

*PART II*

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**San Quentin Prison:  
A Portrait  
of Contradictions**

*by Erik Olin Wright*

From October, 1970, until June, 1971, I spent one to two days a week at San Quentin prison working as a student chaplain. During those eight months I had numerous conversations with many prison officials and a number of prison guards. Some were formal interviews, others informal conversations over lunch. In addition, I had the opportunity to observe many of the important committee meetings in the prison, including Adult Authority hearings, disciplinary hearings, segregation review hearings, classification committee meetings, and a warden's full committee hearing. I was thus in a position not only to talk to prison officials concerning their attitudes toward prison life and their views about how prisons should be run, but also to observe these same officials functioning in various capacities. The material in Chapter 5, "San Quentin Prison as Seen by the Prison Officials," is based primarily on information gathered during those eight months when I worked in the prison.

During that time, I also interviewed a total of nearly 150 prisoners. My central duty as a student chaplain consisted of interviewing prisoners about their religious backgrounds and attitudes for the Protestant chaplain, but generally there was time in these interviews to spend at least half an hour, and often more, with each prisoner discussing his experiences in prison and his feelings about various aspects of prison life. These discussions were very unstructured and tended to focus on problems that were of concern to the prisoners. In addition to the formally scheduled interviews, I met quite regularly with a number of prisoners for extended conversations. These interviews and conversations form the basis of most of Chapter 6, "San Quentin Prison as Seen by the Prisoners."

## **General Features of San Quentin Prison**

San Quentin is the oldest prison in California. It was founded in 1852 when a prison ship anchored off Point San Quentin with the fifty men and women who were prisoners of the new state of California. One of the first tasks given the prisoners housed aboard the ship was to build cells on the shore. By 1853 the first cellblock of San Quentin prison was completed, a cellblock which was to remain continuously in use until 1959.

Since those early days, the prison has undergone substantial change. It grew from a small prison of a few hundred inmates in the 1850s to one of the largest prisons in the world with more than 5,000 inmates at one point in the 1950s. (Since the late 1960s, the prison population at San Quentin has been steadily reduced in an effort to relieve serious overcrowding. By early 1972 the population had dropped to about 2,000.) It has changed from an institution whose expressed philosophy was one of stiff punishment and which offered prisoners no program but "hard labor" to an institution which strongly avows a variety of "constructive" programs for the reformation of the prisoner. It has changed from an institution that openly tortured prisoners for infractions of rules to an institution that denies the existence of any cruel punishment and handles problems of discipline with "disciplinary hearings" and "adjustment cen-

ters." In short, San Quentin changed, at least officially, from the traditional prison of vengeful punishment to the modern prison of enlightened correctional treatment.

The prison itself is an impressive fortress located on a promontory jutting out into the San Francisco Bay. It undoubtedly has one of the most beautiful views of any prison in the world, although the high walls of the structure make it impossible for most prisoners ever to see their surroundings. These high walls, the gun towers and barbed wire, and the castlelike appearance of the main entrance to the prison have given San Quentin the nickname "the Bastille by the Bay."

The following description is a complete copy of the official brochure, "California State Prison at San Quentin," prepared by the warden's office. It should be read both for the concrete information that it gives about the institution and for the image of the institution which it tries to create. Where the warden's description, which is indented, needs clarification additional comments are presented in brackets or as regular text.

San Quentin is the oldest and largest of California Prisons. Established in 1852, it now houses approximately 4,000 inmates [in 1969]. A walled institution, San Quentin is considered a close-medium security facility. The average inmate is 32 years old and will serve a median of 32 months prior to parole.

San Quentin is one of 13 major correctional facilities and some 34 forestry camps operated by the California Department of Corrections and housing some 27,000 inmates. Some 35% are housed in open institutions. San Quentin's particular role is to work with men who are serving long sentences, who have committed seriously violent offenses, who require special medical and psychiatric attention, or have failed to adjust in institutions of lesser custody. Each year we make many transfers of men to other institutions due to their progress in programming at this institution. Over 14,000 men are on parole from the 13 institutions.

California's lethal gas execution chamber is located here.

Since 1938, there has been a total of 194 executions, including four women. Prior to 1963, an average of nine executions took place yearly. The condemned unit population is presently 85. [As a result of the 1972 Supreme Court decision on capital punishment, the condemned unit has been disbanded.]

San Quentin exists to protect society. This is accomplished in two ways: (1) by maintaining and controlling prisoners in a restricted community separated from the rest of society; (2) by programming [which] helps individual prisoners develop constructive patterns of behavior. Eventually 98% of the men will return to society and they must be prepared to make a socially approved adjustment.

### *Academic Education*

Because men who come to prison are generally educationally deficient, raising the level of academic and vocational skills and thus their ability to earn a living is of great importance.

The academic program affords basic literacy training, formal elementary, secondary and junior college training to over 2,200 inmates. Half attend school in the evening.

The academic staff is supplied by contractual agreement with the Marin County Superintendent of Schools, and the local junior college district. Diplomas for elementary and high school work are awarded by the Marin County Superintendent of Schools. The associate of arts degree is awarded in 7 fields.

A correspondence school program provides educational opportunities for advanced students and for special groups.

The academic program works to promote changes in attitudes. The instructors are skilled in group behavior. In addition to teaching necessary skills, they train inmates in inter-personal relationships, proper acceptance of job, work, completion of goals and to operate cooperatively under supervision.

### *Vocational*

The vocational program provides formal trade training to about 350 inmates in 17 trades or crafts applicable to the institutional operations and release employment. The vocational trade training classes are:

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|---------------------------|---|
| 1. Auto Mechanic          | 10. Plumbing                                |
| 2. Body and Fender Repair | 11. Practical Nursing                       |
| 3. Baking                 | 12. Composition                             |
| 4. Bookbinding            | 13. Sheet Metal                             |
| 5. Dental Technology      | 14. Shoe Repair                             |
| 6. Landscape Gardening    | 15. Office Machine Repair                   |
| 7. Machinist              | 16. Offset Photo Process<br>and Letterpress |
| 8. Meatcutting            |   |
| 9. Painting               |   |

Eligibility for this training is determined from the evaluation of inmates by the Reception-Guidance Center, length of training period, and inmate motivation. A special prevocational diagnostic shop tests skills and interests.

The instructors are civil service employees. Their basic qualifications include seven years journeyman experience, 60 college units in directed study, and a valid vocational teaching credential.

There are long waiting lists for many of these vocational programs, since of all the activities in the prison these offer the greatest promise of providing improved work opportunities when the prisoner is released. The auto mechanic vocational program in particular is in great demand, and few prisoners who want to take it actually get to do so. Approximately 10 percent of the inmates are involved in vocational programs.

#### *Trade Advisory Committee*

Each vocational trade is guided by a trade advisory committee, composed of citizen volunteers representing both management and labor. They advise in establishing criteria for the selection of the inmate students and professional instructors. They aid in defining training standards, establishing completion criteria and assistance in job placement. They are concerned with both vocational competence and the development of constructive social attitudes.

The trade advisory committee provides the administration with competent assistance in maintaining a financially sound, practical training program in line with current trade practices.

#### *Group Counseling*

Group counseling involves inmates who meet in small groups on a weekly basis and discuss their problems with institutional personnel and one another. The aim is to so develop sufficient confidence and group cohesiveness that the men can express feelings that are important to themselves. In the process, they examine the way they have solved problems in the past and check new methods and solutions that are socially accepted and yet satisfying to themselves.

This is an idealized view of group counseling. Most inmates are suspicious of the group counseling leaders, and frequently of other inmates. Often there is great reluctance to go beyond a superficial level in discussion, and there is little data to indicate that group counseling has made any significant difference to most inmates.

#### *Industries Program*

An extensive industrial program reduces inmate idleness and also prepares men vocationally by on-the-job training skills and in good work habits. Related training classes enhance the man's employability.

Over 700 men are assigned jobs in San Quentin's industries. Trade advisory committees provide guidance here in the same manner as in the vocational program.

The furniture factory is the largest industry, producing office and school furniture. The detergent plant, clothing factory, and dry cleaning plants are other major industries. The cotton textile mill has been closed and will be replaced by a mattress factory and a large laundry.

Industrial products are sold to tax supported agencies only. The sales revenues pay for all costs of supervision and production so that this valuable program operates without cost to the taxpayer.

The inmates working in the industries program are usually paid approximately five cents an hour. The maximum is around thirty cents an hour, but practically no prisoners ever earn more than fifteen cents an hour. In certain jobs, such as in

the laundry, most of the inmates are paid nothing at all.

In a report prepared by the Assembly Office of Research entitled "Report on the Economic Status and Rehabilitative Value of California Correctional Industries," several general conclusions directly contradict the view of the industries program presented by the warden at San Quentin:

1. The extent of rehabilitative process in correctional industries is limited by the nature of work itself. The inmate can only work at blue-collar or menial occupations. Even the most motivated inmate cannot, while in prison, engage in any work that would increase his opportunity to enter highly paid occupations upon release.
2. The Department objective of reducing idleness is obviously achieved by correctional industry, but in a manner that is no more successful than other institutional "busy work" programs.
3. The Department objective of teaching work habits, attitudes and skills that would be of value after release is not achieved. Inmates appear to be poorly motivated and the skills taught are often antiquated. . . .<sup>1</sup>

While the industrial activities are of dubious value to the inmate, certain of the industrial programs are of considerable value to the employees at the prison. Guards and prison officials have their clothing cleaned at the San Quentin cleaners and their automobiles repaired in the prison garage at nominal rates.

### *Medical Facilities*

San Quentin's 150 bed hospital is fully accredited. It receives surgical and other serious cases from all institutions of the Department. The deep therapy X-ray unit is outstanding. The services of many well qualified consultants and specialists in the San Francisco Bay Area are available.

1. "Report on the Economic Status and Rehabilitative Value of California Correctional Industries," Assembly Office of Research, California State Legislature, Feb., 1969, pp. 21-22.

The psychiatric section of the hospital functions primarily on an out-patient basis. Three full-time psychiatrists, two clinical psychologists, and four psychiatric social workers spend a large portion of their time conducting weekly group psychotherapy sessions for some 1,100 inmates.

A majority of the Department's tubercular patients are cared for in San Quentin's hospital. The latest treatment methods, including surgery and the use of drugs are used.

### *Religion*

The spiritual needs of the inmate community are met by San Quentin's two full-time Protestant Chaplains and two full-time Catholic Chaplains plus a part time Jewish Chaplain with assistance from visiting clergymen, who live in the surrounding area. An intern Chaplaincy program has been developed. It is set up under an advisory committee of representatives from half a dozen theological schools in the Bay Area and institutional personnel. Some ten intern Chaplains help to conduct services, teach classes in the School of Religion, and conduct individual interviews in the chapel, hospital and other areas. Several Yokefellow counseling groups give religious and psychological guidance.

### *Recreation*

San Quentin has a combination Football and Baseball field, as well as a blacktop area for handball, basketball, and volley-ball. Boxing, wrestling, weightlifting, body-building, ping-pong and chess are among the more popular activities carried on in the gymnasium. There are both intramural sports and competition with outside teams.

There are a variety of musical groups who are permitted to stage musical variety shows for inmate attendance. The recreation program helps maintain high morale among the inmates and provides experience with constructive leisure-time activities.

Recreation at San Quentin, as in most prisons, is considered a "privilege." An inmate who is being disciplined for some infraction of the rules generally loses such privileges. An inmate

who refuses to work and is given an "unassigned" status similarly may be denied recreational privileges.

### *Library*

Reading is an important leisure-time activity for men in prison. The San Quentin library has 35,000 books, approximately evenly distributed between fiction and non-fiction. A large number of magazines, newspapers, and pamphlets are distributed. The Librarian maintains a readers' advisory service. Men can subscribe to daily newspapers and magazines.

The only formal restriction on reading material is that it cannot be racially inflammatory and that it cannot "tend to incite to riot" within the prison. Of course, the designation of such materials is left entirely to the discretion of the prison administration. The severity of these restrictions depends very much on the general political climate and the level of tensions within the prison.

### *Classification Procedures*

Placement in most of the aforementioned activities is made through action by the classification committee. Representatives from all areas of activities in the institution serve on the committee and consider each case on an individual basis.

In practice many classification decisions are not made by the classification committee. They are made more or less arbitrarily by the lieutenant in charge of program assignments or by prisoners themselves through the network of connections in the prisoner society. Since there are waiting lists for most of the desirable activities, the crucial decision is not who gets on the waiting list (a decision made by the classification committee), but who gets into the activity from the waiting list. The program director often makes such decisions on the basis of personal likes and dislikes, or purely arbitrarily. Or, since most of the clerical work in the prison is done by prisoners, it is easy for them to control the information that appears on a program

director's desk, to make "mistakes" in typing up lists, and in other ways to make it possible for a particular prisoner to get a position before his turn.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to placing prisoners in different activities (or on waiting lists), the classification committee determines the security level of the prisoner. This is of considerable importance, since the prisoner's privileges are closely tied to his security status. At San Quentin there are fine distinctions between different levels of privilege. At one extreme are the prisoners with minimum-security status living in the West Block, the "super-honor" block. These prisoners can have radios in their cells (some even have stereos), and TV's in the cellblock which they can watch until 10:00 P.M. They can leave their cells more or less at will. The tiers are watched by a committee elected by the prisoners rather than by guards so that prisoners are not likely to be disciplined for minor infractions. To get into the West Block it is necessary to have 18 months of "clean time" (i.e., time in prison without a disciplinary infraction). Just below the West Block is the North Block, which requires only 9 months of clean time. Conditions are similar to the West Block, but the block is patrolled by guards rather than an inmate committee. In these two honor blocks live about one-third of the total inmate population. Most other inmates live in the East and South blocks, the regular units of the prison. There they are much more tightly controlled, have less freedom of movement, and are not allowed personal radios in their cells. Overall, life is much less comfortable than in the honor blocks.

In addition to privileges related directly to the housing units, there are privileges concerning jobs, recreation, education, and as of spring, 1971, conjugal visits with wives. The jobs with the highest responsibility and status, and often with the most pay

2. These observations were reported by several counselors and other administrators at San Quentin in personal conversations.

(which, it should be noted, is still minimal), are generally given to prisoners in the honor blocks, especially the West Block. In order to participate in recreation programs an inmate needs a privilege card, which he will not be issued if he has a maximum-security status and which he will lose if he commits an infraction. Similarly, he must have a low-security level to participate in the evening classes of the San Quentin educational program, and a minimum-security level (as well as being legally married) to participate in the conjugal visiting program.

The official brochure continues:

A staff of Correctional Counselors conduct interviews. Prior to an inmate's appearance before the Adult Authority (Parole Board), a progress report is prepared. This report describes institutional adjustment and inmate's attitude from the time of leaving the Reception-Guidance Center until his appearance before the Adult Authority. Social agencies such as the Salvation Army, Volunteers of America, Jewish Committee for Personal Service, and many others, send representatives to the institution for case-work services.

Writing reports on prisoners is the main activity of counselors, rather than "counseling" per se. It is on the basis of these reports that parole decisions are made, and thus in principle the counselors have considerable power over the lives of the inmates. Yet, since there are so few counselors in San Quentin (about one for every 250 to 300 prisoners), the counselor almost never knows a prisoner directly. The men who have direct contact with the prisoners—the guards, the supervisors, the teachers—are the people who have the most control over the lives of the prisoners: it is they who write the reports on the prisoners which the counselors use to write their reports to the Adult Authority. And of all the reports written by people in direct contact with the prisoners, the reports of the guards (particularly the disciplinary reports of the guards) are the most decisive in influencing parole. Thus the men who have the

greatest physical control of the prisoners, the men with guns who lock the cells, also have the greatest practical power over the eventual freedom of the prisoners.

An orientation program for newly arrived men includes a tour of the institution, visits to the major industries and vocational areas, and talks by department heads and key institutional officials.

A pre-parole class is conducted for men who are about to leave the institution. In sessions with Correctional Counselors, anticipated parole problems are discussed. Representatives from the parole field, labor organization, employment offices and recreation department are brought in for appropriate talks. Parolees who are adjusting successfully are brought back to the institution to discuss the transition problems with men who are about to leave on parole.

Each of the large housing units (cell blocks) have become locally managed units, with its own counselors and its own counseling programming. This has brought the classification committee and program administrators into closer contact with the inmates, with a resulting increase in effective communication along socially constructive directions.

The unit system was abandoned, primarily because of budget cuts, in early 1971. However, even while the institution was decentralized into smaller housing units, there was nothing that could reasonably be called "effective communication along socially constructive directions." The prisoners' mistrust toward prison staff makes effective communication difficult under the best of circumstances. In San Quentin, where there are so few counselors, it is simply impossible for them to have any "close contact" with the prisoners.

#### *NTCU and STRU*

*The Narcotic Treatment Control Unit* is a community living program designed to treat parole addicts who have returned to the use of drugs. When it is determined that a parolee has used narcotics, he is immediately returned to San Quentin where he is placed in the NTCU for a period



not to exceed 90 days. While he is in the unit the parolee is involved in group therapy, individual interviews and a work program. A *Short Term Return Unit* (STRU) provides a similar program for non-addict parolees whose adjustment to society shows signs of deterioration.

### *Typical Day at San Quentin*

What is a day like to an inmate in San Quentin?

On a week day, Monday through Friday, activities begin with the wake-bell at 6:30 A.M. The inmate arises, dresses, and tidies up the cell. The cell doors are unlocked at 7:00 A.M. and the inmates go to breakfast. At 8:00 A.M. they proceed to various work assignments throughout the prison or to the Educational Department if they are attending academic or vocational classes.

Inmates assemble in the main yard at 12:00 noon and line up to pass into the mess halls for the mid-day meal, returning at 1:00 P.M. to their assignments. At 4:00 P.M. the inmates go back to their quarters in the cell block for the regular count procedure. The evening meal is served at 5:00 P.M. and immediately following they return to their cells. Those who are eligible for evening activities beginning at 6:00 P.M. are unlocked accordingly to proceed to night educational classes, handicraft shop or the gymnasium. In the cell blocks, television programs may be observed. Inmates who are educationally qualified may participate in cell study courses via extension services offered by educational facilities.

Evening activities end at 10:30 P.M., with lights out. However, inmates may listen to the radio (earphones) in their cells until midnight.

On Saturdays, Sundays and Holidays, breakfast is served one hour later and inmates return to their cells in the evening for the regular count at approximately one hour earlier. Church Services are available to inmates on Sundays. Athletic events are scheduled with outside competition on weekends and movies are shown. Inmates who are eligible may attend the weekend movie during the evening on Saturday or Sunday, plus an additional incentive movie on Tuesday or Wednesday nights, each week.

There are many group activities for inmate participation

such as the Toastmasters' Gavel Club, Inmate Advisory Council, members of which are selected by the inmates themselves to be representative of common wants, needs, and problems, etc.

This "typical day" is not typical for many inmates at San Quentin. Approximately 10 percent of the inmates in the prison are in isolation and are kept locked in their cells roughly 23 hours a day. Another 15 percent are unassigned or in close custody and therefore spend most of their time in their cells, although they leave their cells for meals and certain activities. Only about half of the inmates in the institution are eligible for night movement; the rest have to stay in their cells after dinner.

### *Other Activities*

Inmates may participate in Alcoholics Anonymous, a discussion group called "General Semantics", a public speaking group, music and drama groups, and other special interest groups sponsored by employees who give of their own time to such activities. He may participate in the handicraft program—selling leather, wood and metal crafts. The products are exhibited at two hobby stores open to the public. Inmates can purchase cigarettes, personal grooming aids, stationary supplies, and candy at the inmate canteen. Proceeds from the canteen sales and a percentage of each hobby sale goes into the Inmate Welfare Fund, which pays for movies, television sets, library books, and other recreational equipment.

Voluntary organizations such as SATE, EMPLEO, and the Indian Culture Group address themselves to the particular problems of minority groups.

### *Mail and Visiting*

Men may write and receive visits from approved relatives and friends. Over 3,000 visitors come to San Quentin each month to see their friends and relatives.

All mail is censored, both incoming and outgoing, except for mail to public officials. Unacceptable letters are returned to the inmate to be rewritten. For about one year (spring 1970, to

spring 1971) letters from prisoners to lawyers were allowed to be mailed without being read or censored, but the policy was reversed because the director of the Department of Corrections felt prisoners were sending "contraband" to their lawyers (i.e., written materials not related to their cases, such as letters to be forwarded to someone else). As of 1972, it is not possible for an inmate to write a confidential letter to his lawyer. This obviously creates serious problems, especially if the prisoner is involved in a suit against the prison itself.

### *Preparation for Release to the Community*

A work furlough program permits men within 90 days of parole to work at a regular job in any of the nearby communities; returning to the institution every night. This program helps men to make the transition from prison life to living in the community. Money earned goes for family support to provide a sound financial state on parole.

Furloughs up to 72 hours may be granted within 90 days of parole so the men may seek employment and make other arrangements for their return to the community.

### *Trends for the Future*

Although adult felony arrests and convictions are increasing in California, fewer offenders are being sentenced to prison. In 1969 the Department of Corrections received only 13.5% of the adult felons legally eligible for prison. [Less than 10% in 1971.] This is a decline from the 28% received in 1960. Most of those, (65% in 1969) not sent to prison were placed on county probation. Thus, the current trend is toward treatment of as many offenders in the community as possible. This means that those that are sent to prison will be increasingly difficult people to manage, and most will have been failures in some community level program. Department planning and research are aimed at developing more effective programs for institutional and parole management in light of these trends.

Several significant features of prison life were not included in the warden's description of San Quentin:

### *Cells*

The cells at San Quentin measure 4 feet wide, about 10 feet deep, and 7 feet high. They usually contain a bunk bed, writing table and chair, perhaps a shelf, and a toilet. They are not wide enough for a man to stretch his arms fully apart. Until mid-1971, most of these cells contained two people. A prisoner spends a minimum of about 9 hours a day in his cell. If he does not have the "privilege" of leaving his cell after the evening meal, he spends at least 13 hours a day there. If he is unassigned to any activity (because he refuses to work or because he is considered too much of a security risk to be allowed to work), he may spend 20 to 22 hours a day in his cell. And if he is being punished in isolation or is being held in "protective custody" (because of threats on his life) or is in "administrative segregation" (i.e., segregation resulting from an administrative decision rather than a disciplinary hearing), he may spend as much as 23½ hours a day in his cell, 4 feet wide and 10 feet deep.

### *Disciplinary Procedures*

In the official handout on San Quentin, no mention is made of disciplinary procedures. There are several gradations of punishment for various infractions of prison rules: loss of privileges, isolation, isolation and segregation, and the adjustment center. *Loss of privileges* means that the prisoner will be unable to leave his cell for evening and weekend activities, to use the canteen or library, and so on. *Isolation*, or as it is more commonly called by prisoners, the "hole," means that the prisoner is placed in a special cellblock (B Section) where he is confined 23½ hours a day. The cells are damp, dirty, and furnished simply with a fold-down bed with a mattress, a toilet, and nothing else. Until 1971, an inmate could be placed in the hole for up to 29 days; since then this has been reduced to 10 days, although he can be indefinitely placed in "segregation" or the "adjustment center." *Segregation* means that a prisoner is kept

in an isolation cell, although he may be allowed to leave his cell for meals. Finally, the *adjustment center* is the area where chronic troublemakers (as the prison defines them) are placed for long-term confinement. The cells are locked 23½ hours each day; prisoners leave their cells only for a half-hour of exercise daily.

Almost all disciplinary action is initiated by the guards. When they see an infraction, they have several choices. They can let the infraction go by; they can give the prisoner involved a verbal reprimand; they can take away the prisoner's privilege card; or they can send the prisoner to B Section (i.e., isolation). If they choose one of the last two options, the prisoner must appear before the disciplinary committee, consisting of several counselors and a lieutenant in charge of the block. The committee meets once a week, so a prisoner may spend six days in the hole before his case is formally heard.<sup>3</sup>

For most infractions—preparation of home brew, stealing cookies from the kitchen, insolence to an officer—the punishment will be 5 to 10 days in isolation and loss of privileges for 30 to 60 days. But the prisoner can be sentenced to a period of isolation and then a period (perhaps indeterminate) of segregation from the general population. He can have his security level raised and his activities restricted for an extended period. If he is considered a serious threat to prison order, he can be sent to the adjustment center, where he will be kept completely out of contact with the general population of the prison.

For prisoners sentenced to segregation or to the adjustment center, hearings are periodically held to determine whether they should be allowed to return to the mainline population. All prisoners sentenced to punishment have the formal right to

appeal the decision as far as the warden. However, few prisoners ever go through this procedure, either because they feel it is pointless or because they are not informed of it. A disciplinary action is virtually never reversed.

3. For a detailed discussion of a number of disciplinary hearings at San Quentin, see Chapter 5, pp. 83 ff. The prisoners' view of these hearings is presented in Chapter 6, pp. 125 ff.