering as a model to the world. There is also its sociological counterpart: a boom in the institutions that compensate for the failure of social protection (the safety net) by casting over the lower strata of society a police and criminal dragnet that gets harder and harder to escape. As the social state is deliberately allowed to wither, the police state flourishes: the direct and inevitable effect of impoverishing and weakening social protection.3

In the private prison populations in Georgia, (the total population of prisoners incarcerated in privately owned correctional institutions within the state) disparities are found by this research to be more disproportionately black men than are public facilities in Georgia.4 This discovery raises the assumption that the African American community in particular pays a higher price for accepting private prisons in the state. Historical research establishes an apathetic reaction when policy makers consider legislation related to justice for African Americans. Such action violates the U.S. Constitution's Due Process and Equal Protection (art. 14, sec. 1). The inception of private prisons is suspected as the first collusion between politicians and private prison owners, followed by tough crime laws to secure such business. Shichor reflects on the conflicting ideologies associated with the acceptance of private prisons in society writing:

The utilitarian philosophy has a teleological ethical system, according to which 'what is good is determined by the consequences of the action' [Pollock 1994, p.22]. Consequently, the idea behind the privatization of prisons is that if correctional costs will be reduced and prisons will be built faster and less expensively, then the public good will be served. It is different from the deontological ethics which 'deny that the right’ the obligatory, and the morally good are wholly, whether directly or indirectly, a function of what is morally good or of what promotes the greatest balance of good over evil [Frankena 1962,


p. 14]. Thus, deontological ethics put an emphasis ‘on intention and judging the act itself rather than the consequences of the act’ [Pollock 1994, p. 22].

Deontology is a form of justification based on moral principals, rather than on the outcome of a certain act.

Campaign contributions and lobbying that influences the inception and profitability of private prisons contribute to the oppression of the African American community. Because private prisons have a need to be profitable and African American men fill them with little or no pressure from society for their disproportionately higher representation, the vulture-like relationship is created between private prison owners and the African American community, thus supporting utilitarian capitalist philosophy over moral principle. Lobbyists for pro-private prison legislation argue to politicians that the inception of such institutions simply allows for a service that will save taxpayers money, which is questionable. The immoral act of making campaign contributions to politicians for support of tough crime legislation is decadent because it is an attempt by private prison owners to ensure profitability for their investment at the expense of poor people and minorities. Lilly attempts to unveil the connection between profit and incarceration as follows:

This social phenomenon can be described as the “iron triangle” of criminal justice, the “corrections-commercial complex,” or “the penal-industrial complex” [Lilly and Knepper 1991a, 1991b, 1993; Lilly 1992; Lilly and Ball 1993; McDonald 1994; BBC Radio 1993; National Public Radio 1994; Wall Street Journal 1994; Bronstein 1994]. By focusing on the commercial aspect of American penalty, our perspective emphasizes the “monetary colonization” and the market-driven dimensions of criminal justice as crucial features of the punishment industry. Also, it makes possible an analysis of the American penal system with a particular focus on its relationships with the economic system. It suggests a criminological relevant outline of the commercial interests that are involved with American punishment. We demonstrate that it makes good

criminological sense to conceive of criminal justice as, at least in part, an industry of punishment, and we suggest the fruitfulness of analyses that include examinations of the political and power related aspects of penalty.⁶

**Major Variables**

The dependent variables of this study are the large and disproportionate black male incarceration rate in private prisons and the plight of the African American community caused by the high rate of black male incarceration in Georgia due to collusion between politicians and private prison owners in Georgia. The first dependent variable is arguably charged with fostering conditions that cause significant harm to the African American community, the second dependent variable.

The independent variables are divided into three major categories with each containing several factors to assist in examining the connection of the independent variable to the dependent variables. These factors will connect the three variables to Georgia’s large and disproportionate black male prison population, which lead to the second dependent variable, the plight of the African American community. Targeted campaign contributions and lobbying, private prisons and economic and educational disparity in the African American community are independent variables that the study will examine for connections to large disproportionately black male prison population, thus negatively affecting the African American community of Georgia.

Targeted Campaign Contributions and Lobbying

This section is dedicated specifically to campaign contributions as possible bribes for votes in support of the inception of private prisons and lobbying for tough crime legislation as an attempt to secure profitability. Important sources will identify collusion between politicians and private prison owners. Influences generated through campaign contributions render areas prone to private prisons. These areas are clandestinely threatened by all of the attributes of these institutions. This, in turn, leads to policy makers voting to get these low paying jobs in their area via the inception of private prisons with less attention upon the larger problems engendered in housing private prisons. Private prisons deter proactive solutions to crime by allocating more physical space to incarcerate offenders which empowers such injustices as racial profiling and “two strikes” laws. Media’s depiction of the pseudo-criminal black man gains more support for tough on crime legislation, supported by contracted private prison lobbyists.

The first factors are particular politicians who have been identified for receiving campaign contributions from private prison owners for their subsequent votes on related bills. The *Macon Telegraph* (May 11, 2002) named Rep. Terry Coleman (D-Eastman, Telfair County representative); Rep. Larry Walker (D-Perry, House majority leader); Rep. Mickey Channell (D-Greensboro); Rep. Thomas Buck III (D- Columbus) and Sen. Carol Jackson (D- Cleveland) as recipients of campaign contributions from private prison owners that are suspect. Lieutenant Governor, Mark Taylor also received campaign contributions from private prison owners and was found to be in support of private prisons and tough crime legislation. Ironically, democratic politicians appear to be
sacrificing poor people and minorities' freedom for some greater agenda. What potential support do these candidates chance to lose by losing black votes? There may be a cost of the overwhelming incarceration of non-violent black criminals if this group exercises their votes.

This factor is supporting evidence gained from such entities as The National Institution on Money in State Politics and The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC). Edwin Bender states:

Doctor Crants and Thomas Beasley -- CCA founders who along with their spouses contributed $10,000 to Sundquist's 1998 campaign and another $30,000 to the campaigns of Tennessee legislative candidates - - worked the system masterfully, as they have been doing for years. While perhaps an extreme case given CAA's long history in the state, Tennessee nonetheless provides a clear example of how the private-prison industry has managed to protect its bottom line by nurturing its relationship with politicians through campaign contribution. It also illustrates the role the American Legislative Exchange Council, or ALEC, is playing across the country within legitimizing corporate-sponsored legislation that both furthers privatization efforts and ensures a flow of inmates.7

Lobbyists for private prison companies are attempting to ensure capital gain for private prisons by supporting tough crime legislation. This attempt to ensure that private prison beds are kept full is an example of the vulture-like relationship between private prison owners and the African American community. Historical data will be used to seek the root of the vulture-like relationship between the poor and minorities and capitalists.

The second factor is specific Georgia legislation that will be reviewed for content and lawmakers' votes which are: HB 742- Private prison; regulation; provisions (1st Reader 03/24/03, 2nd Reader 03/25/03), HB 398 – State and county penal institutions;

certain inmate labor; authorize (1st Reader 02/14/03, 2nd Reader 02/17/03), HB 1173 –
Inmate voluntary labor; privately owned profit-making employers (1st Reader 01/16/04,
2nd Reader 01/26/04), HR 259 – Illegal drugs; urge Congress to declare war
(Passed/Adopted 02/20/95), HB 1327 – Motor vehicle; racial profiling; prohibit (anti-
racial profiling of vehicles [Passed/Adopted 03/12/04]), SB 474 – Probated; suspend;
misdemeanor case (Signed by Government 05/01/00), the Sentencing Reform Act of
1984 (Pub. L. No. 98-473) and the “Two Strikes” Law (Nov. 1994). This section will also
make an aggressive attempt to examine lobbyists for private prisons and their clandestine
connections within Georgia’s political webs.

The third factor looks at interest groups. The poor and minority citizens that
overwhelmingly fill the private prison beds are incapable of forming strong interest
groups to protect against tough crime legislation, making them vulnerable. Because of
turbulent relationships, poor people and minorities have a lack of trust for America’s
political, legal and judicial systems. The groups are often left without the political
protection that strong interest groups may provide. Lobbyists are taking advantage of this
vulnerability. Bills are presented to lawmakers with almost no counter influence from
those most affected by these laws: poor people and black men. The bills receive support
or no support, pressuring politicians to vote one way or another. What bills get on the
legislative calendar and eventually on the floors in Senate and the House is largely
determined by the influence of special interest groups, of which representation for the
African American community has been practically non-existent. The concept of “the
natural law of things” where only the strong survives (or those supported by strong
interest groups in this case) leads to profitability for private prison owners and political support for unnecessary incarcerating legislation at the expense of poor people and minorities.

The fourth factor (viewed as a non-factor) is legislation from beyond Georgia that influences the situation, but is not thoroughly examined in this research. Some of the bills of interest include: Prison Industry Enhancement programs (PIE), originally authorized under the Justice System Improvement Act of 1979 (P.L. 96-157, Sec. 827), expanded under the Justice Assistance Act of 1984 (P.L. 98-473, Sec. 819) and was indefinitely continued under the Crime Control Act of 1990 (P.L. 101-647); "No Frills Prison Act" (HR663) was the 58th proposed amendment to HR 2076 (Appropriations for the Department of Commerce and Related Agencies), incorporated into HR 3019 (Public Law 104-134) which was introduced 3/5/96 and signed by President William Clinton on 4/26/96; HR 868 (1995), a proposed amendment to the Fair Labor Standard Act/FLSA (29 U.S.C. 201, et seq. 1938) which exempts certain programs from paying inmates the federal minimum wage insured by the FLSA; and S930, requiring 48 hour work weeks for prisoners (1995).

These bills are seen as a threat to proactive solutions to mass incarceration; therefore, making an acceptable environment for producing legislation that caters to the Prison Industry Complex in Georgia more acceptable. An argument against pro-prison legislation in Georgia becomes weak, or even moot, when national legislation in favor of prisons is passed creating a national sentiment of incarceration as a solution, ignoring proactive options.
Private Prisons

Private prisons claim to be nothing more than businesses that provide a service and are less costly than public prisons. However, consequences of this provided service contribute to a large and disproportionate prison population in the state and the service has not proven to be more cost effective than public prisons. In essence, this variable is dependent on the continuation of injustice for minorities, but will be viewed as an independent variable. This area will compare state and federal to non-state and non-federal adult incarceration facilities, the ideologies they embody and the harm private prisons pose to the poor and minorities as well as host communities in Georgia.

The first factor is the speculative prison. Building prisons in expectation of filling them later (overwhelmingly with non-violent black criminals) is dependent on tough crime legislation that is supported by the private prison owners contracting with lobbyists. Any ideas of such prisons indicate intent to continue the vulture-like relationship private prison owners have toward the African American community. Ensuring deviance through lobbying for tough crime legislation ensures that speculative prisons will be profitable. Speculative prisons are threats to poor people and minority citizens and are reflective of the reactive response to crime (which embraces more prisons and tough crime legislation). They may have an immediate need to be profitable as they incur more chance.

Politicians are conscious that the poor people and minorities are lesser threats to their careers because of their perceived inaction in the political process, and therefore, they may be easily sacrificed to incarceration yet counted as political power in prisons in
their district. Politicians may also see speculative prisons as factories for their voting constituents without regards to the harm imposed by them to their inactive poor and minority constituents. A short, but thorough research on speculative prisons will be conducted to help establish the theory that non-public prisons are immoral and threaten liberty for poor and minority citizens.

The second factor is the immorality of profiting from the despair of fellow Americans. There is a growing argument that private prisons are immoral because they allow owners to take advantage of deviance and the misfortune of inmates for profits. This area examines cost reductions in housing inmates made by cutting services and efforts to keep private prison beds full; practices that would be unacceptable for public facilities.

America is an envied, free, wealthy, industrialized nation and yet has a higher percentage of incarceration than most poor, communist or third world nations. Private prisons hinder the pursuit of happiness for too many minorities in this country and limit the nation’s material blessings to a select group. The unbroken cycle of ignorance, poverty and incarceration used by investors to exploit the poor people and minorities, affects the posterity of the inmates and owners/investors quite differently and must be stopped. Policy makers are failing to make laws that “ensure domestic tranquility” to all for re-election and therefore profit from immoral practices.

The third factor examined will be that these private facilities may eventually affect host rural communities by having laborers of these rural towns compete against prison labor for work. This statement sounds familiar when exchanging the term “prison
labor” with “slave labor.” Tracy Huling provided an example of this operation when she shared a conversation given by a prison guard coordinator of an inmate work crew from the Greene Correctional Facility in New York state in a documentary film, *Yes, In My Backyard*. She writes:

> Today we’re just clearing some bushes along the property lines for the water treatment plant. We’ve done a lot of painting this year, painting the community center building in Athens, painted the inside of a church hall, put a roof on the town of New Baltimore town hall, had them seal blacktop…just about everything. They get an industrial rate which amount to 42 cents an hour.8

These conditions easily afford a critical researcher to compare conditions created by the use of private prisons to those created by slave plantations a hundred and forty years ago. These encampments in rural Georgia can strongly resemble (philosophically and literally) the antebellum plantations of the South that oppressed ancestors of today’s African American being incarcerated in private prisons. The major difference in populating these for-profit institutions is that plantations kept slaves plentiful by the institution’s hereditary rule and buying more slaves, but private prisons use campaign contributions and tough on crime legislation to keep their beds full. Unlike plantations, these for-profit prisons wish to acquire not only labor to exploit, but also prisoners to house for easy taxpayer’s dollars. The poor and minority citizens are the most likely victims of the biased justice system, contributing to the large and disproportionate prison population.

Competition for labor may become an issue again in rural Georgia because these economically strapped economies will again have citizens losing their jobs, which are

---

scarce, because prison labor can work more cheaply and unionization is rare in such areas: it empowers capitalist exploitation of inmates. Competition with slave labor was more of a cause of the Civil War than history acknowledges. Citizens could not afford to compete against slave labor and began to detest the institution as a cause of their poverty. For a clear view of the present scenario, again, exchange the term “prison labor” with “slave labor.”

It is impossible to imagine these facilities being filled with white wealthy men because the policy makers would not allow such an occurrence. It would be seen as an attack on their own race and class. This sacrifice, on the parts of lawmakers, is acceptable to them on the bases of race and class. Politics, profit and collusion are evident and because black men are not genetically prone to commit more crime than others, something else is obviously at work to produce Georgia’s large and disproportionate black male prison population. The focus must be on why the growth and make-up of the state’s prison population is as such and not on the accumulation of more room with which to incarcerate prisoners.

*Economic and Educational Disparity in the African American Community*

The third independent variable is economic and educational disparity in the African American Community as a causation of over-representation of minorities in the state’s incarcerated population. This area will use historical behavior that has reached into contemporary time and exposes America’s willingness to use political, social and educational means to exploit poor and minorities for economic and political gain. Racism and classism are the uniquely American ways of accepting disparity.
The first factor is the European school culture that minority children are forced to assimilate into while enrolled in public schools. America is a multicultural nation that tends to marginalize cultures other than the Eurocentric one. Many minority children actually experience a culture shock that destroys perception of self as explained by Janice Hale. She wrote:

I wanted to develop a profile of the children in the community who entered the public school system. Towards this end, I tested each child enrolled in Head Start, using the McCarthy Scales of Children’s Abilities (McCarthy 1972), which provides a measure of children’s overall cognitive skills. The children in Claiborne County’s two Head Start programs scored at or significantly above the national average on all scales except the memory scale, on which they scored significantly below the national norm.

Interestingly, even though this is a disadvantaged population, the children who were three years old, just entering Head Start, scored better than the five year olds who had participated in Head Start for two years – indicating that there is nothing wrong with the ability of children coming into Head Start...It seems as though the longer the children stayed in school, the more their performance deteriorates. These data support the assertion that African American children do not enter school disadvantaged, they leave school disadvantaged. There is nothing wrong with the children, but there is clearly something wrong with what is happening to them in school.9

The cultures of African American students in America’s school system are virtually transformed into a badge of shame if the student does not assimilate. Some begin their rebellion with society at an early age because of this requirement, thus likelihood of setting the race up to be the lower strata of society is viable. Restricting minority culture in the education process sets the group up to fill the lower class of society emotionally. Post secondary Ivy League institutions wield great respect and opportunity in the job market, but they are saturated with Eurocentric culture and views.

---

Thereby, Americans with cultural attributes other than Eurocentric are negatively affected.

The second factor is pay disparity accorded by race. Poor children are told to do well in school so they can merge into America’s capitalistic economic sphere in a higher eminence, regardless of ethnicity. However, in order for capitalism to be a functional system, classism is inevitable and racism is undisputable throughout America’s history, indicating the oppression of the poor and minorities. Dr. Anderson shares how race impedes goals that have been properly prepared for by doing well in schools other than Ivy League institutions, from which environmental stimulation (culture, racism and classism) makes minority acceptance almost impossible. Dr. Anderson shares in his book, *Black Labor, White Wealth: The Search for Power and Economic Justice*:

The United States’ superiority among the industrial and agricultural world powers was achieved because of the exploitation of blacks. This exploitation established and maintains a privileged racial class whose wealth and power explains and legitimizes the system’s inequalities. Wealthy, conservative whites control both public and private sector resources and tools that have kept blacks impoverished and powerless in a competitive society. Powerful white conservatives profess commitment to capitalism and insist that wealth stays in the hands of the private, wealthy class, which has most benefited from the inequalities in the system. They rigidly oppose any societal changes regarding race and resources...Conservatives believe in a natural ordering of human beings and have always preferred that blacks play a servile role in society.\(^\text{10}\)

The third factor is the “War on Poverty” as a viable solution that politics has previously destroyed. The War on Poverty was a well-planned political move to alleviate most problems that burdened minorities and poor citizens. Recall the hardships mentioned earlier from technological advancements and loss of jobs to cheap labor

---

overseas. The War on Poverty yielded solutions that would have limited present agitations that lead to social deviance because of desperate economic conditions. This failed War serves as a historical indicator that poor and minorities may be sacrificed for political gain in America and therefore, it is not illogical to suspect a reoccurrence of such behavior. Jill Quadagno identified the problem that the War on Poverty aimed to neutralize and the opposition that led to its failure with the following:

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the keystone of Johnson’s War on Poverty, established new programs for community action and created a new agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity, to oversee them. OEO, in turn, delegated responsibility for administering community action to Community Action Agencies (CAAs). By issuing grants directly to public or private non-profit organizations, OEO transcended the New Deal legacy of local welfare offices and county officials. In many cities local CAAs established Neighborhood health centers, emergency food and medical services, job and literacy training, alcohol counseling, drug rehabilitation, and migrant workers’ assistance. But community action also fed resources into local civil rights organizations, who use these resources to pursue the struggle for racial equality. As community action became an agent for equal political opportunity, mayors and city commissions found their authority usurped by upstart civil rights groups with massive federal resources. Not surprising, they rebelled against a program that empowered the poor at the expense of those who, after all, formed the backbone of the Democratic party. The Johnson administration could not afford to ignore their complaints, and, in response, retreated from the program that could have done much to improve the quality of life in inner cities.11

The cause-effect relationship of the research is that because the independent variables exist, the dependent variables are created. Therefore, a large and disproportionately black male prison population is created partly by a vulture-like relationship between the private prison owners and politicians, which contributes to negative conditions in the African American community.

Types of Data

This study aims to determine if private prisons are entities in collusion with politicians that sacrifice the liberty and justice of poor and minorities in exchange for capital gain for individual owners and investors along with subsequent political security for politicians. Therefore, their collusion helps to maintain a large and disproportionate black male prison population. The research will present ordinal and nominal data, supported by interval-ratio data when necessary, to illuminate evidence of collusion between politicians and private prison owners. The quantitative data will provide evidence of support that increased incarceration of non-violent criminals is at least partly due to tough crime legislation and other oblique causes, such as voting power. Types of quantitative data sources to be used will include U.S. Census (Georgia); Georgia Department of Corrections; Georgia Department of Education; Georgia Department of Labor and Georgia Pardons and Parole Board. Another quantitative data researched will be pay and education disparity in Georgia caused by racism and classism that translate into deviant behavior and disparity in prison sentencing.

Qualitative research will examine oppression in the African American community due to massive incarcerations. The literature review will examine a suspected collusion between private interests/lobbyists and their abilities to shape/influence the public policy of legislators to enhance owners' investments. The areas of interest will be: a) general (race and class), b) private prison industry, c) legislative bills on private prisons and tough crime legislation, and d) education and employment infested by racial disparity. These readings will enhance the ability to scrutinize the problem by contributing valuable
information and help explore disparities in incarceration rates and collusions between politicians and private prison owners. The never-ending cycle of oppression of the poor and minorities in Georgia will be extrapolated through this research, identifying unjust conditions in the African American community perpetuated by private prison owners in collusion with politicians.

New and Original Data

New and original data will consist of legislative research on votes and bills for tough crime legislation and private prisons. The research will focus on the support of bills and laws that have been identified as contributors to the large and disproportionate black male prison population of the state. The old data will be compiled to support new findings by developing a collusion probability number (CPN) to rate politician’s political behavior using seven identification areas.

The areas of interest to develop a CPN are: (1) the usual residence rule: enumeration rate; (2) votes on correction related legislation; (3) affiliation with lobbyists for private prisons; (4) news stories relating to the issue; (5) poverty level of local economies; (6) population change over designated period and areas; and (7) campaign contributions identified by Bender. In each area data will be rated according to their effect on over-incarcerating poor and minorities. The point available for each area is 1, 0 or -1 according to the area’s effect on incarcerating the group. A-1 is a bad effect, 0 is no effect and 1 is a good effect.

For example, all politicians will receive a -1 for campaign contributions because Bender has previously identified them for receiving money from private prison
companies. Their CPN on legislative votes will be determined by how the politician voted on identified bills. Politician's affiliation with lobbyists will be relevant only if the lobbyists are advocates for private prisons or tough crime legislation. News stories must be related to the private prison industry, or tough crime legislation and the individual politician. Politicians representing higher poverty levels than the state's average will be granted a negative score (and visa-a-versa) because they may be tempted to acquire private prisons in their districts for job availability. Politicians in areas where the black population increased during the research period will receive a positive score (and visa-a-versa) because an increase in this population indicates an increase in potential voting strength for the group. The CPN can also determine if the political behavior is liberal or conservative. Politicians with a negative CPN ascribe to the school of thought known as individualist perspective (conservative), while those with a positive CPN are of the systemic perspective (liberal). These perspectives are further explored in chapter six.

Statistics will be used to evaluate, infer upon and analyze the effect of education, employment, racism and classism on the African American community. The statistics will compare the independent variables when applied to black men versus white men in Georgia. Categories divide the male population into areas, black men and white men in the state of Georgia. Hispanics, other minorities and women will be excluded because of time restrictions on the research and the research's commitment to the black male in Georgia's African American community.
Resources and Support

There is no recognized need presently for a special set of resources and/or any special support to facilitate the completion of this data collection. The Internet will assist in data collection.
CHAPTER THREE
LITERATURE REVIEW AND DATA ORGANIZATION

"[There] is an inherent determination that the people formally in slavery shall be kept as near that stage as possible. Now is the time that this court should make that that is not what our Constitution stands for."

Thurgood Marshall, Brown v. the Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas, 1955

Private prisons are morally unacceptable because they are the combination of capitalism and deviation controls that allow owners of private prisons to take economic advantage of deviation in the society. Owners are being rewarded by deviance, thriving on bad behavior and ensuring bad behavior through political manipulation of policy-making. This is done through collusion between politicians and private prison owners. Owners earn funds by keeping their prison beds full. The first section of the review of literature will examine collusion from campaign contributions and lobbying.

Minorities and poor citizens disproportionately fill prisons, causing detrimental harm to the African American community. The next section of the literature review will examine private prisons and policy making to better understand why, and how they engage in collusion that contributes to the oppressive state of the African American community. The final areas will examine educational and economic disparities in the African American community. These sources will seek the cause that has led to a majority black male prison population which may be solved with economic and/or educational means (a new war on poverty).
Targeted Campaign Contributions and Lobbying

Main contributions to large and disproportionately black male prison population that this research section investigates are targeted campaign contributions and lobbying for the inception of private prisons. It also examines tough crime legislation that ensures the private prison business. This combined practice is what this research refers to as the vulture-like relationship of the prison owners on the African American community. Though they claim to only offer a service and to save tax dollars by privatization, the effect of contributing campaign funds to pro-private prison candidates, lobbying for the inception of these private prisons and ensuring deviance by supporting tough crime legislation are combined acts perceived as immoral.

In understanding the importance of money to political candidates, Thompson writes, “As the financial cost of modern political campaign escalates, concerns that money buys influence within the political process continue to mount. The relationship between campaign contributions and influence in the House of Representatives is the subject of this dissertation.”1 In her essay, Self-Selection or Cultivation? Industry Loyalties and Congressional Committees, she focused on industries and campaign contributions and how they target specific members of Congress who could advance their industry. This same act is expected to be occurring between politicians and private prison owners with campaign contributions and who lobby for tough crime legislation in Georgia.

Chin observed that political influence begins with access to legislators. She recognizes that political action committees (PACs) have an advantage over constituents, and major donors have an advantage over those who do not donate or have a low record of contribution. Inmates of private prisons undoubtedly fall into these two categories which lessen their chances to influence legislators because they have no PACs, nor do they make major donations to political campaigns. She conducts an experimental study of congressional decision making regarding requests for appointments. She also examines difficulties in gaining access to politicians and influencing political decision making for constituents without strong interest groups.

In Wu's dissertation, he examined the relationships between lobbyists, legislators and voters. He examines how these ties are connected to contributions and information supplied by interest groups on re-elections and policy making decisions. He focuses on campaign contributions and lobbying as instruments of interest group influence over public policy. He examines the ability of contributions to buy votes or influence legislators' participation during the policy making process. He states, "If legislators use information supplied by lobbyists in making policy decisions then self-interested groups have incentives to distort that information." This is another area where interest groups for private prison owners are privileged and their victims, black men who make up a majority of the prison population, are restricted.

---

Williams states that lobbyists’ ultimate goal is to energize members to become their legislative agents or proxies within the congressional policy-making arena. He tests this by tracking members’ participation in committees, in subcommittees, and as independent agents on fourteen bills in three committees. He uses personal interviews with lobbyists, congressional staff, and Members of Congress, committee and subcommittee records, and various information sources about members’ policy positions, district information, PAC contributions, and lobby contacts. The techniques used to examine behavior between lobbyists and legislators were able to expose political behavior. The findings are important in understanding relationships in the political process between lobbyists, legislators, policy makers and interest groups.

Anderson found that politics induce economic agents to organize them into special interest groups (SIGs) and act strategically to adjust their economic decisions. He also found that money and politics are closely related as he researched the effects of the provision of selective information to voters and of financial contributions to politicians.

This may be a source to help examine how the ignorance of voters is used to the disadvantage of the vulnerable section of society. Typically, constituents would not support a candidate, but would become enthused to ensure his or her demise if they had access to information that has influenced the candidate’s political decisions on increasing incarceration. Special interest groups aim to educate policy-makers of their group position and educate the public in a fashion that advances their interests sometimes to the

---


detriment of others. Legislators and their courtship with private prison owners often leave voters uninformed of the fact that they intend to support tough on crime legislation for economic and political reasons. Their support ensures that prison beds are kept full even though crime has not been a serious threat lately to allocate a need for such drastic changes in the law. These behaviors insinuate that black men are the most deviant element in society and are deserving of the disproportionate incarceration rates.

Newmark examines relationships between lobbyists and legislators in his work. He found that these relationships are both personal and based on information provision. These are reasons that help to limit access to a point where only strong and capable interest groups receive privileged access to personal relationships and valuable information. In the case of private prison owners, an organized group with an interest in incarcerating citizens will, via lobbyists, have access to these personal relationships and information that may be the initiation of collusion and leads to the inception of private prisons and profitability.

Newmark acknowledges that term limits, strict lobbying laws, and discern interest systems decrease personal relationships. He also found that experiences as a lobbyist, frequency of contact, entrepreneurial activity on the part of lobbyists and legislators and state-level media scrutiny all increase information provision. He believes that because of these conditions, lobbyists are rational actors who use alternate strategies when other strategies are inhibited. The alternate strategy for the mass of black men incarcerated

because of tough crime legislation is that black men attempt to outsmart the system rather than be devoured by it, this causing many to become elusive criminals that are eventually caught.

In recognizing the nature of interest groups in politics and how they contribute financially to the political process, this work becomes a viable source. These groups affect politics in a manner that reflect their interests and not those of the public. Appollonio identified areas where interest groups spend money such as lobbying, contributions to candidates and soft money.7 These monies are spent based on the interest groups’ political goals and experiences. She finds that groups organized around collective interests rather than economic interests. The danger of private prison lobbying is that the interests, tough on crime legislation, is relevant to the group only because it leads to economic interests involving more incarcerations. This may easily lead to immoral intents to gain capital supporting unnecessary oppression cloaked by support for tough on crime legislation.

**Private Prisons**

The Georgia Census Bureau provides that the population for 2001 was 8,383,915 for the state of Georgia. The general population percentages (provided from the 2000 census) for Georgia were 65.1 percent white and 28.7 percent African American. The Georgia Department of Corrections (2002) reports that Georgia has 47,682 inmates, with

---

64.6 percent black and 34.89 percent white, yielding massive disparity in the prison population accorded by race.

Susan Shellene Beach's dissertation, “Ethnic Experience and Juror Bias: Testing the Power Threat Hypothesis,” supports the argument that racial disparity is included in the court system and has an effect on the racial make-up of prison population. From initial contact (profiling) to assigning formal charges (district attorney), to the courts (juries and judges) to the penitentiaries (private and public), race and class are inseparable from the legal proceedings.

Obie Clayton, Jr.'s dissertation, “An Empirical Investigation Into Sentencing and Criminal Behavior in Georgia: 1975 - 1980,” examines the extent to which various demographic and structural variables affect criminal sentencing. Clayton’s research indicates a Georgian judicial system contaminated with racism and classism that has led to a prison population infested with fundamentalist-centered ideologies. In an article collected by Colin Sumner, Ethan Raup examines how the justice system is infested with racism and classism and how prison population became exceptionally large. This source examines the rise in incarceration percentage and the disproportionate black male make-up of the prison population.

Private prisons are deemed un-American as William T. Gormley Jr. identified three objections on constitutional grounds: “(1) the establishment of private prisons

8. Susan Shellene Beach, “Ethnic Experience and Juror Bias: Testing the Power Threat Hypothesis” [PhD diss., New Mexico State University, 1999].


violates the constitutional prohibition against delegating governmental responsibilities to private parties, (2) it reduces state liability and hence raises costs of running prisons, and (3) it violates the Thirteenth Amendment which prohibits involuntary servitude by private parties.”\textsuperscript{11} He argues that, “reviewing courts must be assured that private contractors do not promulgate disciplinary rules and then interpret them in ways that benefit the company.”\textsuperscript{12} This is exactly what a competitive capitalist environment nurtures: monetary benefits for companies or individual investors.

Articles collected by John P. May and Khalid R. Pitts address private prisons, including trends in crime rates and punishment, drug-offense prisoners, legislative barriers to effective solutions, the care and feeding of the correctional-industrial complex, and inappropriate prison populations.\textsuperscript{13} In “Prisons of Industry: The Recent History of American Private Prisons, 1978 - 1985,” David Guimon explores the acceptance of private prisons.\textsuperscript{14} Guimon’s work will help to explain how the incarceration business turned to privatization.

David F. Greenberg and Valerie West’s article, “State Prison Population and Their Growth, 1971-1991,” examines the increasing prison population.\textsuperscript{15} She wrote, “Students of penalty have argued that imprisonment can be a response to anxiety-


\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., 202.


provoking conditions other than crime. In particular, it may be targeted at ‘the dangerous
classes’ - populations perceived as threatening because of their economic circumstances,
race, or ethnicity, independently of their involvement in crime.” The American prison
population is not disproportionately minority by coincidence. There are causes and
effects within this situation, as recognized by Irwin, who focused on police discretion.
He argues that ethnicity is used too often when using police discretion.

Private prisons tend to be located advantageously where they can exploit their
rural host communities. Maruono’s thesis looks at the spatial distribution of public
prisons, private prisons, and the trend of prison privatization. He found that “the location
of private prisons have a distinct geographical pattern that differs from that of the public
prisons and prison overcrowding.”

Economic and Educational Disparity and the African American Community

Attorney Burris is an expert on relations between the police and blacks and has
 teamed up with Catherine Whitney to write *Blues vs. Blacks: Let’s End the Conflict
Between Cops and Minorities.* They have organized a collection of data on the problems
that fuel conflicts between minorities and the police. They noted economics and
education as two important influences of these conflicts.


17. John Irwin, *The Jail: Managing the Underclass in American Society* [Berkeley: University of
California Press, 1985].

of the U.S. Prison System” [master’s thesis, West Virginia University, 2000].

and Minorities* [New York: St Martin’s Press, 1999].
In David Holleran’s dissertation, “An Examination of the Variation in Sentencing Young Black Males Across Individual Judges (Pennsylvania),” he illustrates the dismal position of minorities as a group. This research claims “young black males are sentenced more harshly than other offenders.” In researching whether young black males pay a distinct punishment penalty across certain individual judges, he aims to discover if judges used their discretion to sentence young black males more harshly than other groups. A measured disparity in economic status and education obtained places young black men in a more vulnerable sphere than young white men.

The fluid, ever changing face of racism in the law is evident as Wilmont provides proof in his dissertation on the discretion of prosecutors. The abstract states, “the real offense sentencing system, as opposed to the charge offense system, was adopted to reduce prosecutorial discretion and prevent circumvention of the guidelines through charging and plea bargaining decisions.” This research argues that shifting discrimination from judges to prosecutors is no advancement for minorities. Denying more room for unnecessary incarceration and improving economic and educational opportunities are the interest of this study to find viable proactive solutions.

In *Crime and Punishment in America*, Elliot Currie addresses the high level of violence due to economic deprivation and inequality. He reiterated this claim using the


statement, "The President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (1967): ‘Crime flourishes where the conditions of life are the worst.’ The ‘foundation of a national strategy against crime,’ therefore has to be ‘an unremitting national effort for social justice.’”

Michael Markowitz and Delores Jones-Brown focus on discrimination in the criminal justice administration in their article, *The System in Black and White: Exploring the Connection Between Race, Crime, and Justice.* Interesting information explains the nexus of crime and race disparity of black and white in America’s policing, race issues in the American judicial system, and punishment and race in the American penal system. Ramona Brockett challenges the U.S. Constitution, finding that although the Thirteenth Amendment freed African Americans of “chattel” slavery, it also permits for a continuation of enserfing the group. She feels that the freedom given to the African Americans by the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolishes slavery and involuntary servitude, is not free of contamination, and that the “punishment clause” in this amendment is elastic, stating “except as a punishment for crime.” This “punishment clause” in the Thirteenth Amendment allows for involuntary servitude in the form of incarceration. In happenstance, prison labor could be viewed as contemporary slave labor, their main purpose is economic. Jerome Miller faces the relevant issues of the


plight of African-American males in the American judicial system. He addresses violent crime, racial bias, and consequences of the justice system on public policy and the future. He centers on increasing incarceration during periods of decreasing crime rates. The logic lies in capital and political gain, and manipulation of constituents’ fear of pseudo crime.

Professor Russell uses data to address serious problems in the relationship between blacks and the American criminal justice system. She demonstrates her understanding of the underlying problem when she writes:

Understanding why Blacks offend at rates that exceed their percentage in the population require a consideration of other factors that may have a direct or indirect effect on crime. The empirical reality is that race, poverty, employment, crime, and education are interacting variables. Whether a group offends at a high or low rate typically reflect how they fare on other social indicators.

Kautt and Sophn’s article, “Crack-ing Down on Black Drug Offenders? Testing for Interactions Among Offenders’ Race, Drug Type, and Sentencing Strategy in Federal Drug Sentences” is a bouillon of research aimed at understanding and supplying an argument for the racially disproportionate black male prison population. Some of the relate issues include the Sentencing Reform Act of 1984, “tough on crime” legislation, “focal concern theory,” aggravating factors, mitigating factors, and mandatory minimums. Drugs in the black community are inseparable from economic ties.


Ronald Bayor’s book, *Race and the Shaping of Twentieth-Century Atlanta*, gives an in-depth look at Atlanta’s black community and its attempt to stand strong in the face of adversity by meeting the challenges of racism and political power. Sam Massell, Atlanta’s ex-mayor, provided a historical reason to suspect foul play in the political arena. He was against annexation of white areas into Atlanta when he had black political support. As soon as he was faced with a black opponent in the majority black city, he encouraged support for annexation of majority white areas that would weaken black political power, depending on the “mis-education” of blacks.

Dr. Claud Anderson looks at the purpose of sustaining the underclass-black community to the benefit of the dominant segment of society. He found:

> The United States’ superiority among the industrial and agricultural world power was achieved because of the exploitation of blacks. This exploitation established and now maintains a privileged racial class whose wealth and power explains and legitimizes the system’s inequalities. Wealthy, conservative whites control both public and private sector resources and tools that have kept blacks impoverished and powerless in a racially competitive society.  

Cross brings to light the denial of education and employment in the Black community that leaves it unable to address relevant issues, which leads to social inequality. This inability brings forth many forms of oppression, including injustices found in the criminal justice system. He states, “In 1978, blacks made up roughly 11.5 percent of the population, but they were over 40 percent of the federal prison population and 48 percent

---


of the state prison population. In 1974, 65 percent of black prisoners had not completed high school and 46 percent had incomes of less than $2,000 a year when arrested."32

Robert Cherry and William Rodgers III compiled a collection of works by several scientists who visit such topics as blacks and the labor market, economic conditions and young men, black-white employment differentials, and attitudes and actions towards black job applicants.33 Ladner edited a collection of essays illuminating the social divide that has contributed to increasing the disproportionate black male element of the Georgia prison population.34 In viewing the early position of African Americans in America after freedom, Ralph Ellison contributed, "For at the end of the Civil War, the North lost interest in the Negro. The conditions for the growth of industrial capitalism have been won and the Negro ‘stood in the way of a return to national solidarity and a development of trade relations’ between the North and the South."35 This passage illustrates the pawn position of the African American in America’s real life chess game with decisions going as far as the nation’s highest political seat (such as in 1876 in the Tilden versus Hayes election).

---


35 Ibid., 84.
The highly esteemed Dr. Berry visits several forms of legal oppression, both historical and current in her work, *Black Resistance, White Laws*. Dr. Berry warns about the reluctance of the federal government to protect minorities in this state using *Screws v. United States* (1945). In this case, the pursuit of legal ramification was refused for the murder of a black man for allegedly stealing a tire (economics) by a white sheriff in Baker County, Georgia because the dead victim needed proof that he had been willfully deprived of a trial.

**Primary Data Collection Procedures**

Politicians in the Democratic Party who received campaign contributions from private prison owners will have their votes on private prison issues examined to determine if their political behavior (according to their CPN) has increased the number of non-violent criminals being incarcerated. This investigation will examine legislation they sponsor and committees and subcommittees they are on in relation to incarceration. Education and employment levels of inmates in private prisons in Georgia are examined for the effect of over-incarceration of such population.

**Special Secondary Data Collection**

This research will use statistical data from the State of Georgia’s census reports on education, employment, and prison population. Non-statistical data will include campaign contributions, legislative bills, news articles and other acceptable sources to

---

illuminate the cause of the present condition of the large and disproportionately black male prison population in Georgia. This research will examine the historic and contemporary events to understand what caused the increased prison population that lead to acceptance for private prisons. Getting to the root of a problem is always necessary for truly solving that problem. Campaign contributions and tough crime legislation will be examined for contemporary contributions that support legislation causing the plight in the African American community of large and disproportionately black male prison population.

Reliability

Only scientific data will be used to identify incarceration disparity, while sensitive criteria will limit data identifying the cause of the disproportionately black male prison population in Georgia. Efficient examination of the independent variables accompanied by acceptable statistical data will grant information allowing an analysis that produces a viable conclusion based on scientific and reliable qualitative and quantitative data of the research.

Research Delimitation

The research will focus on the growth of Georgia’s prison population beginning in 1970 through 2000. However, historical support and current information for determining the current direction of prison population growth will not allow the research to be completely restrained to the aforementioned dates. For example, when the history of the
relationships between the African American community and the legal reaction of the state is examined, the time of data used may be prior to 1970. The same is true when examining directions and repercussions of the recent actions of the political decisions on private and public prisons. For example, the current furlough for employees that has been suggested to cut prison costs may be examined as an alternative to avoid proactive solutions.

Limited primary research will be restricted to Georgia’s public and private populations and state population in any necessary division (i.e., race, sex, age, pay, education, etc.). Because of limitations, only the male population of the prison population will be necessary for a thorough examination for this research. The research will investigate laws passed that contribute to Georgia’s large and disproportionately black male prison population. It will especially examine campaign contributions for suspected collusion between candidates and private prison owners by examining politicians who receive campaign contributions from private prison owners and their vote on bills relative to inception and profitability of private prisons.

**Research Methods: Data Analysis and Procedures**

Campaign contributions that have influenced political decisions about private prisons and private prison lobbyists supporting tough crime legislation are the collusion that is problematic in this research. Data collected listing politicians who received campaign contribution from private prison owners and public records on their votes involving private prisons and tough crime laws will be examined. Legislation from
Georgia will include HB 742, HB 398, HB 1173, SB 440, HB 1327, SB 474 and HR 259 to focus on state policy making. HB456, PIE, HB663, HR868 and S930 are bills of interest beyond the state of Georgia. Contracted lobbyists for private prisons will be sought and the benefits and harm of legislation they support for the private prison owners and investors and the African American community will be examined. The effects of the identified bills and legislation will be scrutinized for contributions to prison population growth, the inception of private prisons and profitability for private prison owners.

Chapter one will serve as an introduction to the research and set the climate for the writing and researching of the problem. Chapter two will formally introduce the problem as well as the dependent and independent variables. The hypothesis, methodology and data collection will be included in this chapter. Chapter three will be a review of literature on the three major areas of interest: targeted campaign contributions and lobbying, private prisons in Georgia and the economic and educational disparities in the African American community. This chapter introduces sources of literature used to establish the problem, the large and disproportionate black male prison population in Georgia, and the negative impact on the African American community and collusion between politicians and private prison owners. These sources will be comprised of dissertations, theses, scholarly journal articles, news articles and books.

Chapter four examines the independent variable of targeted campaign contributions and lobbying, committees/subcommittees and collusion between legislators and owners/investors in Georgia. This chapter will reiterate that Georgia’s Black male prison population is unnecessarily large and disproportionate partly due to collusion.
between politicians and private prison owners. Tough crime legislation will be examined for the growth in the incarceration rate. A history of abuse of the Thirteenth Amendment rights will begin this chapter.

Chapter five will examine private prisons in Georgia. The percentage of non-violent criminal incarcerated, legal questions on the acceptance of such institutions as private prisons, a short history of Georgia’s correctional institutions and the introduction of private prisons to the state will be examined. Statistics will be presented containing evidence that these private prisons are even more disproportionately black male than are public prisons in Georgia. Ideologies, prejudices, collusion, profits and politics will be scrutinized in the realm of non-public incarceration facilities in the state. This chapter will illustrate how the pseudo need for private prisons developed based on race and class. The chapter aims to determine why the state’s prison population grew and how the disproportionately black male composition was comprised, creating a false need for private prisons and research of immoral practices based on race, class, politics and profits.

Chapter six will research the economic and educational disparity of African American in the society. Literature review on the cause of large and disproportionately black male prison population caused by education and employment disparity will be the main focus of this chapter. Education and employment will be crucial secondary data to help illustrate the plight of these communities. Livable wages and culturally relevant education to support self-sufficiency and discipline that deters deviance will be examined. The war on poverty will be examined for its past and present capabilities to
relieve oppression in the African American community. Mass disparity in incarceration indicates a problem relationship between Georgia's legal system and the state's African American community. What is at the root of this problem relationship?

Chapter six will also include the findings and conclusion examining solutions that are believed to counter the large and disproportionately black male prison populations (i.e., empathetic policing, scholarships and jobs from the state government, etc.). The ability of these solutions to lower minority incarceration and eliminate the use of private prisons, thusly relieving the plight of the African American community is the goal.
CHAPTER FOUR

TARGETED CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS AND LOBBYING

"We are attempting to fulfill the promise of America. We are attempting to fulfill our national purpose; to create and sustain a society in which all of us are equal."

Barbara Jordan, Democratic National Convention

Historical Background and Contemporary Cause

Targeted campaign contributions, lobbying for private prisons and tough crime legislation are deliberate attempts at an acceptable return to times of slave codes, black codes and peonage. The “moral principal,” of the problem is found in section one of the Thirteenth Amendment and it is being eroded by the “exception” to the law, also found in the same section of this Amendment. In this section, the law made illegal the use of slavery and involuntary servitude without condemning it as a legal punishment. The exception of this statement is found in the legal stipulation: “except as a punishment for a crime....” In earlier times the intent was easily side-stepped using such bogus legal strategies as vagrancy laws, which are present day tough crime laws. Private prisons are reflections of plantations in contemporary America because unjust laws that once sent victims to plantations via black codes now, send them to private prisons via tough crime legislation. This is a violation of the law at the federal level because section two gives Congress the power to develop legislation that ensures protection against slavery and involuntary servitude.

The reactive rather than the proactive response to crime pave the road for this
violation of the intent of the Thirteenth Amendment. The failure to protect the freedom of a particular group of Americans is caused by the lack of will by Congress to do their duty, making legislation to uphold the Thirteenth Amendment. Congress can do its job by seeking proactive solutions to crime that require improving employment, educational opportunities, and deteriorating overt racism through the political process (end racial profiling). However, it is only the state of Georgia that this research examines and the sought collusion will be local, within the state. Private prisons are the contemporary plantations that claim to be of a service, but they are serving the same purpose as their predecessors, plantations, restricting freedom for capital gain.

The abuse of the Thirteenth Amendment is damaging by causing the over-incarceration of blacks. The Constitution states in Article XIII, section one and two: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereas the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. Congress shall have power to enforce the article by appropriate legislation. Since the adoption of this legislation intended to eliminate slavery (and be protected by Congress), bondage of the minorities and poor people of the state is evident throughout Georgia's history. Also promised within this Amendment is a duly conviction. Race and class are prohibiting this promise as determined throughout the review of literature (racial profiling, using insufficient public defenders, etc.)."
Slave codes were developed prior to the Thirteenth Amendment and were introduced in the 1660s as state laws by individual colonies (states). They were used for matters that determined status of slaves, made the state of enslavement inherited through the mother, and outlined the acceptable and expected behavior of slaves as law for the group. Black codes contributed overtly during the aftermath of slavery as current tough crime laws do covertly and overtly in contemporary eras. Disparity in laws positions groups in Georgia for institutionalized racism since both peonage (to include sharecropping) and private prisons are intrinsic in society during their perspective eras and laws are applies discriminatively by race.

In examining laws, politics, money and collusion in the oppression of minorities and poor people, slave codes are free of much of the collision and politics found in current, similar laws that followed them. The intent of slave codes was to ensure control of slaves to the extent of domination in the name of safety and racism.¹ Slavery was not yet against the law and slaves were property, inseparable from money. Politicians had condoned slavery and politics was not an enemy of slave codes. Once slavery was outlawed, collusion became the disease that kept the system of slavery running making hosts of the laws and politics to continue reaping capital from the minority and poor citizens in Georgia.

Black codes replaced the slave codes and with them came the vagrancy laws that kept the old plantations operating through the involuntary servitude of ex-slaves. The vagrancy law was a sub-law under the black codes that required blacks to be employed,

preferably on plantations. The social climate of southern society was accepting of mistreatment of freedmen soon after the Thirteenth Amendment. Very little collusion was necessary; for yesterday, blacks in bondage were the expectation. Media's image of the criminal black man now set the climate for the acceptance that substantiates the racially disproportionate make-up of contemporary plantations (private prisons) again, making blacks in bondage, or imprisoned the expectation.

Black codes were utilized to ensure that the agricultural economy of the south would not collapse. Today, the rural economies in Georgia appear to be again on the brink of collapse and private investors see opportunities to exploit this problem for a profit via private prisons. There was the restriction on freedom of a group to ensure wealth of another group using vagrancy laws found in the black codes. The collusion is apparent when, in a system based on free enterprise, one group of people withholds inalienable rights to another group for capital gain. Therefore, freedom is withheld and capital is gained using the state's contract-labor or "false pretenses" laws. Daniel explains, "Peonage has a specific meaning in law: debt servitude. Without the crucial element of debt and coercion there is no peonage. Involuntary servitude is synonymous with slavery; both are inclusive terms that embrace not only peonage, but all kinds on bondage." He further explained peonage's mark on society stating:

Peonage infected the South like a cancer, eating away at the economic freedom of blacks, driving poor whites to work harder in order to compete with virtual slave labor, and preserving the class structure inherited from slavery days. The Progressive political surgeons might occasionally perform a successful operation, cutting out a lump of peonage from the body of the South and declaring the patient well; but the disease was in the vitals, manifesting itself in lynching,

---

whitecapping, convict-leasing, disfranchisement, and segregation.3

Tough crime laws have similarly been used to keep the poor and minorities on contemporary plantations (private prisons) and have infected society the same as did peonage. Recall Daniel’s “crucial element of debt” and realize that it is synonymous with the crucial element of crime in the contemporary enslavement. Without tough crime laws there is no over-incarceration because the crime rate would plummet and the need for private prisons would dissipate. The “War on Drugs” was initiated during Ronald Reagan’s presidency and was caused by a moral panic rather than rampant crimes that induced a public danger. This “War on Drugs” inflated the national prison population and prison overcrowdings became an issue. It interested investors (capitalists) and they invested in private prisons. The reactive response to duped massive crime is more prisons which ensure investors’ profit as they secure gains by supporting tough crime legislation. Such legislation has disproportionately incarcerated the poor and minorities. The serious irony is that such action has been taken by lawmakers and investors at a time when crime was already declining, spurring the suspicion of collusion for profit, political security and stronger rural economies in Georgia.

People are products of their environments and the hammer and awl (racism and classism) have influenced the character of victims immensely, pruning the group (black males) for capitalist exploitation. In a historical and contemporary racist America the content of one’s character is determined, or is at least influenced, by the color of his/her skin and the reaches of one’s wealth (race and class). Class and race influenced behavior result in a large and disproportionately poor and minority prison population, which spurs

the growth of private prisons in rural Georgia. Such political and capitalist behavior turns the American dream into an American nightmare for Georgia’s black men. A proactive response will counter racism and classism by making these characteristics a main issue when prison population is observed with focus on how and why it became large and disproportionately populated with poor people and minorities. Why black men are more often stopped by the police and why are they more often incarcerated by the legal system? Education, employment and implementing a racial justice act are some of the changes needed to counter the large and disproportionately poor and minority prison population in Georgia and turn the Black man’s American nightmare into the American dream.

There were certain actors in history that (in hindsight) created or allowed the environment which is now recognized as flawed in the political and legal arena when researching the antiquity of the problem. The corner stone for black codes was vagrancy laws which supported unnecessary bondage for capital gain to maintain plantations. Daniel discusses the interconnections of actors of peonage and collusion dealing with a murdered peon and the attempt of an attorney, Hooper Alexander, to prosecute writing.

To further illustrate the interlocking power of peon-masters, the attorney reported that, when Cornnelius Alexander’s body was washed up, the coroner’s jury had been headed by Franklin Huff, “whom I once convicted of peonage and sent to the penitentiary for a year.” Huff had been the very man who had sold Cornielius Alexander to Connell for $175. Moreover, the presiding judge showed no sympathy with peonage prosecution, as he had told Alexander a year before “that he had little or no confidence in the stories that are told about peonage.” Alexander noted that the judge was a large landowner and “while he is a most honorable gentleman and an excellent lawyer, I am confident that his beliefs incline his mind to such an attitude as will make him prove very unsympathetic.” Another crucial difficulty, he reported, “is the fact that peonage in this State is practiced chiefly by people who stand high socially and politically and who are
people of wealth and influence as a rule." On the other hand, his side of the case was hamstrung by the "utter unreliability of the negroes and their terrible fears."4

The simple net of connections based on benefits and losses have become quite a complicated network of actors today based on the same benefits and losses (i.e. capitalism). The true image reflects a reoccurring ugly portrait of America based on group bondage in the land of the free.

There are actors that do the same in contemporary times only the continual victims, poor people and minorities, have become a shameful image for America. U.S. Supreme Court Justice Anthony M. Kennedy (a Republican appointed by President Ronald Reagan; Feb. 1988) addressed the American Bar Association. He stated:

...Forty percent of the prisoners nationwide are African Americans. The highest rate of incarceration for any ethnic group are young men in their mid to late twenties. And in the United States one in ten African Americans in that age group are behind bars...

To compare this with school cost is like apples and oranges, in a sense, schools do not have the responsibility for custody, feeding and medical care. Still, when the disproportion to the cost of incarceration and the cost of educating the young people who soon will be charged with keeping the social compact is as great as it is, something is wrong. And in my view our resources are being misspent, our punishments are too severe and our sentences are too long.3

The actors of contemporary bondage have acted in a more covert and acceptable manner that allows them to maneuver within the realm of legality, but to sustain the same kind of oppression for money. Capitalists are lining their pockets by withholding freedom from fellow Americans and unveiling the true image of America’s poor and minority


citizen for the world to view. Trapped as victims of this vicious cycle as they become the oil for the wheel in capitalism’s mechanism, the black man is re-enslaved. True, comparing incarceration cost to education cost is futile. However, redirecting revenues from incarceration to education and employment would yield a better return than recidivism granted by massive re-incarceration. The large and disproportionate prison population makes a satire of the concept of the land of the free.

The next section of research will examine specific legislation and select politicians who have been influenced to use political power (politicians' votes) and have been rewarded campaign contributions, which have eventually led to tough crime legislation, private prison inception, or other policy that has increased the prison population. These politicians and investors/owners of private prisons are the contemporary actors that create wealth by denying poor people and minority’s freedom. Actors that create a condition which has been noted as immoral for restricting freedom unnecessarily are guilty of modern peonage. Combining support for private prisons and tough crime legislation or policy that support private gains from incarceration during a period of low crime rate is restrictive of freedom unnecessarily.

The legislation examined increases the prison population and/or its disproportionate poor people and minority composition. House and Senate bills with a tendency to affect the prison population will be examined and the districts and local economies for politicians identified by Bender. First, because the prison population is largely poor and minority, a search for why this group is over-represented in prisons is conducted.
The criminal exception of the Thirteenth Amendment allows for socio-political exploitation camouflaged as a punishment for crime. Media depiction of the pseudo criminal black man and tough crime legislation to support an illusionary increase in crime from "soft drugs" and "two strikes laws" makes a social climate that is accepting of the disproportionately poor and minority prison population. Coupled with the discretions of policemen and judges, the perception of the public and politicians are tainted by the powerful media image of the pseudo criminal black man. These biased discretions have been examined by other researchers (Clayton; 1983, Holleran; 2001, Brockett; 1998, Johnson; 2002, and Mc Morris; 2001) and are accepted as truths by this research. The concept of "Driving While Black" (DWB) has gathered much attention in recent years. Feeding on a race and class-based incarceration frenzy are private prison owners who use campaign contributions and who lobby for tough crime legislation to ensure wealth at the expense of the poor and minority communities. The contemporary actors are identified politicians who have been influenced by campaign contributions and/or are supporters of tough crime legislation without just cause. Since these politicians are not expected to admit to allowing for the intentional incarceration of poor people and minority citizens unnecessarily, a preponderance of the evidence is sought from related legislation and political behavior of contemporary actors.

Legislation

The research starts by analyzing related legislation that is believed to have an effect on over-incarceration. (An introduction of such legislation is found in Appendix
One.) Legislation that was not passed, and therefore records no votes by legislators, denies a critical study of political behavior. For instance: HB 742, (Private prison; regulation; provisions), could have allowed for specific government guidelines that would regulate operations and ensure protection for inmates in private prisons since they have unfortunately been accepted as an intricate element of the state's corrections operation and are now state responsibility. HB 398, (State and county penal institutions; certain inmate labor, authorized), could have been a direct protection against capitalist exploitation of citizens denied the ability to bargain their services in the open market as well as a protection for work competition between non-inmates and inmates for limited jobs and opportunities in rural areas. HB 1173, (Inmate voluntary labor; privately owned profit making employers), should have been turned into a direct strike against capitalists attempting to exploit the unfortunate position of inmates by reserving inmate labor to advance social services for the state only, rather than for profit-making individuals or businesses.

Given these bills have no votes, it is impossible to secure concrete evidence of where selected politicians stand on these important issues. Each matter involved in the aforementioned bills was valid and relevant issues that would have allowed for further diagnosis on the chosen politicians' political behavior had they been voted on. This may indicate that politicians do not see the state incarceration, or over-incarceration, as legislation that takes precedence in the political arena at the time when the bills came up for consideration.
Contemporary Actors

"The brutal fact that we all agonize over is that if you get two calls and one is from a constituent who wants to complain about the Veterans Administration mistreating her father, for the 10th time, and one is from somebody who is going to give you a party and raise $10,000, you call back the contributor."

Sen. Wyche Fowler (D-Georgia)

The research is limited to politicians previously identified by Bender as suspects of influence by campaign contributions. The votes of these politicians on legislation involving prison growth, tough crime laws and racial profiling will be researched. The politicians include: Rep. Terry Coleman, (D-Eastman); Rep. Larry Walker (D-Perry); Rep. Mickey Channell (D-Greensboro); Rep. Thomas Buck III (D-Columbus); and Sen. Carol Jackson (D-Cleveland). Politicians named by Bender who have since lost their office will not be investigated because of time restrictions and that they have become moot in solving the problem. The research will examine valid conditions that may connect identified politicians to leeway to collusion with the Prison Industry Complex and/or tough crime legislation. It will ponder logical reasons that these particular lawmakers were chosen by the private prison industry for significant campaign contributions.

Bender indicates that The Prison Industry Complex chose to support the Democratic Party over the Republican Party because the Democratic Party was of the majority at the time of the decision. Examining support for legislation according to votes on bills and local economies of these politicians’ district may indicate collusion between law makers and prison owners. Bender also identified Corrections Corporation of America, Wackenhut Corrections, and Cornell Corrections as major private prison companies that made campaign contributes to influence politicians in the South. He
explained that the contemporary oppressors of poor people and minorities for capital gain were detected by his study and this information is available in appendix one (National Institute of Money).  

This research examines seven areas to focus on collusion. The areas are: (1) the usual residence rule: enumeration rate; (2) votes on correction related legislation; (3) affiliation with lobbyists for private prisons; (4) news stories relating to the issue; (5) poverty level of local economies; (6) population change over designated period, and (7) and campaign contributions from private prison owners.

The changing percentage of blacks in the candidate’s district during the researched period (1970-2000) is examined for the group’s potential voting power and an understanding of the willingness of the politician to accept the consequences of tough crime laws and high incarceration rates, which has an adverse effect on blacks. These areas are charted using a simple number system after they are examined to determine if collusion is possible (-1 if the information has a potential for collusion; 0 if the information has no impact on collusion; and 1 if the information is protective against collusion). The negative information will indicate collusion and positive information will indicate a protective mode and a zero indicates no effect on collusion, granting a collusion probability number (CPN) to rate politicians (7 to -7). The political behavior, determined by enumeration rates, votes on related legislation, newspaper articles, public statements and any other indicator suggesting pro or anti-private prison attitude and campaign contributions, are used to determine the CPN. Though the CPN is vulnerable

by regression to the mean, it is only to grant a viable sentiment of the politician's political behavior (a political snap-shot of the politician reaction to the issue).

*Rep. Terry Coleman*

Rep. Terry Coleman (D-Eastman) is now the speaker of the house and represents district 118 which includes the counties of Bleckley, Dodge, part of Laurens, part of Telfair, and part of Wheeler. The county seats are Cochran, Eastman, Dublin, McRae and Alamo respectively. He was identified by *The Macon Telegraph* (May 11, 2002) as a recipient of $1,000 in the 2000 campaign contribution from lobbyist Jim Hammock, a representative of Corrections Corporations of America which owns the McRae prison. This grants him a -1 CPN for campaign contributions.

Rep. Terry Coleman has the respectable title and position of, Speaker of the House; this committee position is explained in the *Branches of Georgia Government* in Appendix One. Although no bills are sponsored by the Speaker of the House the duties and responsibilities of Rep. Coleman dictate that he, of all members of the House (theoretically), should be won over by private prison owners. His authority includes appointing committee members to committees responsible for all sorts of bills, including those associated with the inception of private prisons and those leading to tough crime laws. He knows who is pro or anti-private prison and who is for, or against, tough crime laws when he makes these appointments. All of his constituents will benefit from the private prison industry and tough crime laws except black men, and therefore, the black community as it should be supported by the highly disproportionate black male composition in the prison population.
Collusion for money was evident when Coleman illustrated that his voting decision to bring out of state prisoners to Georgia and the construction of speculative prisons in his district was for jobs. He stated, “My vote was influenced by 400 jobs.” The Macon Telegraph informed that the McRae prison was vacant at the time and the town’s business and community leaders wanted the prison as a means of creating jobs in the area. In a situation where a disproportionately black male prison population is created and the area population is majority white, collusion to create jobs for rural whites at the expense of black males is suspected. This allows for granting him a -1 CPN for news stories related to the issue. Poor people and minorities have limited, to no access to politicians since they have no influential PACs in Georgia. Rep. Coleman was creating jobs at the expense of poor and minority Georgians who unjustly and overwhelmingly populate prisons in the state.

The research will next view change in the racial make-up of Coleman’s district, as it will for aforementioned suspected politicians, from 1970-2000 at ten year intervals.

Table 1.1. Population Data on Whites from U.S. Census in Georgia Counties 1970-2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rep. Terry Coleman; Racial Make-up, Whites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bleckley                  Dodge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1.1. Population data on Whites from U.S. Census in Georgia counties 1970-2000

Table 1.2. Population Data on Blacks from U.S. Census in Georgia Counties 1970-2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>0.2459</td>
<td>0.294</td>
<td>0.3453</td>
<td>0.3844</td>
<td>0.3317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>0.2235</td>
<td>0.274</td>
<td>0.3313</td>
<td>0.3443</td>
<td>0.3006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>0.2198</td>
<td>0.2649</td>
<td>0.3295</td>
<td>0.3119</td>
<td>0.2968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>0.2248</td>
<td>0.2542</td>
<td>0.337</td>
<td>0.3451</td>
<td>0.2948</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In all counties of Rep. Coleman’s district, the black population percentage increased over the research period, granting him a 1 CPN for population change. Although 1980 experienced a time when the black population decreased, the four decade time period reveals an over-all increase in black population in the district. The potential voting power of blacks in this district indicates a slight increase while whites have uniformly decreased. However, other issues may play a role in the willingness to welcome a prison in the area. Some of the numerous possibilities are high crime, inaction of blacks in political processes, and job creation. There is evidence that his decision was related to creating jobs in his district. It is because of Rep. Coleman’s statement in the *Macon Telegraph* (May, 11, 2002) that economic purposes are prevalent in his case. And
as researched by Anderson, the "economic agents" in this case are private.\(^7\) The campaign contribution and job creation plays a role against poor and minority in this district. The U.S. Census indicates that economics was a highly creditable factor in the willingness of Rep. Coleman to welcome the private incarceration industry in his district.

Table 1.3. Person Below Poverty Percentage in Georgia counties- 1999

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poverty Level in Specific Georgia Counties</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bleckley</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dodge</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laurens</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telfair</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheeler</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga. State</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^7\) Fredrik C.A. Anderson, "Interest Groups and Government Policy" [PhD Diss., Lunds Universited (Sweden), 2003].
Figure 1.3. Person Below Poverty Percentage in Georgia counties- 1999

All counties in Rep. Coleman’s district have a higher poverty level than the Georgia state average, granting a -1 CPN for poverty level. The creation of jobs is tempting in areas of high poverty and if harm comes to a segment of constituents that political leaders have no concern for the price of housing such institution is reasonable. Wheeler county, the county with the highest poverty level, is where a private incarceration facility is housed, and is located within his district. Who will fill these beds, paying the ultimate price? Data from three private prisons in Georgia (Coffee and Wheeler County Prisons and D. Ray James SP, discussed later) reflect that private institutions in Georgia are more disproportionately black male than public prisons in Georgia, which are very disproportionate themselves. Rep. Coleman’s district already houses the Wheeler County Prison, and therefore, he is no stranger to the private incarceration business. It appears that he intends to use the incarceration business, both private and public, as a mean to create jobs for his district, a solution to poverty. Yet
another correctional institution has been recently located in Bleckley County, also in his district. The following article serves as evidence, stating:

The new Bleckley Probation Detention Center will hold a grand opening ceremony at 2:00 p.m. on Tuesday, August 24, 2004. Corrections Commissioner James E. Donald, Speaker of the House Representative Terry Coleman, and Senator Ross Tolleson will speak and join other dignitaries and the public for the center opening.

The first detainees will begin arriving at the center in mid September, 2004. The probation detention center should reach its maximum capacity of 192 detainees by years end. This facility will bring an additional 60 employees to the Cochran community.8

The average incarceration rate is highest in Rep. Walker’s district; however, the enumeration rate is equally very high. The average number of those incarcerated (797/100,000) is the highest in districts researched. The enumeration rate (6,518.8/100,000) is by far the highest rate, and the state average is 1,204/100,000. Rep. Coleman’s eagerness to use incarceration as an employment mechanism has a damaging effect that is reflected in the district’s incarceration rate and enumeration rate. The African American population percentages are significantly distorted by the effects of the disproportionate incarceration rate and high enumeration rate. Political power for African Americans becomes distorted as well. This situation causes the group to be sacrificial to the clever politician and creates a new sort of gerrymandering. The research grants Rep. Coleman a -1 CPN for enumeration rate.

This politician, pruned for collusion by the offer of jobs, is illustrating a behavior that sets a pattern for supporting legislation that will ensure that jobs come to his district via incarcerations, along with political power. The Atlanta Journal/Constitution

8. James E. Donald, “Probation Detention Center to Open in Bleckley” [Georgia Department of Corrections].
(November, 16, 1994) informed, “Georgia’s Lithonia Lighting announced it will build a 1,000 square foot plant in Mexico. According to the Georgia Department of Labor, 1,000 workers in Georgia have already lost jobs as the company moved production to Mexico.” Cochran, the county seat of Bleckley County in Rep. Coleman’s district, has a Lithonia Lighting plant as its main employer. This condition may lead to wrongly supporting inception of private prisons and tough crime legislation to secure jobs for such an area, knowing that losing Lithonia Lighting as an employer is highly probable.

In Rep. Coleman’s district there has been an overall average tax increase of 33.88 percent, an overall average unemployment rate of 7.58 percent (compared to 4.2 percent state average) and the expenditure of 19.18 percent of its budget on public safety. Comparatively the state averages 23.5 percent (See Appendix Four). Rep. Coleman attempts to create jobs by accepting incarceration facilities and he manages a district where there is an increase in black and a decrease white population percentage. The district is experiencing a poverty level higher than state average; the research grants him a total CPN of -3.

Rep. Larry Walker

Rep. Larry Walker (D-Perry) represents part of Houston County, district 115 where Perry is the county seat. The Macon Telegraph (May 11, 2002) informed that Walker, then House Majority Leader (leader of the majority party in a legislature), received a $750 contribution from Connell Companies, owner of many prisons. This behavior awards him a -1 CPN on campaign contributions. His committee assignments includes: Appropriations; Judiciary; and Rules (Committees are explained in Appendix
Although all three committees that Rep. Walker is on are important to the private prison industry, no extremely obvious negative voting or bills introduced by Rep. Walker linking him to private prisons were found after a brief search of his records thus, earning a 0 CPN for his vote on correction related legislation.

Rep. Larry Walker is inquisitive at a meeting, as reflected in its minutes, concerning the loss of prison guards to private prison positions with a turnover rate of 21 percent and the suspected due cause was pay. In the minutes, it is made clear that ballooning prison population is the main problem, but immediately a reactive rather than proactive solution was suggested. The minutes record that, “Sen. Hooks suggested the department should locate facilities in counties where the unemployment rate is large and they should welcome the industry to the community-try to locate in rural areas (low economy).” Rep. L. Walker responded after confirming his understanding of 21 percent turnover rate and the influence of nine million dollars in overtime pay with, “Nine million dollars in overtime versus hiring additional staff?....Could pay nine million dollars as salary increases.” This statement encompasses a sort of economic decision that supports a reactive, over proactive, response to the problem and grants him a -1 CPN for news stories.

No one inquired about over-incarcerating as the cause of competition for labor with private prisons as a factor thus, totally ignoring proactive solutions to over-incarceration. There would be no competition with private prisons had not over-incarceration occurred, thus, the problem to be solved is what is the cause of over-incarceration in Georgia. In fact, the suggestion was to do the same thing private prisons
are doing to ensure low wages; locating them in desperate economies where black men would be used to generate jobs for vastly white areas. Collusion may be found in inaction to enforce the Thirteenth Amendment so as to grease the wheel of capitalism.

The same action is taken, using minorities and poor people to relieve the strain of weak economies, just after the antebellum South was dissolved. After emancipation, blacks were denied liberty to boost rural agriculture-based economies and ensure profitability for private entities. The only difference from past oppression is shifting from plantations to private prisons in the present repression scheme, poor people and minorities are used.

Rep. L. Walker shows distinct interest in the economic strain of the situation, leaving the moral cause of the problem unfettered. An economic bondage is being legally built that will be as bad as sharecropping and the racial ties reveal similar acceptance by the state as it was accepted during slavery. Black and poor men are again being used to boost the bottom line for private prisons just as they were used for slavery, sharecropping, peonage, Negro work, etc. Black codes were the glue that held the earlier systems together just as tough crime legislation is the glue that holds together and ensures the new peons for private prison owners. Lobbyists are the covert problems that coerce a public responsibility to be carried out in private without the need of public consent. Because lobbyist affiliation was not confirmed, a 0 CPN is granted. Restricting the freedom of fellow citizen should not be in the hands of private citizens, especially when business decisions and ties are clandestine agreements between owners, politicians and lobbyists and these decisions hinder particular groups based on race and class. Rep. L.
Walker challenged Rep. Coleman for the position of Speaker of the House, supporting both candidates would not be too expensive for private prison owners and would cover all ground.

In a press release, on October 16, 2003, information was given that Defense Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, plans to close at least one hundred of the nation’s four-hundred-and-twenty-five military bases. Herman Cain, then a conservative Republican candidate for U.S. Senate, admits the threat of job loss to the area if Robin AFB is closed. He stated, “As a U.S. Senate for Georgia, I will fight to protect Robins AFB and the twelve other military installations in Georgia from the next round of closings. These bases are vital to our natural security and the Georgia economy.” Without Robins AFB, Houston County would have fewer employment opportunities. Private prisons may be an acceptable option to lessen the expected “blow” of job loss for the area. First, we look at the racial make-up of Rep. L. Walker’s district over the past four decades.

Table 1.4. Population Data on Whites from U.S. Census in Houston County 1970-2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rep. Larry Walker: Racial Make-up, White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Houston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1.4. Population Data on Whites from U.S. Census in Houston County 1970-2000

Table 1.5. Population Data on Blacks from U.S. Census in Houston County 1970-2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rep. Larry Walker; Racial Make-up, Blacks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Houston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The population composition is following a trend in composition of whites decreasing in proportion while blacks increase in proportion, giving a CPN of 1 for population change. The campaign contributions made to candidates does not appear to be based on potential political power of blacks. Black political power is also less threatening when blacks do not exercise their votes. There may remain a sentiment in rural areas of complacency towards the improvement of blacks' conditions by politicians, building up a complacency theory that causes blacks to be politically inactive.

The poverty information may prove complacent because when examining data from Rep. L. Walker's district a political spin that is created by private prison owners to support both candidates as he and Rep. Coleman were competing for Speaker of the House. If private prison owners only made contributions to candidates in areas where poverty is high, Houston should not be an area of interest. The poverty level in Houston
County is lower than that of the state average giving a CPN of 1 for local economy. Data illustrated as follows:

Table 1.6. Persons Below Poverty 1999 in Houston County

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poverty Level in Specific Georgia County</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Houston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga. State</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.6. Persons Below Poverty 1999 in Houston County

Indicators suggest that Rep. Walker’s campaign donations were likely made because he challenged Rep. Coleman for Speaker of the House. The district’s incarceration rate is the lowest of all researched districts and there is a zero enumeration rate, which is the desired percentage. Although his inaction towards over-incarceration
(notes in the minutes on January 2, 2001) indicates he is not a friend, he cannot be characterized as a foe of black liberty. The research gives Rep. Walker a 1 CPN for enumeration rate.

Rep. L. Walker voted against HB 1327 – Motor vehicles; racial profiling; prohibit (3/12/04) – that would require policies that prohibit law enforcement officers from impermissibly using race or ethnicity in determining whether to stop a motorist, three times before voting yes on the bill. This indicates that he had to be convinced that there was a need for such law and in his view it is possibly happenstance (or worse) that the state’s prison population is disproportionately black. Racial profiling does not appear to strike Rep. Walker as a reality, or the reaction may be a covert message within his votes.

On SB 474 -Probated, Suspend. Misdemeanor Case (5/1/2000) – in a bill that shifted parole oversight of misdemeanor probationers from the state to city and county governments (discussed in detail later), he did not vote the first time the bill made it to the floor, but voted yes twice, on the second and third time of the bill’s floor appearance. He entrust city and county governments that may be desperate for funds to handle an area that may be demoralized and exploited by the private industry to make money. This economic opportunity is at the expense of citizen experiencing a restriction on their liberty and at the demand of a government (inmates and probationers), thus granting him a CPN of -1 on votes on corrections (See Appendix One [Politician’s Votes]) and a total CPN of 1.

In Rep. Walker’s district there has been an overall average tax increase of 91.1 percent, an overall average unemployment rate of 3.8 percent, as compared to 4.2 state
averages, and spends 33.4 percent of its budget on public safety while the state averages 23.5 percent (See Appendix Four).

*Rep. Mickey Channell*

Rep. Mickey Channell represents district 111, Greensboro covering Greene, part of Morgan, Oglethorpe and part of Putnam counties with the county seats being Greensboro, Madison, Lexington and Eatonton respectively. The *Macon Telegraph* (May 11, 2002) found that Rep. Channell received campaign contributions from Cornell Corrections' lobbyists and CCA totaling $2,450, very large in comparison to other campaign contributions. He is awarded a -1 CPN for campaign contributions. He recently showed support for President George W. Bush by attending a $2,000 dollar per plate fund raising in January 2004, rendering him less than a "yellow dog democrat."

The representative’s committee assignments include: Appropriations (Vice Chairman); Industrial Relations (Chairman); Transportation; and Ways & Means (Ex-Officio) and these committees are explained in Appendix Three. The Provident Foundation, Inc., a non-profit group based in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, bought a private prison in Georgia, D. Ray James Prison, in August of 2001. To give a mental portrait of Provident, the article states, "Provident isn’t a conventional charity. It is run by a group of lawyers, investment bankers, and financial consultants. Lehman Bros. Holding, Inc. and other Wall Street titans do its financial work." The article provides several profit gaining schemes that may, or may not be legal, but are believed to be immoral and not particularly beneficial to the image of Rep. Channell and his connection to campaign

---

contributions from private prisons, (-1 CPN on news articles). In September 1999 Provident informed the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) in an application for tax-exempt status that it intends to operate nursing homes. With permission granted by the IRS, Provident moved forward on acquiring nursing homes and later included prisons claiming it is lessening the financial burdens of government. This grants an apparent -1 CPN for lobbyist affiliation. He was on the Joint House and Senate Study Committee Indigent (November 2000) and this may align private prison owners transforming to nursing home owners to take advantage of the good intentions of a politician’s aim to help elderly constituents in their district.

One aim of the research is to focus politicians on proactive rather than reactive response to crime (reactive responses include more prisons) and reverse the over-incarceration of poor and minorities for non-violent crimes. When a choice of supporting oneself for basic survival is taken from individuals by the government, the burden of protection must fall on the government to not allow capitalists (or any party) to take immoral advantage of a government created situation (over-incarceration); fed by tough crime legislation; leading to a need for more incarceration space; and can ultimately lead to exploitation of poor and minorities for cheap labor. Has America simply cut out the Middle Passage in the new chattel incarceration scheme?

A look at the racial make-up of Rep. Channell’s district is needed to speculate on the African American community’s political power. The census data provides the following:
Table 1.7. Population Data on Whites from U.S. Census in Georgia Counties 1970-2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Greene</th>
<th>Morgan</th>
<th>Oglethorpe</th>
<th>Putnam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>0.4934</td>
<td>0.6969</td>
<td>0.7829</td>
<td>0.6745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>0.4942</td>
<td>0.6425</td>
<td>0.7454</td>
<td>0.6524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>0.472</td>
<td>0.5887</td>
<td>0.678</td>
<td>0.5831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>0.4824</td>
<td>0.5489</td>
<td>0.6272</td>
<td>0.5117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.7. Population data on Whites from U.S. Census in Georgia counties 1970-2000

Table 1.8. Population data on Blacks from U.S. Census in Georgia counties 1970-2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Greene</th>
<th>Morgan</th>
<th>Oglethorpe</th>
<th>Putnam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>0.4444</td>
<td>0.2853</td>
<td>0.1975</td>
<td>0.299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>0.4958</td>
<td>0.3473</td>
<td>0.247</td>
<td>0.3279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>0.526</td>
<td>0.4106</td>
<td>0.3169</td>
<td>0.415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>0.5175</td>
<td>0.451</td>
<td>0.3724</td>
<td>0.4874</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The trend of increasing black population and decreasing white population changes and could be a politically astute motivation to accept private prison's (-1 CPN for population change). Where a decrease in black population is detected there is an expected decrease in potential political power for blacks. The state falsely advocates a lower level of overt racial influence while the action of the system indicates a covert sentiment of the opposite. Why has the black population decreased in this district? When jobs become scarce, blacks tend to become unemployed at a higher rate than whites, and blacks may have made an exodus to better economies. With the combined average poverty level of 15.25, a politician that generates jobs in this district will likely become popular among the masses (-1 CPN for local poverty level).
Table 1.9. Person Below Poverty 1999 in Georgia Counties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poverty Level in Specific Georgia County</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greene</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morgan</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oglethorpe</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putnam</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga. State</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.9. Person Below Poverty 1999 in Georgia Counties

The poverty in this district averages 15.25%, which is 2.25% higher than the state’s average of 13%, which makes this district an area of interest for the private prison industry. The enumeration rate in this district is centrally located in one county, Putnam. The highest African American population is found in Green County. Putnam County also
has the highest incarceration rate in the district. This may indicate an effect of the enumeration rate on the incarceration rate. A prison in Green County would allow the incarceration rate and enumeration rate to be exploited in a manner that would be an obvious danger to Black men. The research finds that the representative has a willingness to make business deals that are normally questionable, a characteristic that may present a danger to Green County. The research grants a 0 CPN to Rep. Channell for enumeration rate because the rate is below the state average (186 compared to 1,204/100,000 district to state respectively), though not the desired 0/100,000.

He was somehow excused from voting all three times HB-1327 (Motor vehicle; racial profiling; prohibit [anti-racial profiling of vehicles]) when the legislation made it to the House floor. On SB 474 - Probated, Suspend. Misdemeanor Case (5/1/2000) – a bill that shifted parole oversight of misdemeanor probationers from the state to city and county governments; he voted yes all three time the bill made it to the floor, thus not a good steward of the rights and protections of poor and minority citizens in the state’s penal system, earning a -1 CPN for votes on related legislation (See Appendix One [Politician’s Votes]).

In Rep. Channell’s district there has been an overall average tax increase of 20.5 percent, an overall average unemployment rate of 4.6 percent, compared to 4.2 state averages, and spends 19.6 percent of its budget on public safety while the state averages 23.5 percent (See Appendix Four). His most incriminating suspicion for collusion was found in his connection with the Provident Foundation, Inc (-1 CPN for lobbyist affiliation). His district experienced an increase in black and decrease in white
populations during the researched period and a higher level of poverty than that of the state level, the research grants him a total CPN of -4.

Rep. Thomas Buck III

Rep. Thomas Buck III represents district 112, Columbus in Muscogee County. The Macon Telegraph (May 11, 2002) reported that Rep. Buck was the recipient of campaign contributions totaling $2,700 from private prison business, an exceptional amount for a campaign contribution. He earns a -1 CPN for campaign contributions. Rep. Buck's committee assignments include: Appropriations (Chairman); Higher Education; Rules; and Ways and Means Committee (Ex-Officio). Although no legislation sponsored by Buck appears suspicious, the Appropriation Committee delivers the state budget, which makes him a valuable friend to private prison owners.

What other motives or conditions may there be in the web of deception to gain the interest of the private prison industry and to suspect possible collusion? The article, Inadequate Provision for Indigent Defense Help Drive Up Jail and Court Costs in Georgia states that, "In October 2002, according to the Department of Community Affairs, 52 county jails were over capacity – some by as much as 170%. On average, 59% of inmates were simply waiting for their cases to be tried."\(^\text{10}\) Of those 52 Counties, in Muscogee County the percentage over capacity was recorded at 57%. The percentage of inmates awaiting trial was recorded at 56%, producing the number of inmates waiting trial of 502.

Class is producing a bias in violation of the Sixth and Fourteenth Amendment when jails are crowded with indigent defendants. If these citizens have been deemed

---

unable to afford lawyers, they likely cannot afford bail, but are incarcerated, thus gaining the attention of private prison owners. The Sixth Amendment guarantees the right to counsel. In *Powell v. Alabama* (1932), the case reaffirmed the right of citizens to have lawyers. However, the questions remained, were the citizens to be given free counsel and whether all circumstances required counsel. In the case of *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1942), the Sixth Amendment provides that criminal prosecutions have the assistance of counsel. *Betts v. Brady* (1942) argued that the guarantee of counsel includes indigent defendants because of the protection provided in the Fourteenth Amendment. Jurisdiction (state or federal), extent of protection and other related problems were argued before the *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963) decision.

In this case, a Florida man, Gideon, was charged with a felony of breaking and entering. He requested counsel and was refused. In the final conclusion the Court held that Gideon had a right to be represented by the court-appointed attorney, and in doing so, overruled its 1942 decision of *Betts v. Brady*. In this case, the Court found that the Sixth Amendment's guarantee of counsel was a fundamental right which was essential to a fair trial, which should be made applicable to the state through the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. These court cases reveal a trail through history of poor people's liberties as unprotected making them the victims of over incarceration.

Even when a protection mode is established for poor citizens, private prison owners may be attempting to exploit a chance to earn capital from the increased number of incarcerated, indigent defendants. A reactive response to the problem aimed at exploiting others for money and encroaching politicians to make economic decisions
advancing one group by exploiting another. This condition focused the incarceration vultures on Muscogee County. The moral approach would mean proactive responses such as ensuring adequate provisions for indigent defendants, making sure that these people are truly criminals who pose a danger to society. By doing so, there is a reduction in the number of required incarcerations. If only such people are incarcerated the available funding may become adequate.

The article, *Inadequate Provision for Indigent Defense Help Drive Up Jail and Court Costs in Georgia*, informs that, in *Alabama v. Shelton*, a landmark ruling issued in May 2002, the U.S. Supreme Court held that courts cannot impose a suspended sentence that could result in a jail term if indigent defendants were not afforded the right to a lawyer at trial. This ruling followed the 2000 campaign contributions and could have no weight on possible collusion through campaign contributions of 2000. The ruling indicates that there must have been a problem in the areas of incarceration and indigent defendants, increasing the possibility for collusion (-1 CPN for news articles). Again, the local military base, Fort Benning, is the major employer putting the area in jeopardy if the decision of closing military institutions includes Fort Benning for closure.

This area portrays a district that is becoming increasingly black when compared to its earlier proportionate make-up (1 CPN for population change). The racial make-up of Rep. Buck's district changes as follows:
Table 1.10 Population Data on Whites from U.S. Census in Muscogee County 1970-2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rep. Thomas Buck III: Racial Make-up, White</th>
<th>Muscogee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>0.5042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>0.5777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>0.6357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>0.7394</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.10 Population Data on Whites from U.S. Census in Muscogee County 1970-2000

Table 1.11. Population Data on Blacks from U.S. Census in Muscogee County 1970-2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rep. Thomas Buck III: Racial Make-up, Black</th>
<th>Muscogee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>0.4374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>0.3767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>0.3408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>0.2557</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Again, the question of potential political power of blacks merits observation in Rep. Buck's district in relation to increasing black and decreasing white populations proportionately. The representatives are obviously convinced that the un-cast votes do not matter and since blacks are expected to be less active in the election process, they pose little threat because it is believed that they often do not vote. Be mindful that blacks are known to overwhelmingly support the Democratic Party when they do vote and these are Democrats receiving campaign contributions from private prison owners, a clear threat to the black community if the justice system is not just. With little or no trust in bettering their economic and social conditions through the political process and no viable option but to vote for the highly untrustworthy Republican Party to remedy their plight (the typically believed political thought of blacks), the black vote can conveniently be
sacrificed. Things are becoming all the clearer of how blacks became the sacrificial lamb for Georgia politicians and private prison owners. The need for creating strong political action committees (PACs) and a separate political party for poor and minorities are crucial.

Table 1.12. Person Below Poverty 1999 in Muscogee County

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poverty Level in Specific Georgia County</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muscogee</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga. State</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.12. Person Below Poverty 1999 in Muscogee County
The poverty level is higher in this district than Georgia’s average by 2.7% and a competitively low income level makes the district great for private prisons, granting a -1 CPN for poverty level.

The average incarceration rate in Rep. Buck’s district is the second highest reported at 712/100,000. The poverty rate is above the state average but not immensely. The research argues that it is the vulture like relationship of prison owners reacting to the high incarceration rate in an area with a high population percentage of African Americans. Rep. Buck’ district is granted a 0 CPN for its enumeration rate.

He voted “no” all three times on HB-1327 (Motor vehicle; racial profiling; prohibit [anti-racial profiling of vehicles]) when the bill came to the House floor. On SB 474 –Probated, Suspend. Misdemeanor Case (5/1/2000) – a bill that shifted parole oversight of misdemeanor probationers from the state to city and county governments, he vote yes two times and was excused once when the bill made it to the floor (See Appendix One [Politician’s Votes]). Again, not a good steward of the rights and protections of poor and minority citizens (-1 CPN for votes on related legislation).

Rep. Buck voiced intentions of leaving his position in an article “Buck Stops Here,” stating, “I’m tired of the bickering and the finger pointing...I’ve had a good ride and its time for me to come home.” His decision was stated evolving from “a cantankerous 2004 legislative session that sparked fusses” putting him in a different district with mostly Republicans. He appears unwilling to bargain with opposition, or else, he would not relinquish his political post in frustration. The county has the third

largest city in Georgia, Columbus, as its county seat, but it still makes a suitable area for private prisons.

In Rep. Buck’s district there has been an overall average tax increase of 17.3%, an overall average unemployment rate of 4.5%, compared to 4.2% state averages, and spends 16.3 percent of its budget on public safety while the state averages 23.5 percent. His most incriminating suspicion for collusion was found in the possibility of making “incarceration dollars” from inadequate provision for indigent defense, although there was no lobbyist influence found (0 CPN for lobbyist affiliation). His district has experienced an increase in black population and a decrease in white population and a higher level of poverty than the state level, the research grants him a CPN of 1. His total CPN is -2.

Sen. Carol Jackson

Sen. Carol Jackson is the only senator thoroughly reviewed by this research. Sen. Carol Jackson represents district 50, including Franklin, Habersham, Hall, Lumpkin, Stephens, Towns, Union and White counties. The county seats are Carnesville, Clarkesville, Gainesville, Dahlonega, Toccoa, Hiawassee, Blairsville and Cleveland, respectively. The Macon Telegraph (May 11, 2002) reported that Sen. Jackson was the recipient of a $1,000 campaign contribution from Cornell Corrections and CCA, earning her a -1 CNP for campaign contributions.

The possibility of collusion was found involving a couple of parole board members. Chairman Walter Ray and member Bobby Whitworth were lobbyists. The article in Creative Loafing informed that Sen. Carol Johnson sponsored Senate Bill 474,
employees in the Department of Corrections and staff with the Board of Pardons and Parole. After investigators questioned Sen. Jackson she stated, “They asked me who talked to me about [the Senate bill], and what did we talk about. I have not talked to [Ray and Whitworth] about that bill.” Ray and Whitworth were being investigated for using their position to make money for themselves and companies that hired them as lobbyists.

This article exposing contemporary actors in the oppression game states:

The fiasco that has Ray and Whitworth in the middle of an attorney general’s probe began in July 2001 when a parole board lobbyist, Lisa Phillip-Thompson, told Fox5 News that her bosses were working for private companies in the capacity of their state jobs. The attorney general’s office began investigating Ray and Whitworth shortly after. The thrust of that investigation centers on Senate Bill 474, which, when signed by the governor May 1, 2000, shifted parole oversight of misdemeanor probationers from the state to city and county governments. This meant that local governments would have to set up their own probation program or outsource their probation services to a private company...

Here’s how Ray and Whitworth are involved. Both were hired lobbyists for the Bobby Ross Group and for Detention Management Services. The companies make or made money by running probation programs for local governments. Detention Management Systems paid Ray $11,000. The company paid Whitworth $75,000 over four years and he received more than $100,000 for working for the Bobby Ross Group, which runs three juvenile services in Georgia.13

Again, another article, Georgia Parole Corruption Deepens, the author informs, “Just before their demise Whitworth and Ray were pushing for a proposal that would combine probation and parole. The merger would have meant a massive windfall for private agencies – and of course – their consultants.”14 These articles grant Sen. Jackson a -1 CPN for lobbyist affiliation and -1 for news stories. The question is: How does Sen.


13. Ibid.

Jackson not affiliate Ray and Whitworth’s bill with increasing privatization and expects constituents to believe it was coincidental now that she has been identified as receiving campaign donations from private prisons? Webs of deception are being spun by spiders of capitalism and clandestine connections through lobbying make it very difficult to clarify the relationships in question. In a little more informative manner, legislative liaison for Georgia Parole Board, Lisa Thompson’s dilemma was expounded upon in the article which states:

During the 2000 legislative session Ms. Thompson was approached by Whitworth and Ray and asked to support a bill for the privatization of misdemeanor probations. Initially she supported the bill and put her considerable influence behind it. The bill appeared to be an effective pressure valve for alleviating prison overcrowding and was purportedly designed to reduce caseloads for probation officers. It also has the approval of the entire 5 member parole board. Thompson personally organized a luncheon where Ray and Whitworth actively lobbied the state senators for their support. Sen. Carol Jackson (D – Cleveland) sponsored the bill which passed with virtually unanimous support. In the back of her mind, however, Thompson was bothered by the enthusiasm with which Ray and Whitworth were pushing the bill since probation had nothing to do with parole. It was only after the bill had passed that Thompson realized that she had been used. She learned that Whitworth and Ray were on Newsome’s payroll and that passage of the bill opened up sizable markets to Newsome’s company.15

Whitworth and Ray used “relationships” to prune Thompson as their unsuspecting proxy. There is an inability for Sen. Jackson to be seriously threatened by the black vote since her district is overwhelmingly white, granting her a 0 CPN for population change. The racial make-up of Sen. Jackson’s district changes as follows:

Table 1.13. Population Data on Whites from U.S. Census in Georgia Counties 1970-2000

Sen. Carol Jackson; Racial Make-up, whites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Franklin</th>
<th>Hsham*</th>
<th>Hall</th>
<th>Lumpkin</th>
<th>Stephens</th>
<th>Towns</th>
<th>Union</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>0.8948</td>
<td>0.8888</td>
<td>0.8075</td>
<td>0.9402</td>
<td>0.8574</td>
<td>0.9879</td>
<td>0.9793</td>
<td>0.9516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>0.8922</td>
<td>0.9114</td>
<td>0.8649</td>
<td>0.9538</td>
<td>0.8689</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9929</td>
<td>0.9653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>0.8977</td>
<td>0.9456</td>
<td>0.905</td>
<td>0.945</td>
<td>0.874</td>
<td>0.9975</td>
<td>0.9942</td>
<td>0.9554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>0.8803</td>
<td>0.942</td>
<td>0.8986</td>
<td>0.9846</td>
<td>0.8814</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9535</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.13. Population Data on Whites from U.S. Census in Georgia Counties 1970-2000

Table 1.14. Population Data on Blacks from U.S. Census in Georgia Counties 1970-2000

Sen. Carol Jackson; Racial Make-up, Blacks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Franklin</th>
<th>Hsham*</th>
<th>Hall</th>
<th>Lumpkin</th>
<th>Stephens</th>
<th>Towns</th>
<th>Union</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>0.0883</td>
<td>0.0448</td>
<td>0.0727</td>
<td>0.0146</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.0012</td>
<td>0.0057</td>
<td>0.0216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>0.0989</td>
<td>0.0539</td>
<td>0.0877</td>
<td>0.0141</td>
<td>0.1177</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.0259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>0.1007</td>
<td>0.0506</td>
<td>0.0894</td>
<td>0.0206</td>
<td>0.1216</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>0.1203</td>
<td>0.0567</td>
<td>0.1006</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.118</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1.14. Population Data on Blacks from U.S. Census in Georgia Counties 1970-2000

Table 1.15. Person Below Poverty 1999 in Specific Georgia Counties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poverty Level in Specific Georgia Counties</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H-sham*</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumpkin</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephens</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towns</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga. State</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1.15. Person Below Poverty 1999 in Specific Georgia Counties

The average poverty level in Sen. Jackson's district is actually below the state's average with the state's average being 13% for the researched period and Sen. Jackson's district averages 12.7% for the same period (1CPN for poverty). Sen. Jackson voted for HB 1327 – Motor vehicles; racial profiling; prohibit (3/12/04) – that would require policies that prohibit law enforcement officers from impermissibly using race or ethnicity in determining whether to stop a motorist (See Appendix One [Politician's Votes]).

The incarceration rate in Sen. Jackson's district is below the state average. The enumeration rate is lower as well with 589 compared to 1,204 over 100,000 (district to state respectively). The district's poverty rate average is below the state's average with the district average at 7.9 percent while the state's average is 13 percent. The African American population is virtually of non-existence. Her willingness to sacrifice the poor
and minority populations, evident by her introduction of a bill to privatize the probation, warrants state protection for a group whose free will has been restricted in the state for whatever reason. The poor and minority population cannot hold such politicians responsible by the pseudo power of the vote. The enumeration rate is granted a 0 CPN because it is below the state average, but not zero percent.

In Sen. Jackson’s district there has been an overall average tax increase of 33.24 percent, an overall average unemployment rate of 4.15 percent compared to 4.2 state averages, and an expenditure of 21.11% of its budget on public safety while the state averages 23.5% (See Appendix Four). Sen. Jackson has sponsored a bill that dissolves state protection on convicted citizens and makes them more vulnerable to exploitation by private capitalists in the incarceration industry. Local county government may not be capable of affording the necessary protection to secure protection against such villains as Whitworth and Ray. Their types are eagerly waiting to take advantage of money making opportunities without regards to those within the penal system. The district is experiencing a lower than state average of poverty, the research grants her a CPN of 1 and a total CPN of -2.

The research has found that none of the politicians are deserving of a positive total rating which would have indicated that they are protective of inmates against the Prison Industry Complex. The possibility of collusion is evident through examining the politicians’ political behavior, which has revealed some of these possibilities. Obviously, behaviors that are more clandestine would be quite difficult to reveal. The possibility is forced upon the conviction that the actors (politicians, lobbyists, prison owners and
investors) can exploit poor and minorities’ situation for individual gains. Though the convicted may have been found guilty, that does not deny them of their right not to be exploited.

Interests appear to be restricted in high poverty locations except when other factors seem to play a role such as Rep. Walker, who challenged Rep. Coleman for Speaker of the House and Sen. Jackson, who sponsored detrimental legislation that allocated economic opportunity to private companies. Spending on public safety played no obvious and/or important role as previously suspected. However, the most important finding is the willingness of politicians to ignore the strengthening black potential vote, indicated by increases in the black population, and support legislation leading to over-incarceration. All five politicians display a conservative political behavior.

Table 1.16. CPN Calculations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CPN (Collusion Probability Number) Calculations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coleman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coleman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Channell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1.16. CPN Calculations
CHAPTER FIVE

PRIVATE PRISONS

"Who will be free, themselves must strike the blow. You know liberty given is never so precious as liberty sought for and fought for. Depend upon it, men will not care much for a people who do not care for themselves.

Frederick Douglass, Louisville Convention, 1883

Private Prisons

This chapter will take a closer look at the state's private prisons by examining disproportionate composition; speculative prisons and the economic demand on private prisons; legal issues; and private prisons as plantations. Private prisons are under the responsibility of the Georgia Department of Correction within the Corrections Division.

The Department is explained with an organization chart in Appendix Two.

In order to easily understand the operations of the department the following information has been provided:

The Assistant Commissioner oversees the daily operation of the agency. The Personnel Director oversees, coordinates, monitors, evaluates, and administers human resource functions department-wide. The Director of Public Affairs is the agency's liaison with the public and the media. The Legislative Liaison supports the Board in legislative matters. The Legal Office acts as the agency's internal counsel. The Director of Correctional Industries oversees inmate training and industries that supply various products for use both internal and external to the agency. The Board Liaison provides assistance to the Georgia Board of Corrections. The Office of Victim Services provides assistance to victims of crime. The Office of Internal Affairs oversees criminal, fraud and other investigations within the department. The Office of Special Investigations is responsible for investigating all claims of sexual harassment/misconduct in the department. The Corrections Division is responsible for the direct supervision of all offenders sentenced to the Georgia Department of Corrections. The Division operates:
• 37 state prisons, housing nearly 37,000 inmates
• 9 transitional centers
• 6 inmate boot camps
• 1 probation boot camp
• 19 probation detention centers
• 13 diversion centers
• 9 day reporting centers
• 120 probation offices

The Division oversees the custody of state inmates by contract in
• 3 private prisons
• 24 county prisons

Overall, the Division is responsible for nearly 50,000 inmates and 134,000 probationers.¹

Private Prisons in Georgia

Private prisons are competing to underbid the government in the business of restricting liberty, a state matter. This comes far too close to shaping an acceptable modern enchainment for today’s poor and minority citizens. The disproportionately black male prison population in Georgia (a state deeply rooted in slavery) along with privatization of the business of restricting liberty (enslavement) warrants a close examination of a developing threat to the African American community. While they claim to save taxpayers money, the real aim is profit for owners and stockholders. Austin and Coventry relay, “rather than the projected 20 percent savings, the average saving from privatization was only 1 percent, and most of that was achieved through lower labor cost.”² These facilities project a 20 percent saving and deliver a 1 percent saving from an exploitation of liberty for capital. This is to the detriment of rural communities where private prisons are located, private prison employees and private prison inmates. These


factious saving percentages are to strengthen the private prison stocks on the stock market. The stock market boosted America’s wealth, along with the wealth of slave owners from the enslavement of blacks at one time (1619 – 1865) using slave labor for sugar, rice, tobacco, cotton and other slave driven commodities. Today’s private prison owners aim to repeat this history of exploitation bringing the act into a socially acceptable mode and destroying the African American community a second time. Private prisons have stock holders and aim to make profits. In the following definition, the scholars, Austin and Coventry, also supply a clear understanding of what privatization is writing, “Privatization is commonly defined as a contract process that shifts public functions, responsibilities, and capital assets, in whole or in part, from the public sector. Privatization in correctional services can assume a number of institutional characteristics.”

Disproportionate Composition

In 2002, the Georgia Department of Corrections recorded that in the total prison population (state and federal inmates) the representation was as follows: black inmates equaled 30,696 (64.13%): white inmates equaled 16,918 (35.34%); others equaled 136 (.28%); Indian inmates equaled 63 (.13%); Asian inmates equaled 55 (.11%); and unknowns equaled 1 (0%). Blacks were only 28 percent of the state’s general population in 2002. The most disproportionate population is found in private prisons. The statistics indicate that of Georgia’s three private prisons (D. Ray James, Coffee, and Wheeler), the make-up was as follows: D. Ray James Correctional Facility; black inmates equaled 1060

(69%) of the institution’s total count and white inmates equaled 475 (31%) of the institution’s total population. In Coffee Correctional Facility, black inmates equaled 1061 (72%) of the institution’s total population and white inmates equaled 415 (28%) of the institution’s total population. In the Wheeler Correctional Facility, black inmates equaled 931 (62%) of the institution’s total population and white inmates equaled 560 (37%) of the institution’s total population. The graphical statistics are presented as follows:

Table 2.1. GDC Offender Statistics by Race, 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GDC Offender Statistic by Race</th>
<th>James*</th>
<th>Coffee</th>
<th>Wheeler</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>1060</td>
<td>1061</td>
<td>931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2. Georgia GDC Offender Statistics by Race, 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GDC Offender Statistic by Race</th>
<th>Ga. State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>30696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>16918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Blacks make-up 28 percent of the state’s population and 65 percent of public prison population and 68 percent of the private prison population. There may be a

specific offense area where citizens are being incarcerated at a higher percentage such as drug incarcerations. Examining the inmate population and crime-type from 2000 to 2003, there are indications of problem areas that can be corrected by proactive responses. A review of the crime types reveals a specific area on which to concentrate. According to GDC, violent crime offenders comprise the vast majority of the state’s incarcerations. Because violent crime incarcerations are necessary they are not disputed by this research. Interests are on ineffective politician, the “War on Drug” and private prisons. Drug incarceration on black males in Georgia’s private prisons (non-violent crimes only) is also a focus area.

The number of drug-related incarcerations (a non-violent crime) in the private prisons is growing when compared to all incarcerations since the “War on Drugs.” However, the percentage of blacks incarcerated for drugs compared to all drug incarcerations in a given facility is astronomical. First, the statistical representation of crime types is presented to illustrate how many drug incarcerations the state regulates in a given year.
The next represented statistical data presents Georgia private prisons’ drug incarcerations comparing the general male populations to the black male populations. This is to determine the percentage of drug-related incarcerations in private prisons that are black. As indicated by the statistical representation: D.R. James Correctional Facility, 89 percent of the drug incarcerations are blacks; Coffee Correctional Facility, 88 percent of the drug incarcerations are blacks; and Wheeler Correctional Facility, 70 percent of the drug incarcerations are blacks. This disparity again is astronomical and leads to a very threatening future for the African American community in Georgia.
Table 2.3. Georgia Department of Corrections, Comparisons between the General Population and Black Population within James, Coffee and Wheeler Correctional Facilities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ga. Private Prisons and Drug Incarcerations 2004</th>
<th>General</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheeler</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.2. Georgia Department of Corrections, Comparisons between the General Population and Black Population within James, Coffee and Wheeler Correctional Facilities

This occurrence has been well predicted and documented, but has translated into little or no political protection for Georgia’s poor people and minorities. The situation was allowed to manifest into the dire situation that leaves the African American community without fathers, sons, brothers or male figures in general in a patriarchal society. The population of black men comes close to equaling all others combined in private prison
incarcerations for drugs. It is evident that this data was definitely available to politicians when deciding to make laws or support bills that disproportionately incarcerate poor people and minorities.

Michael Tonry wrote, “Urban black Americans have borne the brunt of the War on Drugs. They have been arrested, convicted, and imprisoned at increasing rates since the early 1980s, and grossly out of proportion to their numbers in the general population, or among drug users.” Jamie Fellner contributed the following:

Before the “war on drugs” was launched in the mid-1980s, more whites than blacks were arrested for drug offenses. By the end of the decade, blacks were arrested for drugs more than twice as often as whites. The disparity continues in the 1990s. Although blacks make up less than one-third of the population of Georgia, 64.2% of those arrested for drugs between 1990 and 1995 were black. In each of those years, comparing the rate of arrest per 100,000 adult males the black arrest rate was five times greater than the white arrest rate. Comparing the ratio of actual arrest to population reveals that whites were arrested for cocaine offenses (447.2 per 100,000 adults) at a rate of one-seventeenth the rate for blacks (7668.4 per 100,000).6

 Speculative Prisons and the Economic Demand on Private Prisons

An examination of Georgia’s private prisons prompts thoughts such as where, how and when the use of prisons entered American society. Julie Browne states, “Before the abolition of slavery there was no real prison system in the United States. Punishment for crime consisted of physical torture referred to as corporal or capital punishment. The


first penitentiaries were designed in England and France in response to growing criticism of the extreme use of public violence as the only means of deterring crime.”

The initiatives to use prisoners for labor in the state of Georgia was an attack on the African Americans for free labor (slavery) soon after emancipation as Browne further states that “in 1878, Georgia leased out 1,239 convicts, 1,124 of whom were African Americans.” Conceiving of such institutions (prisons) growing into establishments for management of humane punishment and public safety is logical. However, in criticizing public violence found in corporal or capital punishment in earlier years as an obvious socially inappropriate act, the socially conscious objectors of public violence were not intending to support capitalist exploitation. This exploitation has led to an anticipation of capital gain (evident by the presence of speculative prisons) from the misfortune of those prisoners of who were intended to be protecting from public violence. Speculative prisons, however, reaches further into a critically dangerous area that requires not only the taking of liberty for wealth, but encompasses a need for this population of captives to increase in order to be profitable. Tough crime legislation accomplishes this well. The intent of prisons was initially for moral and social advancements in society and has been replaced by the intent to exploit humans for capital.

The attempts to gain capital by taking away liberty and/or creating cheap labor are evident researching Georgia legislative bills such as HB 398 – State and county penal institutions; certain inmate labor; authorize and HB 1173 – Inmate voluntary labor;

privately owned profit-making employers. Browne explains the nature of the influence on “authorized” and “voluntary” in such prison labor scenarios writing:

In the 1990s, the California Department of Corrections (CDoC) maintains that convict labor is only a peripheral program within the larger system of confinement and punishment of convicts. However, the Prison Industry Authority (PIA) is a multi-million dollar industry that is dependent on the productivity of California prisoners. As inmates are classified for placement in an institution, they are surveyed for almost 50 different work skills, from appliance repair to x-ray technician, to determine which institution they should be placed in. Clearly, the experience and work skills these convicts already have coming into the institution counter the notion that convict labor programs are about job training and education.

The Department of Corrections maintains that work in the institution is voluntary; however, each day worked reduces a prisoner's sentence by one day. Therefore, those who refuse to work will serve twice as long a sentence as the convicts who agree to work. In addition, the "Work/Privilege Group" classification process further punishes prisoners who refuse to work. There are four work/privilege classifications for prisoners: A = full time work, B = half-time work/waiting list, C = refuses to work, D = special segregation unit prisoners. The prisoner who refuse to work, labeled as Group C, is "not entitled to family visits, and are limited to one-fourth of the maximum monthly canteen draw. Telephone calls are permitted only on an emergency basis as determined by the institution's staff. While access to the yard is allowed, no special packages or access to other recreational or entertainment activities are allowed." These extreme coercive tactics contradict the claim that labor is voluntary.⁸

Pro-private prison advocates ignore conflict in the capitalist misconception of open competition ensuring quality of service when compared to the non-competitive status of state and federal incarceration institutions. The exclusion of valid competition among private entities makes this theory pure rhetoric riding on the capitalistic ideology and creates a sphere for the exploitation of the poor and minority population by a few private prison companies in the state. This sphere has also led to the ability of a select few to tempt desperate rural economies with speculative prisons.

Since private prison companies, CCA and Wackenhut (private prison companies) only build speculative prisons, they can further take advantage of the uncompetitive free market, rural areas and poor and minority in Georgia and beyond. The facility in McRae, Georgia is an example of the amoral influence of speculative prisons and their flux on political and economic decisions in rural and economically deprived areas. As stated earlier, *The Macon Telegraph* (May 11, 2002) informed:

The Georgia Senate Corrections, Correctional Institutions and Property Committee in March 2001 voted against a House proposal that would have prohibited criminals from other states from being brought into Georgia, and would have banned the construction of new speculative prisons. The measure had previously passed the House. “My vote was influenced by 400 jobs,” Coleman said, referring to the possibility of new jobs for Telfair County. The $45 million, 1,500-bed McRae jail had sat vacant since its completion. Telfair business and community leaders have promoted the prison as a way to create jobs for the area, which has been hit hard with layoffs in recent years. The McRae prison is expected to employ about 455 people.9

The influence of the speculative prison is openly admitted by Rep. Coleman and its presence was for jobs at the expense of inmates’ liberty. The statement of Rep. Coleman indicates an attempt to revive an economy from the misery of others; inmates who shall prove to be poor, minority and disproportionately incarcerated. Speculative prisons are an undeniable threat to the liberty of poor people and minorities to ensure profitability over all matter regardless of whether the inmates are illegal immigrants, or unjustly incarcerated blacks. Profit is the bottom line. Many may argue that the courts denied the liberty of these inmates and not private prisons, but the courts are public entities in a democracy given power by the people (with the exception of the Supreme Court where *Marbury v. Madison* [1803] was the empowering force). The citizens did not

---

grant private prisons the authority to deny liberty and it is a matter too critical to be divided out in the capitalist market, definitely weakening governmental protection.

The relevance of speculative prisons is comparable to the inherent status of the slave system in antebellum Georgia. Their similarities and differences grant an understanding of the role each play within their institutions; slavery and private prisons. Slaves passed their status as slaves to their off-spring through a matrilineal chattel system. Whoever owned the mothers, owned the children as well. It was known with a great degree of certainty who mothered a child and their African ancestry negates any challenge to their status. There was no doubt that within the law of man and the law of nature, as they were, that slavery would continue as long as nature took its reproductive course and the institution stayed prosperous.

Speculative prisons, however, have to ensure profits and the best way to do so is to ensure that incarceration occurs. Owners of private prisons want to convince lawmakers to support laws that ensure incarcerations, especially of a group with little protective concern from the larger community. And again, the African ancestry negates challenging status via racism. Incarcerating poor people and minorities is aimed at accomplishing profit with little resistance. For political reasons, politicians support tough crime legislation, racial profiling is non-existent and the war on drugs is a great moral idea. Both slavery and speculative prisons depended on continuous captivity to ensure a profitable business. Media sets the climate for the over-incarceration of poor people and minorities in present day profit-driven captivity by the constantly negative image it
displays of the group also done for profits by increasing its ratings. The aim to ensure profit is evident in the research produced stating:

The possibility of bankruptcy has excited much concern regarding private imprisonment, but this has not yet been a problem in the industry. The few exceptions involved some small firms that speculated by building facilities in the absence of contracts with an agency. Public correctional agencies should nonetheless seek to protect themselves against the untoward consequences of bankruptcy by means of proper monitoring and careful contracting.¹⁰

With no strong opposing PACs against over-incarcerating black men in Georgia, poor and minority citizens are at the mercy of policemen using their judgment which is too often tainted by racial profiling, judicial lack of discretion due to mandatory minimums, and the war on drugs being in full-fledged function. If they fall victim to one, any, or all of these occurrences they may be off to private prisons with the goal of keeping prison beds full as cheaply as possible and possibly used as a source of cheap labor. More non-violent prisoners are incarcerated than necessary as mandatory minimums ensure lengthy sentences. Just as public incarceration agencies seek to protect themselves against "the untoward consequences of bankruptcy," so do private prison owners seek to protect themselves by generating criminals to fill their beds.

These new laws damage the liberty of blacks as harshly as the Plessey v. Ferguson (1896) decision that made moot the Fourteenth Amendment. The new laws acceptably eradicate the Thirteenth Amendment by adopting the two strikes laws and mandatory minimums which entrap a specific group of criminals (poor and minorities) that are mainly non-violent and create longer and (for prison owners) more profitable jail

time. The victim and the goal remained the same, but the Amendment’s intent was changed to focus on its exception to exploit those intended to be protected, reflecting a century of oppression in America for blacks.

**Legal Issues**

The legal issues in accepting private prisons appear to be all but settled by keeping the public ignorant of a true threat to everyone’s constitutional rights. Acceptance is allowed by states with federal regulations observed. This “state actor” treatment granted private prisons is an undoubtedly protective advantage for private prison companies and would be challenged for legality had the victims not been a powerless group without a PAC. The Supreme Court appears to support the position of private prisons as Geoffrey Segal informs, “The ability to sue a private prison operator is often touted as a key benefit of privatization that increases prison quality and inmate safety. However, the Supreme Court recently declared that private prison companies that operate federal facilities cannot be sued by inmates for constitutional violations. Although federal private prison employees perform government duties, they are highly excluded from the liability protection granted to the prisons for which they work. This exclusion, then infringes upon the limits a violated prisoner may seek for personal damages. It would limit the amount of awards because individual employees could not and thus, are not expected to pay monetary amounts for damages as would the private prison company. Individuals surely would not be ensured for damages at the level of a private prison company and state laws often imitate federal laws.
Another legal concern is the altering laws on the use of force in different jurisdictions. McDonald et al. informed, “Without proper enabling legislation or contractual provisions authorizing the use of force by designated private prison officials, it is possible that such persons and their firms could face civil and criminal liability.”

One should expect several acts of unlawful behavior before any action is taken in these criminal or civil cases. Inmates will have to suffer until a relevant and secure situation climax before the public notice their debauched situation and condition in prison and situations like *Anderson v. Garner* (1998) case would evade the courts.

With restricted access of the public to private prisons, the legal protection of both inmates and their loved ones’ are restricted. Responses to complaints may be deliberately faint as private prisons exercise their privacy rights. For example, for refusing to work “voluntarily” a form of force (possibly not physical) is expected to be exercised against an inmate. Private Prison Monitors (if not influenced by private prison owners) at these facilities are the only governmental protection on the grounds that may be interested in overseeing the constitutional rights of prisoners. Their constitutional rights can be quite easily restricted because the number of prisoners and incidents will overwhelm that individual monitor.

The prison population is not the only area that privatization competes for the state’s business of justice. Sen. Carol Jackson’s sponsorship for SB 474 (Probated; suspend misdemeanor case) opened parole and probation services to privatization by essentially moving jurisdiction from state to local responsibility. To handle the increased

---

duties the local areas are more liable to use privatization. In any growing business market such as incarceration in America, capitalists become interested in not only how to profit from such an expanding market, but also how to keep this market profitable. After private prisons held stock in the stock market, the incarceration for profit business began thriving to be profitable. The sponsoring of such legislation as SB 474 is not a coincidence as claimed by Sen. Jackson and because the prison population is poor and minority it is in line with what has always been the “place” for poor and minorities. The American and Georgian prison population’s continuous increases are guaranteed profit of which investments secure wealthy businesses. Over the past four decades, the notable increase in the number of Americans who are incarcerated is un-ignorable for capitalists. The increase in prison population caused by such influences as the “war on drugs,” the mandatory minimums laws and “Two Strikes Law” has caused an incarceration increase in Georgia the same as such laws are doing nationwide. The state incarceration rate (as reported by the U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics) for the research period was as follows:

**Table 2.4. Incarceration Rate- Georgia Department of Corrections, 1970-1999**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>6726</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>12210</td>
<td>7151</td>
<td>5049</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>22345</td>
<td>14808</td>
<td>7519</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>32835</td>
<td>16749</td>
<td>8059</td>
<td>8027</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 2.3. Incarceration Rate- Georgia Department of Corrections, 1970-1999.

The disproportionate legal treatment of the poor and minorities and certain governmental functions trusted in the hands of private entities competing against the government in order to earn profits produces a large and disproportionate prison population. A proactive response embodies the cause of incarceration and disparity in incarceration and an appeal for prevention of unnecessary incarceration. A short history of denied liberty to African Americans in this state will help strengthen this argument. Although the statistical data supports the fact that racism and classism are interwoven in the state's system of justice, this short history may make constituents conscious of the
present day system of oppression that brings an ugly history into contemporary times and repeats a horrific experience for the African American community.

Plantations or Private Prisons; Similarities in Function and Goal

The final section of this chapter will examine similarities of plantation and slave conditions to that of private prisons and inmate conditions to support the argument that private prisons in contemporary Georgia are similar to plantations in antebellum Georgia. When Congress banned the importation of slaves it was commonly expected that the slave population would decrease. Other factors were capable of making such expectation a fallacy. In the contemporary system of oppression, the courts’ judges had their discretion restricted by mandatory minimums and sentencing guidelines. This was in response to the prison population being overwhelmingly disproportionately poor and minority. However, when the mandatory minimums and sentencing guidelines went into effect more poor and minority inmates were incarcerated. People were being incarcerated for petty offenses brought on by these mandatory minimums that judges’ discretion may have corrected. Factors include racial profiling, the “war on drugs,” “two strikes laws,” and the acceptance of private prisons to house victims rather than to incarcerate only those deemed threats to society.

The contemporary era has left the farm economy and the best land is not the booty it once was. Rural areas with struggling economies are the jewels sought to build private prisons so that cheap employees may be obtained. These areas are making changes (such as free sewer implementation and services, land grants, garbage collection, etc.) to nullify competition from other poor and rural areas and to attract the building of private prisons
in specific areas. These changes may harm the rural areas environmentally and/or economically. The political control comes in the form of campaign contributions issued to select politicians which essentially amounts to buying their political support. These politicians have been mentioned earlier in this research as contemporary actors of collusion with private prison owners.

The slave in contemporary oppression is the prisoner and he has already been taken from his loved ones and family and taken to far away rural areas to maximize profits. The system’s attempt to maximize profits comes in the form of prison labor supported by both state and federal legislation which was covered earlier. Refusal to work can resort to prolonged incarceration and visitation restrictions, also mentioned earlier. The media is used to depict a sinister image of the criminal black man and thus justify the over-incarceration of the group.

The contemporary sanctuary found on estates where more than thirty slaves lived is the present-day ghetto. Outside of the African American communities (ghettoes) most blacks continue to experience the sentiment of being an outcast in their majority-Eurocentric surroundings. These ghettoes are now areas that the police forces invade to regularly increase arrest rates. The survival crops cultivated have changed to drugs and the provider are no longer soil and sunlight coming from well-tended gardens, but are now small-time black drug suppliers working under big-time white drug dealers. Supply and demand operates in the ghettoes as they do in all of America. The oppressed seek drugs for recreational purposes and relief from a tyrannized condition of being black in Georgia. Supply and demand are operating in ghettos because the poor, blacks and
oppressed seek drugs which are provided by the black drug sellers in open atmospheres that are more easily detected by police surveillance as compared to private interactions of white dealers.

Black young men tend to see the policemen as threatening, and this is possibly the correct stance to take, depending on the officers. These youths participate in such acts as informing the neighborhood members when a policeman enters the community, everyone wearing white t-shirts to confuse identifications, withholding information, etc.

Community and family celebrations for those recently released from incarceration indicate distrust for the system of incarceration of blacks. How responsible can one be for resisting unequal treatment by a governing system? Similarities in plantations and private prisons are evident to anyone familiar with the African American community and American history.
CHAPTER SIX

ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL DISPARITY

"Why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in mine own house?"

W. E. B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folks, 1903

The catching phrase for the problem challenged in this section has been termed 'an un-level playing field.' The major quandary with this comparison is that teams change fields at certain intervals (innings or quarters) and game rules cannot be applied in real life. An example of wrongful use of sport to analyze life disparity is the “two strikes law” adopted in Georgia. Not only have politicians changed the game rules to fit their wishes (more detrimental punishment by using two strikes instead of three to appear tough on crime) but they never count the balls thrown to the individual in the batters’ box (racism, classism, culture rejection, hopelessness, etc.), excluding the opportunity for a free walk to the base. The world view prior to disparity is provided by Cross when he wrote:

In no part of the world was exhausted soil, stoop labor, or degrading work assigned by nature or fate to untouchable or subordinate caste. Under the original rule of open access, the best place for hunting and fishing were never restricted or allocated by a decree of nature. Within any given ecological habitat or niche each group had “an equal go.”

With the passage of time, however, the original pattern of equal access began to change. A new form of power entered the world. This was human power. Adopting the brute forces of violent power discovered in nature, tribes of men warred with each other to win superior hunting grounds or private water rights...
Racial conventions and skin-color privileges emerged whose purpose was to keep specific groups in or out of coveted places. Almost everywhere, reigning powers and privileged elites were able to enforce an uneven distribution of the world's blessing by marking themselves off inside areas of restricted entry.¹

The contemporary area has complicated disparity further to include race, class and culture which negatively influence both educational and employment opportunities. The ultimate result of these negative influences based in race, class and culture is a large and disproportionately poor and minority prison population. Making the connections between education, employment, prison, racism, classism and culture is the aim of this section of the research.

**Educating African Americans: In the Beginning**

Georgia continues to be largely divided by race and class and it is the black child that has to adapt to a new culture when they began school. For most black children, beginning school causes a major culture shock and because culture is multifaceted, it cannot be thoroughly examined in this research. The language component is too important to education not to allocate some time. Language becomes a barrier instead of a thought transferring mechanism when most black children begin school. Children can become frustrated and decline participation when they are constantly corrected while attempting to convey a thought in “Ebonics.” Amos N. Wilson explains using the words of Dillard:

---

The term “pidgin” is not well understood, and many people feel – without cause – insulted when told that their ancestors depended upon such language. From the point of view of the linguist, such a feeling is irrational. A pidgin language has rules (regular principles of sentence construction) like any other language. Syntactic rules of a high order of regularity can be written for any pidgin, and those rules will generate an infinite number of sentences... In short, pidgins are not formed by distortions of the syntactic patterns of the “standard” language, even if the prejudice of Europeans has usually led them to conclude that this is true... It (pidgin) is designed to be used by diverse linguistic groups. It tends to “lose” or “rid itself of”... the more finicky, trivial features of language... Pidgin English doesn’t have all those irksome irregular verbs.2

It can easily be argued that disparity begins prior to birth; because of racism in American society, the black mother has poor prenatal care and the black father struggles to be a provider (if present and not incarcerated). This will not be expounded upon in this research because of time restrictions. Society should begin a proactive effort to prevent deviance at the start of a child’s education. Making education culturally inclusive by equally embracing the prior experiences of all early elementary students to include speech, dance, music, art, beliefs, and etc., can minimize deviance. Teaching children to accept diversity without negative connotations at an early age will create a more harmonious society. Teachers must learn to be effective and affectionate teachers using a culturally inclusive teaching perspective in Georgia’s multicultural classrooms.

Education is set up in a manner that those in the most affluent neighborhoods will receive better educations depending on the mil system. A percentage of a $200,000 home (an example of middle class property value) and the same percentage of a $50,000 home (an example of lower class property value) yield four times more funding for education held at the same mil rate. This perpetuates class and racial benefits for the wealthy,

normally white students. States are able to control most of the educating influence because of the Tenth Amendment of the Constitution which states "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people." A state system could equalize some of the disparity by collecting state-wide funds and ensuring that all the state's schools are equally funded. The U.S. Constitution and its elasticity has again denied African Americans equal protection guaranteed by the Thirteenth Amendment by allowing the state to provide poorly funded education to poor and minorities based on property taxes.

**Education and Incarceration**

Education obtainment has been depicted as the root of economic and social success. Historically, blacks in Georgia have been denied equal access to education. This denial ensured that blacks were kept as second class citizens by implementing economic limits through limited education. Ensuring ignorance plays a major role in socializing a group of people and it encourages deviant behavior whether for survival reasons or to boost self-worth and image. The deviant act is what authority reacts to rather than the root cause of the problem which is fostered by ignorance and the exclusion of a group of citizens from unrestricted participation in society's opportunities. Incarceration makes the system in Georgia reactive rather than proactive to deviance. As stated by Cross, "in almost any society education and instruction are important means of coming to power. Equally, the denial of education – or the use of education or instruction for repressive
indoctrination or manipulation – is a significant means of restricting liberty and curbing access to power.”

First, the research delivers historical restrictions to education for blacks in Georgia. Some of these restrictions include:

- Prohibiting slaves from learning in Georgia
- In post slavery, teachers for blacks were under-prepared, underpaid and many had low expectations of students
- Compulsory attendance laws were enforced for whites but not for blacks who had their education interrupted during planting and harvesting seasons so Black students were able to perform laborious tasks, thus enriching others economically but limiting themselves
- Buses were provided for white students, but not for blacks
- Blacks had inferior buildings, equipment and supplies in segregated schools
- Mis-education prepared blacks to serve whites
- No information about black intellectuals, statesmen or military heroes was taught in black schools
- No information about commerce, retailing or accounting was taught in black schools

Next, the research advances in time monitoring education in Georgia. These were early forms of repression that restricted the civil rights of blacks in the state. Cross further states, “It did not matter if one set out to acquire the education of a W.E.B. DuBois, or of an illiterate sharecropper. Both were equally excluded from the rights of commerce and employment that comes from successful educational attainments.” Segregated schools, often developed from segregating neighborhoods, offered a glimpse of hope and opportunity for poor whites that went to white schools and ensured a tough educational process for capable blacks who went to black schools. This was the same as a caste system before Brown v. the Board of Education, Topeka (1954). Integrated schools

4. Ibid., 127-128.
5. Ibid., 129.
continued to segregate notable by their remedial or special educational courses being filled with blacks and slow-learning whites. These practices made most blacks appear, feel and in time, likely would become inferior to their white counter parts. Information compiled by the U.S. Department of Education – Office For Civil Rights Elementary and Secondary School Civil Rights Compliance Report stated the following in relation to the *Racial Inequalities in Special Education* (September, 2003) comparing black students and white students:

**Table 3.1. Education Disparity, 1998, 2000 & 2003**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Black/White Under &amp; Over Representation by Gifted, Mental Retardation, and Suspensions</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enroll %</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gifted %</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MR %</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susp. %</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 3.1. Education Disparity, 1998, 2000 & 2003*
Cross found disparity in education that compares blacks, whites and poverty in 1984. He displayed data that found white family heads with four years of high school were in poverty 7.5% while black family heads at the same education level were in poverty 25.5%. White family heads with one or more years of college were in poverty 3.9% while black family heads at the same education level were in poverty 15.8%.\(^6\) Disparity grew between blacks and whites with education by .65%. Education for African Americans did not lessen poverty for them in 1984 and it is believed that racism played a major role in these findings. Cross exemplifies the role of race in social and economic construct writing:

The codes of racial subordination nullified the value of black education. They removed the career advantages usually derived by acquiring skills and training. They devalue any interest blacks might make in accumulating savings or capital. The racial code undermined self-confidence, chilled human ambitions, and convicted black people in advance of a predisposition to be stupid, lazy and inept. The rules of race defamed black labor and disparaged its produce and entrepreneurship. They made a virtue of human apathy while punishing or ignoring qualities of daring, imagination, and willingness to take risk. The rules of race defended privilege and tended to improve the fortunes of under-serving people. By closing down the routes to conventional economic gain, the code of race often turned people towards underground or criminal economic activity rather than in the direction of socially valuable and productive work. Finally, the rules of race legislated unequal competitive power under which the economic lifeline of black people was threatened unless they asked for favors, demanded tribute, or accepted gratuities from the powerful.\(^7\)

This research examines data on education in Georgia and compares it with data on education of the prison population in Georgia. Although the general population began to measure education at age twenty five, the state prison population includes prisoners as young as eighteen years old. The information displayed will have a gap between the two

---

7. Ibid., 136.
populations from age eighteen to age twenty four. However, the data is thorough enough to make viable generalizations on the relation between education achievement and incarceration. Data compiled from “A Joint Project between the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Bureau of the Census” along with that of “Census Scope” allowed for the compilation of the following table and figure.8

Table 3.2. Education Disparity, 1990 – 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of School Completed by males 25 &amp; Over in 2000 and Educational Attainment 1990-2000 in Georgia</th>
<th>All Levels</th>
<th>B.A or more</th>
<th>College less B.A.</th>
<th>H.S. Grad.</th>
<th>No H.S. Diploma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25 – 34</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 – 54</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 – 64</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 &amp; over</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990*</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000*</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.2. Education Disparity, 1990 – 2000

Figure 3.3. Education Disparity, 1990 & 2000

Although poverty increased for those with no high school diploma (figure 3.2), something catastrophic occurs for the 25 – 34 age group, which is the group more prone to incarceration. The youngest group with no high school diploma is experiencing the highest level of poverty. Deviance is an inviting alternative in such a situation but the data also identifies this as a crucial point where educational and economic intervention is needed. Jobs and education incentives sponsored by state government’s social programs would be a proactive response to these findings. In comparing poverty by the decade, a longitudinal snapshot (figure 3.3), poverty has increased from 1990 to 2000 for those who hold a B.A. or B.S. or more and those with some college but no B.A. or B.S.
Amazingly, poverty decreased for those with only a high school diploma and those with no diploma. Education is obviously not the only factor in economic obtainment according to this data.

*Economic Disparity and Incarceration*

Economic inequality is as American as apple pie as far as blacks are concerned and has been around just as long as American apple pie as well. The system of slavery brought massive prosperity to many in America except those producing the labor, black slaves. The institution of slavery was replaced with another oppressive system for the poor and minority termed sharecropping. Normally, the sharecroppers were ex-slaves and their descendants. African Americans have often been forced to fill a role in America of making others wealthy. As time advanced blacks found themselves in a contemporary oppression intertwined with racism, classism, education disparity and economic disparity. These conditions are leading to massive incarceration of black men, interesting investors to focus on private prisons, keeping blacks in the role of making wealth for others and creating a vulture effect between the black man and private prison owners. In “Losing Our Future: How Minority Youth Are Being Left Behind by the Graduation Rate Crisis” the research explored the disparity found in inadequate education and economic instability and the condition’s contribution to the incarcerated population.9 The authors wrote:

The number of jobs offering livable wages for individuals without high school diplomas grows fewer each year, as demonstrated by the rapid shrinkage of the

---

industrial work force, which lost 2.3 million jobs since 1991. In 2001 the unemployment rate for dropouts 25 years old and over was almost 75 percent higher than for high school graduates – 7.3 percent versus 4.2 percent. Approximately, two thirds of all state prisons inmates have not completed high school.¹⁰

The condition of high unemployment for black men in a patriarchal society does not serve as an excuse for deviance, but such a condition can be expected to influence the chance of deviance. Combined with racism, which carries effects such as racial profiling and virtual support from politicians passing tough crime legislation, black men are being disproportionately incarcerated. The undereducated and culturally disconnected are being unemployed by technology, foreigners (with jobs outsourcing overseas in the globalization scheme), racism, and hopelessness. Economic support from unemployment benefits grants little relief. (See Appendix Five for details).

Figure 3.4. Unemployment Disparity

¹⁰ Gaiy Orfield, Daniel Losen, Johanna Wald, and Christopher B. Swanson. Losing Our Future, 6.
This cross-sectional analysis indicates that while black men’s average unemployment rate in the state stood at 7.64, white men’s average unemployment rate was 2.98. At the same time, black men’s average unemployment distribution percentage was 18.19 while white men’s was 28.18. The employment statuses of inmates at the time of their arrests support the fact that underemployment and unemployment are factors in incarceration. These statuses are self-reported, therefore, are more than likely higher than actually reported because judges are known to not look favorable at the unemployed criminal and the reporting criminals are aware of such.

Table 3.3. Employment Disparity in the Prison Population 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FY 2000 Prison Admission Self-Reported Employment Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>full time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.5. Employment Disparity in the Prison Population 2000
Economic problems have been the center of controversy in society throughout Georgia’s history. Although fifty-eight percent of the incarcerated population was employed full time, they were likely under-employed and not a member of the economic middle class or above. Students represent the smallest portion of those incarcerated possibly because they had not yet become hopeless as they were preparing for their futures at the time of incarceration.

The infamous war on poverty was an earlier attempt by government to economically stabilize society by alleviating poverty, which leads to deviant behavior. Looking at why this attempt failed (failure is evident by the existence of poverty today) would be reasonable to avoid repeating mistakes and salvaging possible benefits of those programs’ previous attempts. Such examination can determine if the war on poverty should be reignited or abolished for an all new approach at attacking poverty and reducing the incarcerated population.

The War on Poverty: Part Two

“This administration today, here and now, declares unconditional war on poverty in America.” Lyndon B. Johnson

Though the overall war is seen as a failure by some, programs that evolved from the war have been instrumental in improving the lives of many oppressed Americans.

Some of these familiar beneficial programs and their contributions to social improvements include:

- **The U.S. Voting Rights Act of 1965** – It outlawed requiring would-be voters to take literacy tests and provided for federal registration of African American voters in areas that had less than 50% of eligible of eligible voters registered.
• The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD [PL 89-174]) – It is a Cabinet department of the U.S. government to develop and execute policy on housing.

• The Job Corps – A program in the U.S. administered by the U.S. federal government Department of Labor and run by various agencies for disadvantaged and at-risk youth to give them a job and social skills to succeed in the workforce.

• The Upward Bound – A program of the U.S. Department of Education, the goal of which to give intelligent children who are in categories that make them less likely to attend college (such as low income, parents who didn’t attend college, and living in rural areas) the tools they need to get into, pay for, and succeed in college.

• The Head Start – A program of the U.S. government’s Department of Health and Human Services which focuses on assisting low-income children, through five years of age, so they are prepared for school.

The accomplishments of these programs are well known by the general public in granting blacks access to voting, housing, jobs, and education; however, conservative opponents are eager to expound on failures in the war. James Payne, the author of Overcoming Welfare: Expecting More from the Poor and from Ourselves (Basic Books, 1998), seemingly gloats over the war’s failed attempts using third hand information in his article “Why the War on Poverty Failed.” Payne quoted an article in the New York Times by Michael Janofsky on poverty in rural Kentucky stating, “The war on poverty was the worst thing that ever happened to Appalachia...It gave people a way to get by without having to do any work.” Local officials told him that “many parents urge their children to try to go to special education classes at school as a way to prove they are eligible for SSI disability benefits.

In Payne’s exacerbated attempt to under-mind the war on poverty he failed to recognize the obvious lack of opportunity that should have come with more relief from the war’s programs. Not only does such fragile support against the war on poverty by Payne’s stance belittle the poor in that area, it also indicates that the programs may not have gone far enough to ensure the poor people in the Appalachia area real independence. Government jobs with livable wages creating something beneficial to society (for example producing clothes and food for the nation’s poor) would be a way to adjust to the area’s problem and produce more solutions for other impoverished Americans. Not accepting the hearsay of parents intentionally getting their children into special education for SSI money, but the inability to secure income is the problem. Are they expected to receive an education before going on to accomplish poverty status? Unfortunately, this may be a way for the impoverished to get something out of education in a land with no opportunities (the Appalachia). Keeping Americans afraid of socialist behavior and protecting the capability of capitalist exploitation takes precedence over true relief from poverty and building self-reliance and sociable society.

People with the mindset of Payne are often far removed from the battlefields of the war on poverty, which are ghettos and rural areas. Willie L. Brown Jr., speaker of California State Assembly, is more familiar with the battlefields and the need to adjust rather than withdraw. He shares this understanding in his article, “Two Faces of Black America: The War on Poverty Isn’t Over.” Speaking of the “other” black American he states:

This black America is made up largely of second and third generation welfare recipients who seem hopelessly mired in the ghetto. Commonly, poor black families have no working male in the household. Six of 10 poor children are raised by their mothers alone. These ghetto children have no middle-class examples to imitate. Those black Americans who climb the economic ladder usually leave for the better quality of life offered by the suburbs... Too often, the role models left to poor black youngsters are the ghetto economic successes: Pimps, hustlers, drug pushers, prostitutes and career criminals. 13

This goes back to the children being products of their environments which for poor people and minorities are often littered with pimps, hustlers, drug pushers, prostitutes and career criminals. In believing that behavior is a combination of both genetics and stimulation from one's environment, outsiders such as Payne boost the racist and class-based belief that poor people and minorities are more prone to deviance and the cause is all genetic. The government cannot change the genetic make-up of citizens; however, it can make serious attempts to change dire environments and even family structures of poor people and minorities. Brown states, “... we must go further and change AFDC laws to encourage fathers to stay with their families so they can become role models for their children. We should not force fathers to leave as a price of families receiving benefits.” The proactive aim should be on determining why people become pimps, hustlers, drug pushers, prostitutes and career criminals and what are effective and moral methods of changing these conditions, not more jail space by way of private prisons.

We have heard Payne’s opinion on educating the poor. He is more concerned about them attempting to use special education to increase their insufficient income rather

---

than why they are not being sufficiently educated. Brown places concern on the value of education and what it provides writing:

Black students are not failing school, but schools are failing them. This failure is seen in the countless young people who graduate from high school functionally illiterate... For minorities who do manage to graduate from college, the economic blows continue: their starting salaries typically equal that of white high school graduates. The message to poor minority youth is clear and damning: "You can’t get in. And if you do, it may not be worth the effort." 14

It is apparent that these two gentlemen are from two different schools of thought. These differences have been identified as the systemic perspective (liberal) and the individualist view (conservative) by F. Allan Hanson in his article “How Poverty Lost Its Meaning.” 15 Liberals ascribe to the systemic perspective that influences Brown. Hanson defines this position of liberals stating, “Poor people are in their unfortunate condition due to circumstances beyond their control. Because the source of poverty lies in the socioeconomic system, the solution to it must also be at the societal level: large-scale interventions to rectify the systemic inequalities.” 16 He also defines the position of conservatives embraced by Payne stating, “...poverty is at bottom an individual problem. Able-bodied poor should take responsibility for their own lives and extricate themselves from poverty by getting and holding a job.” 17

The argument embraced by this study is that poverty has an effect on over incarceration and the war on drugs should be refocused to the war on poverty. To the dismay of the poor and minority, the initial war on poverty may have been born out of an attempt to gain credit for an unclaimed positive change in society. The war on poverty

16. Ibid., 191.
17. Ibid., 191.
was introduced by President Johnson after a sharp decline in poverty was identified. Also the Vietnam War being financed took precedence over the war on poverty being financed, just as the War in Iraq would today. A new war on poverty may be effective only if resources are correctly allocated towards humanity instead of war, the correct school of thought is adopted and the new war is engendered in a sincere effort to make a better society for all Americans.

Findings

The findings embody theories and tested hypothesis for each researched chapters four, five and six, and are presented in this area.

Chapter # 4, Theory # 1

The theory is that politicians are influenced by lobbyists, economies and election efforts to support and/or vote for bills that led to over-incarceration of poor minorities and the usual residence rule in Georgia.

Hypothesis

The examination of politician, their district’s economies and relationships with actors of influences on political decisions is conducted seeking reactive or proactive responses.

Politicians identified by contributions from private prisons were found to be in districts where unemployment is around state average with the exception of Rep. Coleman’s district. At the measured time (1996 – 2000) his district was experiencing a 7.6% unemployment rate while the state averaged a 4.2 rate. He openly supported
creating jobs in his district by opening prisons to employ people, an economically driven reactive decision that will do nothing to prevent crime as proactive responses. This politician was found to have a political behavior that is conservative and embraces the individualist perspective. He is the only politician that has significantly gained from his district’s enumeration rate.

Rep. Walker demonstrated a reactive behavior to the problem, when in a meeting, Sen. Hooks suggested using rural impoverished areas to build prisons in order to be more competitive with private prisons. Rep. Walker suggested using funds previously used for overtime pay for salary increases for guards to compete with private prisons, a reactive and economic based response. Other than a CPN number reflective of individualistic perspective, nothing was found to further implicate him.

Rep. Channell is being encroached by the Provident Foundation, Inc. to build a relationship after the company bought D. Ray James Prison in his district. Rep. Buck was identified for a high incarceration level in his district caused by inadequate provisions for indigent defense. Contributions were made to his campaign prior to the legislative protection of indigents. These were temptations for persuading politicians to make the right economic decision for private groups. This politician has not displayed a political behavior concurrent with liberals and the systemic perspective.

Rep. Buck received the largest amount for campaign contribution from private prison source of all candidates examined. He may have been the target of a planned exploitation for incarcerating indigents in private prisons before the Alabama v. Shelton (2002) decision protected the group’s liberty. There was not adequate information to
characterize Rep. Buck’s political behavior as ascribing to the individualistic perspective other than his CPN.

Sen. Jackson sponsored a bill (SB 474) that two immoral and criminal lobbyists (Ray and Whitworth) supported for private prisons to advance business adventures in the state. The bill makes it highly probable for private incarceration businesses to take over parole and probation at local levels by moving these responsibilities from the state to local governments. Economic and lobbyist influenced reactive decision was evident because of campaign contributions to Sen. Jackson and payments to lobbyists Ray and Whitworth for their successful attempt to open probation to privatization. She obviously submits to the individualist perspective determined by her political behavior and CPN.

Chapter #5, Theory # 2

The theory is that a relationship exists in the rise and use of private prisons from changes in public policies.

Hypothesis

The hypothesis is that new public policies (such as tough crime legislation two strikes laws and mandatory minimum sentencing and the war on drugs) have caused prison over-crowding. Private prison owners detected an opportunity to exploit the situation for capital and began lobbying for tough crime legislation and the inception of their prisons.

Prisons in Georgia began to become over-crowded when the war on drugs and tough crime laws were implemented by the state (1980 to present). By the late 1990s the state had contracted with two private prison companies to build and operate three private
prisons. Violent crime decreased while incarceration increased due to change in public policy and the determination of private prison companies to take advantage of bad public policy for capital. The aforementioned new laws tend to affect citizens disproportionately by race and class with help from the demagogues of the media. Non-violent poor and minority criminals are being over-incarcerated during a time when crime rates were dropping. Incarcerations rate are not responding to criminal activity, but are driven rather, by capitalism. This solves an old problem of if a slave is a thing (owned) or a human (a person). It allows prisoners be human, but once again, not truly owning his labor.

Speculative prisons rely on over-incarceration and therefore, look to exploit poor people and minorities who are disproportionately affected by these over-incarcerating public policies. Public policies that lead to unnecessary increased incarcerations expose prisoners in private prisons to legal issues are hindered by governmental protections. The prisoner is encouraged to work for very little money and live in a dangerous environment. These facilities are exceptionally similar to plantations and in the end private prisons persuade cheap labor from inmates for shorter incarceration periods. Although the moral stipulation of the inception of private prisons is not thoroughly examined by this research, it should be continuously noted as such research is conducted, least fairness in freedom and the morality of the state is in jeopardy.

Chapter #6, Theory #3

The theory is that education and income improvements and opportunities for poor and minorities in Georgia would be a viable proactive response to over-incarceration.
Hypothesis

The prison population has characteristics of being unemployed or under employed and under-educated. These conditions lead individuals to deviance to escape poverty that would otherwise be unnecessary.

Blacks have received inferior education in Georgia according to earlier history and the situation has not equalized in education for blacks in contemporary times. Blacks in Georgia prisons are less educated and earn less as a whole compared to Georgians as a whole. Blacks are unemployed at a higher rate, yet they receive less relief from unemployment compensations. The incarcerated population in Georgia is overwhelmingly unemployed or underemployed and under-educated, helping to affect blacks disproportionately. The more educated and better employed citizens are the less prone they are to become prisoners as indicated by the prison population.

A new war on poverty can effectively attack these problems. A new war on poverty must be implemented but it must take priority over other financial escapades of the government. Many programs from the first war on poverty can be effective if the second attempt is genuine and policy makers are committed to proactive solutions to crime and over-incarceration.

Conclusion

Lobbyists’ clandestine relationships with politicians and the fact that many lobbyists were once politicians themselves, is problematic. They are endowed with influence and ability to close most everyone out of their inner circle of dealings. Anti-
private prison advocates and supporters of poor people and minorities' rights will most always be outside of this circle. These relations make it quite difficult to prove collusion between politicians and lobbyists on private prisons, tough crime legislation and any other matter these parties partake.

The virtual re-enslavement of blacks in Georgia must be exposed for the same reason racism and bigotry was exposed in the 1950s: to grant liberty to all. The media will not be as effective a tool to expose the re-enslavement because it shares some of the guilt for depicting black men as criminals for ratings (capital gains). Also, private prisons may restrict access of the media and too many choices on television may limit the percentage of viewers if they choose to watch a different channel. Surely not all stations will carry such stories since the great capitalists own the media. The image of black Georgians being over-incarcerated does not appear to be degrading enough to lend credence to proactive solutions to crime. The Criminal Justice System is reacting to conditions caused by racism and classism that negatively impact the black man. When the black man reacts (wrongly or not) to resist these conditions he becomes a criminal and is locked away and capital is made without the influence of proactive solutions. This goes back to the American way, contending that it is more acceptable to hold blacks in desolate conditions than any other race for capital and social differences (slavery). Jews would never be exposed to conditions as familiar to Holocaust conditions as private prisons are to plantations. This thesis cannot solve the problem because the history of the black man in America makes such thinking a fallacy. Only the ability to make the masses conscious can begin the process of ending the second enslavement of blacks in America.
The direct solution is equal to suicide because it is a complete and full-fledged revolution by poor people and minorities (not a racial justice act or a war on poverty), power and freedom are not given, but taken.

The problem is not new and neither is the solution: successful separation. History reveals beliefs found earlier in 1868 when the Honorable Bishop Henry McNeal Turner voiced his opposition to the ejection of himself and other blacks to the Georgia Assembly when he stated:

"Do you know any instance in the world's history where a people shut out from all honorable positions, from being kings and queens, lords, dukes, presidents, governors, mayors, generals and all positions of honor and trust by reason of their race, ever amount to anything? No sir, I will answer for you. There is no instance on record, except where preceded by revolution. People must have one like them on high. Jesus Christ had to take upon himself our very nature before his plan of redemption was a success. It required a God-man on the throne of the universe to awaken and inspire the world. And till we have black men in the seat of power, respect, honored, beloved, feared, hated and reverenced, our young men will never rise for the reason they will never look up... as she [America] owes us forty billions of dollars for actual service rendered, estimating one hundred dollars a year for two million of us for two hundred years... I would like to take yearly those who are sent to the penitentiary, hung or lynched for nothing. With them alone I could establish a government, build a country and raise a national symbol that could give character to our people everywhere. Empty to me your jails and penitentiaries and in ten years I will give you a country before which your theories will pale and disappear."  

Any genuine solution void of better funding for education throughout the state must include HBCUs, since blacks have better completion rates at these institutions. A suitable minimum wages for all state citizens will constitute a second failure of the war on poverty. African Americans have proven themselves capable citizens by simply surviving in such a hostile environment. The far-fetched belief that blacks will either be

embraced by Georgia’s society without bias is too much to expect using history as a
reference. It is also hopeless to expect relief from reparations that the federal government
will grant to the descendants of slaves according to contemporary political behavior.

Adopting a racial justice act, equalizing employment and educational
opportunities and awarding reparations for blacks are massive tasks that are highly
improbable. What is virtually impossible is the real solution, changing of a people’s hart
to eliminate racism. More than a century after Dr. DuBois recognized the importance of
the color line dividing the society, this problem is covertly manifesting itself in the new
enslavement of the black man in America. Although the class line is evident, the race line
dominates in America’s policy making. The situation answers the pre-emancipation
question of what to do with the freed Negro: re-enslave them.
APPENDIX A

Employment Disparity

Georgia Unemployment Rate & Distributions for Black & White Males by County

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Black Male Unemp. Rate</th>
<th>White Male Unemp. Rate</th>
<th>Black Male Distribution %</th>
<th>White Male Distribution %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appling</td>
<td>11.32</td>
<td>6.08</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atkinson</td>
<td>10.09</td>
<td>6.88</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>37.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacon</td>
<td>25.62</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>26.07</td>
<td>20.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>7.82</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>35.56</td>
<td>5.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baldwin</td>
<td>8.22</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>29.02</td>
<td>16.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banks</td>
<td>6.21</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>2.93</td>
<td>55.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrow</td>
<td>5.12</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>7.54</td>
<td>36.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartow</td>
<td>8.65</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>8.35</td>
<td>46.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben Hill</td>
<td>6.53</td>
<td>5.13</td>
<td>13.62</td>
<td>33.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berrien</td>
<td>9.89</td>
<td>4.09</td>
<td>7.96</td>
<td>36.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibb</td>
<td>8.52</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>29.84</td>
<td>17.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bleckley</td>
<td>5.47</td>
<td>2.77</td>
<td>13.17</td>
<td>33.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brantley</td>
<td>9.06</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>53.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooks</td>
<td>11.27</td>
<td>4.55</td>
<td>34.93</td>
<td>28.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bryan</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>7.84</td>
<td>36.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulloch</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>2.04</td>
<td>15.65</td>
<td>30.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burke</td>
<td>11.17</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td>28.49</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butts</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>3.35</td>
<td>26.52</td>
<td>25.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calhoun</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>32.71</td>
<td>4.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camden</td>
<td>5.22</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>19.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candler</td>
<td>10.25</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>29.53</td>
<td>6.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carroll</td>
<td>6.72</td>
<td>2.78</td>
<td>10.47</td>
<td>32.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catoosa</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>52.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlton</td>
<td>10.08</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>30.39</td>
<td>15.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chatham</td>
<td>6.16</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>21.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chattahoochee</td>
<td>8.62</td>
<td>4.01</td>
<td>16.42</td>
<td>12.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chattooga</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>3.05</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>48.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherokee</td>
<td>5.07</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>51.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarke</td>
<td>4.66</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>18.22</td>
<td>27.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay</td>
<td>11.68</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>42.75</td>
<td>13.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clayton</td>
<td>6.07</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>18.43</td>
<td>26.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinch</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>5.28</td>
<td>28.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cobb</td>
<td>4.26</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>8.12</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>9.03</td>
<td>2.76</td>
<td>16.32</td>
<td>22.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colquitt</td>
<td>11.77</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>17.08</td>
<td>24.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td>4.48</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>7.27</td>
<td>31.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>4.34</td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>11.48</td>
<td>31.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coweta</td>
<td>5.29</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>13.35</td>
<td>30.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crawford</td>
<td>8.24</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>24.52</td>
<td>23.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crisp</td>
<td>10.96</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>27.54</td>
<td>12.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dade</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawson</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>41.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decatur</td>
<td>11.44</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>30.95</td>
<td>13.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dekalb</td>
<td>6.24</td>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>31.73</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dodge</td>
<td>5.49</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>33.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dooly</td>
<td>8.12</td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td>24.35</td>
<td>18.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dougherty</td>
<td>10.87</td>
<td>2.77</td>
<td>31.66</td>
<td>12.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>3.05</td>
<td>39.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early</td>
<td>9.99</td>
<td>2.71</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>12.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Echols</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5.62</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>59.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effingham</td>
<td>10.66</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>21.52</td>
<td>35.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elbert</td>
<td>18.42</td>
<td>4.93</td>
<td>30.89</td>
<td>25.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emanuel</td>
<td>5.41</td>
<td>9.31</td>
<td>5.74</td>
<td>39.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
<td>Population</td>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>Income</td>
<td>Median Home Value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evans</td>
<td>9.53</td>
<td>2.77</td>
<td>26.36</td>
<td>23.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fannin</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>60.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayette</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>40.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floyd</td>
<td>7.64</td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>11.34</td>
<td>33.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forsyth</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>41.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td>6.96</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>9.04</td>
<td>33.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulton</td>
<td>6.27</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>34.95</td>
<td>13.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilmer</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glascock</td>
<td>17.16</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>38.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glynn</td>
<td>8.27</td>
<td>1.97</td>
<td>23.74</td>
<td>23.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gordon</td>
<td>6.87</td>
<td>3.59</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>50.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grady</td>
<td>9.85</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>21.75</td>
<td>24.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greene</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>32.21</td>
<td>12.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwinnett</td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>2.07</td>
<td>4.42</td>
<td>45.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habersham</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.31</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>1.87</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hancock</td>
<td>14.49</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>54.67</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haralson</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>41.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harris</td>
<td>5.63</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>23.46</td>
<td>32.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hart</td>
<td>12.67</td>
<td>4.28</td>
<td>23.87</td>
<td>42.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heard</td>
<td>10.14</td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td>10.05</td>
<td>31.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>4.01</td>
<td>1.79</td>
<td>8.89</td>
<td>42.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houston</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>11.69</td>
<td>25.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irwin</td>
<td>5.59</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>12.02</td>
<td>22.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>5.18</td>
<td>1.89</td>
<td>8.64</td>
<td>35.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jasper</td>
<td>4.48</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>18.21</td>
<td>25.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeff Davis</td>
<td>15.71</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>15.49</td>
<td>27.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>12.99</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>33.51</td>
<td>10.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenkins</td>
<td>8.94</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>23.91</td>
<td>18.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td>15.72</td>
<td>5.98</td>
<td>32.58</td>
<td>33.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>13.42</td>
<td>28.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamar</td>
<td>9.66</td>
<td>2.76</td>
<td>25.71</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lanier</td>
<td>15.42</td>
<td>4.79</td>
<td>34.01</td>
<td>35.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laurens</td>
<td>11.16</td>
<td>3.92</td>
<td>24.48</td>
<td>25.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee</td>
<td>9.18</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>12.67</td>
<td>41.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
<td>Population</td>
<td>Crime Rate</td>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberty</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>14.97</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>6.37</td>
<td>19.76</td>
<td>23.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>11.49</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>24.61</td>
<td>13.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowndes</td>
<td>10.47</td>
<td>3.35</td>
<td>23.31</td>
<td>23.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumpkin</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>43.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McDuffie</td>
<td>4.83</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>13.59</td>
<td>21.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McIntosh</td>
<td>9.49</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>34.94</td>
<td>27.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macon</td>
<td>12.45</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>34.84</td>
<td>11.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>48.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marion</td>
<td>5.46</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>20.33</td>
<td>12.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meriwether</td>
<td>7.18</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>24.47</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller</td>
<td>5.88</td>
<td>3.99</td>
<td>12.26</td>
<td>32.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitchell</td>
<td>7.36</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>23.62</td>
<td>21.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monroe</td>
<td>12.75</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>37.17</td>
<td>23.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery</td>
<td>15.06</td>
<td>5.59</td>
<td>19.63</td>
<td>24.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morgan</td>
<td>7.12</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>28.32</td>
<td>22.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.59</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>51.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muscogee</td>
<td>7.47</td>
<td>3.05</td>
<td>23.51</td>
<td>20.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newton</td>
<td>5.72</td>
<td>1.89</td>
<td>16.32</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oconee</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>4.59</td>
<td>42.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oglethorpe</td>
<td>6.11</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>26.75</td>
<td>24.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paulding</td>
<td>8.99</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>5.77</td>
<td>45.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peach</td>
<td>10.47</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>37.98</td>
<td>10.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickens</td>
<td>10.66</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>48.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierce</td>
<td>8.66</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>8.72</td>
<td>31.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pike</td>
<td>8.12</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>17.07</td>
<td>30.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polk</td>
<td>4.63</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>6.59</td>
<td>42.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulaski</td>
<td>5.07</td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td>13.98</td>
<td>34.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putnam</td>
<td>4.85</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>21.41</td>
<td>26.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quitman</td>
<td>6.12</td>
<td>2.02</td>
<td>24.53</td>
<td>11.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabun</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>9.32</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>8.24</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>25.08</td>
<td>17.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockdale</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>2.49</td>
<td>42.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schley</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>22.82</td>
<td>36.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
<td>Screven</td>
<td>Seminole</td>
<td>Spalding</td>
<td>Stephens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worth</td>
<td>11.26</td>
<td>4.45</td>
<td>22.07</td>
<td>30.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disparity</td>
<td>7.64 (avg.)</td>
<td>2.98 (avg.)</td>
<td>18.19 (avg.)</td>
<td>28.18 (avg.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Donald, James E. Georgia Department of Corrections. Probation Detention Center to Open in Bleckley.


Irwin, John. The Jail: Managing the Underclass in American Society. Los Angeles:


