The Evolution of Probation: Early Salaries, Qualifications, and Hiring Practices—Charles Lindner and Margaret R. Savarese review probation practices at the turn of the century and find that many concerns facing probation today, such as high caseloads and inadequate salaries, also existed in the past. The authors further explore early conditions of employment, including qualifications, compensation, and hiring practices. A 1910 civil service examination is included to allow the reader to test himself against the probation officer of the past.

Focus for the Future: Accountability in Sentencing—Author Thomas A. Quinn argues for a new dialogue, replacing the "in" versus "out" decision with assignment to 1 of 10 "Accountability Levels." In this broad range of increasingly restrictive options, offenders would be adequately monitored at whatever level they are placed, with logical progression down the scale toward freedom over time and retrogression further up the scale for noncompliance.

The Need for a New International-National Criminal Justice Order—Manuel López-Rey reviews the international criminal justice order. The authors further explore early conditions of involvement and employee impact.

Involvement and Employee Impact—Peter L. Nacci argues for a professionally managed corrections system that controls its population. The Future Jalja Professionally Managed Corrections—Frederick T. Martens argues for a professionally managed corrections center that controls its population. The Need for a New International-National Criminal Justice Order—Manuel López-Rey reviews the international criminal justice order. The authors further explore early conditions of involvement and employee impact.

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Radical Nonintervention: The Myth of Doing No Harm—Authors Travis and Cullen offer three reasons why the call for liberal's to withdraw from the policymaking process in the criminal justice system will cause more harm than an interventionist strategy: First, reform efforts have been one of the few humanizing forces in our correctional past. Second, nonintervention by progressives only serves to facilitate the get tough movement now sweeping the Nation. And third, nonintervention is a philosophy of despair, not of hope, and thus risks accentuating the will of practitioners to continue to do good in the face of daily obstacles.

Alabama Prison Option: Supervised Intensive Restitution Program—Alabama Commissioner of Corrections Freddie V. Smith discusses an innovative reentry program which uses close face-to-face supervision, enforced curfews, required workloads in public service or contracted employment, offender family involvement, supervised fees and other freedom restrictions. Incorporated provisions also require program officers to coordinate closely with law enforcement and judicial agencies.

The Future Jail: A Professionally Managed Corrections Center That Controls Its Population—Anticipated methods of jail administration are no longer acceptable either to the criminal justice agencies they serve or the political officials responsible for their oversight. Nicholas D. Cohen presents some basic principles for jail management, emphasizing a proactive role for social trial judges. He also summarizes the Washington State comprehensive strategy that transformed the jails of that State.

The Illusion of Success: A Case Study in the Infiltration of Legitimate Business.—Frederick Martens examines and analyzes the systemic nature of organized crime with institutional structures within a lower socioeconomic community. Through the use of ethnographic collection and analysis techniques, the author delineates the structural arrangements between finance institutions, liquor wholesale agents, legitimate businesses, and the "bar" or tavern. Employing a sophisticated pyramid scheme in which the tavern is the commodity, "unsuspecting" entrepreneurs are enlisted into this scam, only to be disillusioned by the ultimate death of their dream. The illusion of success is a classic case study in the convergence of organized crime with white-collar crime.

Sex and Sexual Aggression in Federal Prisons: Incarceration and Employment.—In the December 1983 issue of Federal Probation, Nacci and Kane focused on the incidence of homosexual activity and sexual aggression in Federal prisons. Analyses and discussions in the present report concern: profiles of inmates who have participated in consensual homosexual activity or have been targets of sex pressure; correctional officers' attitudes toward the protection of inmates, the prevention of homosexual activity, the danger of sexual assault in prisons, and job satisfaction; and factors that influence inmate participation in consensual homosexual activity.

A Combination That Worked for Us.—U.S. Probation Officer David B. Busby describes a drug aftercare program which has proven successful in the Northern District of Alabama. The program combines intensive urine surveillance with intensive counseling, a wilderness experience (camping, rappelling, hiking), and a work detail experience.

I. Profiles: Participants and Targets

It may seem puzzling that homosexual liaisons and sex pressure situations frequently produce violence given the common stereotype of male homosexuals as passive and effeminate. These data reveal that the participant is different physically and attitudinally from other prisoners and may help to explain the connection between prison sex and violence.

A. The Participant

The participant is physically thin and less muscular; he is tall but weighs about the same as the average inmate. He appears more effeminate to the interviewer. His attitudes toward homosexuality are positive while the typical inmate opposes homosexuality. Race does not relate to participant status. There is a tendency (nonsignificant) for participants to have been arrested for sex offenses. 9.2 percent of participants but only 3.4 percent of nonparticipants had been arrested for these crimes (p < .09). The participant frequently is involved as a youth with the criminal justice system. Interestingly, if an inmate commits a crime as a youth and is diverted rather than sent to a training or reform school, chances are greater that he will abstain from prison sex as an adult. This suggests that some participants learn maladaptive sexual habits when confined in youth institutions. The participant has also been in more foster homes, has more training schools, more mental institutions and scores higher on a criminal intent scale comprised of items like number of arrests, number of previous incarcerations, and total years confined.

II. Crime Situations

Participants cluster in groups of friends who share information about others' sexual habits. They believe there is more homosexual activity in prisons than nonparticipants do. Along with membership in the "clique" of sex-oriented prisoners comes increased awareness that prisons are dangerous; the chances of inmates being sexually assaulted are perceived to be greater.

C. Conflict resolution—Vignettes, short stories that require the inmate to select a solution to an interpersonal conflict situation, were especially designed for the study. Each vignette contained either a sexual or a nonsexual theme—alternative solutions were scored according to the level of violence they contained. The hypothetical "actors" in the vignettes were other inmates from institution. The results showed that participants expected other inmates to resolve conflict with greater levels of violence regardless of whether the theme was sexual or nonsexual. In other words, participants have a general predisposition to anticipate the use of violence in all types of interpersonal conflicts. The participant may expect more violence because he has more contact with prisoners—it could be an overcompensation rooted in personal insecurities about being thin, effeminate, and a participant. The participant is an irritant to administrators and is willingness to use violence is actualized frequently. His appearance and attitudes focus attention on him—he is frequently in
The Target of Sexual Assault—According to reports by Davis (1968) and Lockwood (1980), at least 2 out of 10 prison inmates are sexual assault targets. The assault rate is low in the Federal system where 2 out of every 100 inmates are actually victimized. What common threads link the targets of sexual aggression and what cues must these individuals discern to avoid assault? One very important one is whether the prisoner is a passive participant in prison sex. Sexual orientation (heterosexual or homosexual/bisexual), target status (target or non-target) and participation in prison sex (participant or non-participant) are presented in Table 1 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Target Nonparticipant</th>
<th>Target Participant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heterosexual</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bisexual</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heptosexual</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Self-definition as a homosexual/bisexual and target status are associated. Seventy percent of self-acknowledged homosexual/bisexual inmates were assaulted. However, more targets are nonparticipants than participants (16 versus 14) and most targets are heterosexuals (7 versus 3). Participation per se does not indicate likelihood of assault because many participants are considered by themselves and other inmates heterosexual; in prison, participation may not "count" toward sexual identity. Apparently, inmates can participate without drastically increasing the chance of assault. But identification as homosexual/bisexual is associated with targeting. Since homosexual/bisexual identification and insertion role are associated, the target must be perceived as one who is (or may be) willing to occupy passive female roles.

The assailant attacks tall, slender inmates who wear their hair longer, are less happy as children, have more broken marriages, have parents with heavy drinking problems, are more criminally sophisticated, and appear effeminate. Targets have attitudes favorable toward homosexuality, evaluate prison participants in homosexual acts positively and, more importantly, they discuss sex often with other inmates. Any act of public endorsement may, more than anything else, contribute to his selection. In prison, secrets are difficult to keep and choice gossip is valuable. A loose statement of endorsement for homosexuality may be quickly picked up by the grapevine. Corroborative and supplementary data from other research contribute to this target profile, indicating that these inmates come from small, rural areas; they are lighter in weight than average; they have been committed for nonviolent offenses, and show no unusual tendency toward prison violence; some attend special education classes; they have been institutionalized in mental health facilities and evidence a tendency toward self-destructiveness.

C. The Assault

1. Motives—In some assaults, the target must appear to be like a woman to the rapist. Otherwise, rapists may not intend a sex act but they eventually decide that rape is an appropriate act of degradation after a tough battle or insult—they also must think that the act will gain additional status among other inmates. By his act, the rapist communicates that he is powerful. Although targets are relatively accessible to researchers for interviews, assailants are known almost exclusively from targets' accounts. Nonetheless, a reliable composite has accumulated in several studies. Assaulters are average in weight but are larger than their target; they are younger than the average inmate, but are older than their victim; they have a history of violence, are likely to have been committed for a violent crime, and are likely to be among the small group of inmates who frequently break prison rules; they typically come from large urban areas, have had many juvenile commitments, but have received an average amount of education before incarceration; they are normal in mental stability and show no unusual tendencies toward self-destruction. Finally, assault events are as likely to involve white assailants as black assailants; however, overall, blacks predominate in numbers because they tend to assault in large groups.

Although most might think assailants are crazy, inmates do not—and this is a critically important finding. The sample stated that the primary reason for sexual assaults by males on females in free society is mental instability of the rapist. However, the reason for sexual assaults in prisons is easy for the inmate population to understand; they suggest that targets are raped because they are weak and attractive (i.e., a logical stand-in for a woman) and because rapists want to impress other prisoners. Prison rape makes...
sensed to inmates because the act sends off a valuable message: ‘Don’t mess around with me!’

Another way most inmates have “getting out” as a primary goal—a secondary motive for most inmates is in “paying back” Rapists or other prisoner, could get sexual gratification easily with willing partners. Instead, the rapist tries to gain credibility for his future threats to other inmates. He may not be a formidable exploiter alone; if inmates are correct, the rapist singles out weaker inmates perhaps because of this. He may not be clever enough to run a good game,” and a crime of armed bank robbery, kidnap­ping, and it would be incorrect to think of targets as hardened dangerous prisoners. The criminal history variables thatEntrants make prisons more dangerous, violent places and thus make officers’ jobs more difficult: the

Stress


criminal backgrounds led officials to believe that the targets could stand up to the pressure and that the seriousness of their current offense warranted the level of institution security. Targets and rapists alike are a product of the American criminal justice system and it would be incorrect to think of targets as especially naïve. The criminal history variables that constitute the FFS criteria for “Security Designation”—determination that the inmate requires a facility with certain physical security features—and for “Custodial classification”—the level of supervision assigned within the institution—have been validated as “predictors” of institutional violence (Kane, James, and Vanyur, 1981). The targets in the current study, when compared to nontargets, were found to have significantly more extensive criminal histories, Inmates should be protected regardless of the inmate’s sexual preference, but a potential difficulty results in that they have more and more contact with inmates. In one set of analyses, inmates’ perceptions of what constitutes the FFS Security and Custody criteria. Hence, the target remains in population because he has greater freedom to live there and he probably is confident that he will be able to handle sexual confrontations. He may or may not know that his physical and attitudinal differences from other inmates will single him out. He may even see himself as a tough guy. One thing is especially clear: Many targets believe that in prison, the best and expected response is violence when gen “used for sex.

Conflict resolutions—The vignettes show striking differences between targets, participants, and other inmates. While the participant expects violence and

and reacts violently, no matter what the type of conflict, targets expect nonviolent (nonsexual related) interpersonal conflicts. This may be another cue aggressors use. Sex accounts for about 20% of conflicts to prisons, targets are viewed by inmates as naive and incompetent. The targets cannot usually get off by saying “no sex” to a性 offender; a more assertive response is required.

II. Correctional Officers

Five hundred correctional officers in the 17 institutions completed a survey project with seven measures of moral and sexual aggression in prison is a social, not a situational effect. Inmates in the environment. Plausibly, employees are organization men are less likely to be sensitive to internal dangers. This perception is linked to what employees believe that consensual homosexual activity is a part of the institution sense greater danger in their environment. Lastly, the inmates’ perception of what constitutes the FFS Security and Custody criteria. Hence, the target remains in population because he has greater freedom to live there and he probably is confident that he will be able to handle sexual confrontations. He may or may not know that his physical and attitudinal differences from other inmates will single him out. He may even see himself as a tough guy. One thing is especially clear: Many targets believe that in prison, the best and expected response is violence when gen “used for sex.

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In this case, the means to reduce danger-related stress can be clearly illustrated. It must be true to understand that assaults are not usually precipitated by victims alone. Environmental pressures and social motives of the aggressor are also concerns for the prevention of assaults.

E. Crowding, Racial Distribution, and Population Fluctuation—It was expected that macro-level population parameters—social density (crowding), population fluctuation, or racial distribution—would be related to inmates' judgments about danger because of the micro-level changes in relationships among inmates or between staff and inmates that would occur as the inmate population changes. No effect of social density (constituting for that part both racial distribution and population flux) was important to inmates.

1. Racial distribution—Inmates and staff both believe that the racial percentage of the inmate is greater when the population is comprised by a greater proportion of one racial group to the others. This probably represents a general belief that black inmates are more aggressive and the data reveal that there are relatively more black assailants. There was a strong tendency for whites to be assault targets.

2. Crowding—It was hypothesized that increased crowding would increase perceived danger because it would be more difficult to supervise inmates and because there would be more fighting over limited (due to higher numbers) resources (like pool tables, gym equipment, etc.). This did not happen probably because during the period of investigation did not reach intolerable levels for as far as inmates were concerned.

In Figure 1 shows significant relationships only—a negative arrow between box means that one variable goes with high on the other and vice versa—a positive means that one with high and low goes with low. For example the negative line between criminal history and inmates' attitudes about the morality of participating indicates that inmates with a more extensive criminal history is less likely to think that participation is immoral. This is an interesting finding because prior criminal history is the only variable in the model that is fixed and managers are not able to control. According to the model, homosexual activity among inmates would be lower when inmates' beliefs changed toward: 1) senses of immorality and sinfulness regarding homosexuality; 2) greater concern that friends and family expect the inmate to abstain; 3) greater concern about sanctioning (in and out) that concerns that staff expect inmates to abstain.

Inmates therefore need to know the truth about homosexual activity and institutional rules must be made clear. "Normalization" means that the same norms that check homosexual activity is free communities should check homosexual activity in prisons. An infusion of morality is required: specifically, knowledge that staff do not accept participation and contact with important social others who expect the inmate to abstain from prison sex would reduce homosexual activity in Federal prisons.

Normalization also means officers and inmates working in unison. No one should refer to a man by a female referent like "she" or "her" or with a female nickname. Although this may annoy a male inmate a female referent like "she" or "her" referring to a man is psychologically inconsiderate and caring, but this would not be likely to produce a genuine change in officers' attitudes. A prison system could attain "empathy or normalized. "Normalization" means that the same norms that check homosexual activity is free communities should check homosexual activity in prisons.

An infusion of morality is required: specifically, knowledge that staff do not accept participation and contact with important social others who expect the inmate to abstain from prison sex would reduce homosexual activity in Federal prisons. Furthermore, too much of a good thing (empathy) may be counterproductive in some prison settings—the potential for the corruption of officers increases as the line separating personal and professional relationships becomes unclear.

A reasonable alternative is open discussion about, and dissemination of literature regarding homosexual activity and sexual aggression. It is when the officers are free to control their own theories about inmate sexuality that problems can develop. Hence, widespread dissemination of the results of this study would be helpful, too.

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do. Staff should communicate with inmates about many of the issues discussed in this pamphlet.

1. Family visits and furloughs—There are clear benefits to be derived from family visits and furloughs, but reduced sexual aggression and heterosexual activity among inmates is not one of them. Participants did not differ from nonparticipants on the survey items that relate to romantic ties to someone in the community, marital status, or reception of visits or furloughs. The programs permit occasional sexual gratification are not supported by these findings, hence it is impossible to maintain the hypothesis that sexual gratification with someone in (or from) the free community would be likely to keep inmates from participating in homosexual acts while in prisons. These kinds of programs would not affect sexual assault rates either because the act serves power and not sexual motivations.

2. Institution segregation—It would be futile to systematically separate known or suspected homosexual inmates from other inmates if the goal is reduced homosexual activity. Anyone can be a participant and furthermore, the state of the art techniques for identifying these actors do not warrant great confidence. Most likely, pulling out the "homosexuals" places greater pressure on other inmates who might be marginally inclined to participate or who may have participated before to become actively involved. Finally, administrative experience and the written record on inmate misconduct clearly indicate that sexual liaisons can occur any time and anywhere. It would therefore be unrealistic to ask staff, in effect, to operate several mini-prisons within a prison where inmates would have to be kept not only from escaping into the free world but also from escaping into the other "prisons" in the prison! It would also be wise to systematically segregate the known or suspected aggressors from the known or suspected targets. Many of the same problems mentioned above also apply here but in addition. In any case, the data reveal no association between time of day and sexual assaults and so unless there is total segregation assaults can still occur. In some cases, because of a myriad of specific problems, there may be no way but separate the targets and to try to protect them. Lockwood reports that this is only a stopgap measure and that it has been applied in New York State facilities like Coxsackie and Attica. Unfortunately, this is not a very good solution to problems of sexual assault, for as Lockwood pointed out, 28 problems of inmates in a random sample were assaulted; the rate of assault among men in the protected "weak companies" was much higher.

The inherent value of internal segregation for the Federal System, if a particular warden elects to separate inmates along some of these dimensions, is in the message that it undoubtedly communicates to staff and inmates—namely that sexual aggression and/or homosexual activity will not be tolerated—and consequently, we do not rule out the judicious application of the principle.

The need to know—What will pay dividends will be improvements in documenting presumed motives for assaults occurring in Federal prisons. All assaults should be reported to a central location and, following the investigation at the institution, assaults should be aggregated according to presumptions in investigators made about the assailant's motives. As a post hoc analysis of the system's archive revealed, the rate of "known" sexual assaults in the system is about 2 per month. Assuming continuity in procedures for investigating and reporting assaults, the ratio of known to unknown sexual assaults should be constant and hence, if the rate begins to climb, it will be time to re-evaluate parts of the prison system with techniques and tools developed for this study. Other researchers will find it easy to replicate this Federal study; the procedures and calculations were carefulley documented. Managers now have a yardstick they can use to interpret their findings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY