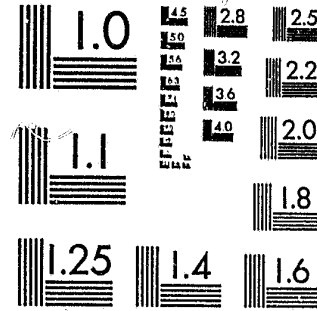


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Federal Probation

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This Issue In Brief

The Evolution of Probation: University Settlement and Its Pioneering Role in Probation Work.—In the final article of a series of four on the evolution of probation, authors Charles Lindner and Margaret Savarese further explore the link between the settlement movement and the beginnings of probation in this country by focusing on one particular settlement, the University Settlement Society of New York City. Close examination of the University Settlement papers revealed that this settlement, during the late 1890's and early 1900's, expanded its programs and activities to meet the growing needs of the people of the Lower East Side and became very much involved in probation work at the same time. This involvement included experimentation with an informal version of probation prior to the passage of the first probation law in New York State, the appointment of a settlement resident as the first civilian probation officer immediately following passage of this law, the creation of a "probation fellowship" sponsored by one of the settlement benefactors, and the description of this probation work in various publications of the day.

Professionals or Judicial Civil Servants? An Examination of the Probation Officer's Role.—A major issue and question in the probation field is whether probation officers are professionals. In this study, Richard Lawrence examines whether probation officers see themselves as professionals and the extent to which they experience role conflict and job dissatisfaction. The study also looks at how probation officers perceive their roles in relation to the judicial process and the services provided to probationers. Three factors were found to make a difference in officers' role preference and whether they experience role conflict: size of their department (and city), age, and years of experience. A number of recommendations are offered to give probation of-

icers equal professional status with judicial personnel and more autonomy to exercise their professional skills in the court organization.

Six Principles and One Precaution for Efficient Sentencing and Correction.—According to author Daniel Glaser, more crime prevention per dollar in sentencing and correction calls for: (1) an economy principle of maximizing fines and minimizing in-

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carceration; (2) noncriminalization of offenders who have strong stakes in conformity; (3) crime-spree interruption; (4) selective incapacitation; (5) reducing inmate pressures from other inmates and increasing staff and outsider influences; (6) appropriate vocational training of offenders. These goals require avoidance of sentences based purely on just deserts.

The Juvenile Justice System: A Legacy of Failure?—In a follow-up to his previous article, "Juvenile Court: An Endangered Species" (*Federal Probation*, March 1983), author Roger B. McNally expands the notion that the juvenile justice system is on the brink of extinction. The author identifies five contemporary themes which are jeopardizing the very existence of juvenile justice and strongly suggests that if the present course of events goes unabated, this system—by the turn of the century—may be recorded in the annals of history as a legacy of failure and a system that self-destructed. The article identifies the need for a separate system of justice by citing examples of failure when the adversarial model is applied to juvenile matters. The author maintains that the juvenile justice system is at a crossroad which requires an affirmation rather than a condemnation of the notion that youth are more than "short adults" necessitating incapacitation until they "grow-up."

An Assessment of Treatment Effectiveness By Case Classifications.—Authors James M. Robertson and J. Vernon Blackburn studied the effects of treatment upon probationers by formulating three questions which asked if court-ordered treatment had any effect on the revocation percentage of probationers in the minimum, medium, and maximum supervision categories as established by four major base expectancy scales. Summarized, the treatment group had lower revocation percentages in 10 out of 12 supervision categories. These results led to positive conclusions regarding the effects of treatment in reducing probation failures.

Forecasting Federal Probation Statistics.—The procedures used in forecasting Federal probation population totals are explained with the intention of making these techniques available to the individual probation office. Author Steven C. Suddaby discusses long- and short-term projections and difficulties which are peculiar to probation forecasting.

The Armed Urban Bank Robber: A Profile.—An analysis of 500 armed bank robbers revealed that they do not fit the stereotype of sophisticated professional criminals, say authors James F. Haran and

John M. Martin. Rather, these robbers are a cohort of young adult, unattached, socially disorganized males, predominately black, poorly educated, and lacking vocational skills; most are unemployed, previously arrested property offenders. Twenty-five percent are drug addicts. They make little profit from their crimes, are swiftly arrested, and receive long jail sentences. A fourfold typology of offenders is developed based on career patterns of prior property crime offenses. The authors propose that selective sentencing, focused more on the career pattern rather than the crime, might render a more effective sentencing formula.

Female Employees in All-Male Correctional Facilities.—Court decisions have opened the doors for women to work in male corrections, but the real struggle to find acceptance and promotion within the system is just beginning. According to authors Rose Etheridge, Cynthia Hale, and Margaret Hambrick, this struggle takes place within the parameters established by inmate, staff, and community attitudes and the attitudes and motivations of the woman herself. Images of women developed long before the working relationships color her interactions with inmates and staff. The authors stress that the woman must understand what is happening and use specific coping strategies if she wants to succeed.

Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control in Israel.—The number of youth committing serious crimes in Israel is reaching alarming proportions. After discussing the scope and dimensions of the delinquency problem in Israel, author Gad J. Bensing describes the Israeli juvenile justice system and explains the prevention and control strategies of the police, the courts, and the juvenile probation department. Although law enforcement and delinquency prevention was never a national priority in Israel, a reallocation of resources may be required to meet the new domestic needs.

I Didn't Know The Gun Was Loaded.—The judgment of criminal intent has become formalized in Western law as a way of appreciating more fully the nature and quality of an unlawful act and, implicitly, assessing the character and social fitness of the accused. However desirable in theory, the evidential determination of intent, a subjective phenomenon, may pose complex problems. Author James D. Stanfiel proposes a revised concept of criminal intent, one less heavily dependent upon rational choice as a precondition of legal accountability.

The Evolution of Probation

University Settlement and its Pioneering Role in Probation Work*

BY CHARLES LINDNER AND MARGARET R. SAVARESE**

ALTHOUGH THE settlement movement originated in England with the founding of Toynbee hall in 1884, the underlying settlement idea was quickly appropriated by a small band of young, energetic Americans and transported to the United States. Here, it took hold and spread so rapidly that by the turn of the century, there were more than 100 settlement houses, of all types and descriptions, most of them located in the largest, most heavily populated urban centers.

There were many similarities between the English social settlement movement and its American cousin. Both had come about as a response to the ever-growing tide of urbanization and industrialization, and both were envisioned as one possible remedy for the social rifts and disorganization which inevitably accompanied these two processes. Thus, the settlement movement on both sides of the Atlantic attempted to repair these rifts and "sought to reconcile class to class, race to race, and religion to religion."¹ The English and American settlement movements were also very much alike in that both tended to attract clergymen, professors, writers, and, more than anyone else, young men and women eager to serve their fellow man in some socially useful way. In America, the pioneering settlement residents were, invariably, not only young but also well-educated, usually with some post-graduate training, from solidly middle or upper-class backgrounds, and of old, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant stock.

In addition to the similarities, there were also differences between the English and American versions of the settlement movement. Unlike their English counterparts which were often church-affiliated, most of the American settlements were deliberately nonsectarian and devoid of any formal adherence to doctrine or ritual, although the individual founders and leaders were often deeply

religious themselves. An even more significant difference was the involvement of many of the American settlements in a wide variety of reform measures designed to improve the lot of the thousands of impoverished immigrants who were pouring into the already congested, tenement neighborhoods. Their continuous day-to-day presence in these neighborhoods brought the early settlement residents face-to-face with a bewildering array of problems that cried out for attention and amelioration and turned many of them into political activists. Jane Addams, of Hull House, touched on just a few of the problems which galvanized settlement residents into fighting for social change when she wrote:

Insanity housing, poisonous sewage, contaminated water, infant mortality, the spread of contagion, adulterated food, impure milk, smoke-laden air, ill-ventilated factories, dangerous occupations, juvenile crime, unwholesome crowding, prostitution, and drunkenness are the enemies which the modern city must face and overcome would it survive.²

Thus, settlement workers became deeply involved in a broad range of reform activities aimed at eliminating these conditions, and one of the many reform measures which attracted their support was an innovation known as probation. The active role played by a number of very influential settlement leaders in helping probation become an accepted practice has been virtually ignored, although the part they played was a truly critical one. This article continues to explore the link between the settlement movement and the beginning probation movement by focusing on one particular settlement, University Settlement of New York City, and by examining its active involvement and support of probation during its infancy around the turn of the century.

The Early Years of University Settlement

University Settlement, which went on to become one of the most influential of all the settlements, began rather inauspiciously, as the Neighborhood Guild, in a dilapidated tenement on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. The founder was Stanton Coit, a moody, idealistic intellectual who had spent some

*This is the final article in a series of four.

**Charles Lindner is associate professor, Department of Law, Police Science and Criminal Justice, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, New York City. Margaret R. Savarese is supervising probation officer, New York City Department of Probation, Bronx. The authors wish to thank Professor Eileen Rowland, Chief Librarian, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, and her staff for their support and assistance.

¹ Clarke Chambers, *Seedtime of Reform: American Social Service and Social Action, 1918-1932*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963, p. 14.

² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

Female Employees in All-Male Correctional Facilities

BY ROSE ETHERIDGE, CYNTHIA HALE, AND MARGARET HAMBRICK*

THE STRUGGLE of women for the right to work in corrections has accelerated over the past two decades. As women became aware of salary and promotion differentials between the jobs they had traditionally held and those held by men, they sought equality. The struggle has been long and difficult. Issues of security, inmate privacy, physical qualifications, etc., have been cited as outweighing women's rights to equal opportunity. Recently, however, those barriers have been largely removed.

What now remains are those more subtle and less tangible human barriers that operate on a daily basis in the workplace itself. It is one thing for the court to decree that women have the right to work in male corrections and quite another thing for women themselves to put that into action. Getting hired and assigned to a post is only the beginning and indeed may be the easiest part. The real challenge is not only to survive but to succeed on the job itself. This task clearly involves the interaction between the female correctional worker, her supervisors, coworkers, the inmates, and the community at large.

This article discusses the challenges women face in the male correctional environment and proposes constructive approaches to face them in ways which are positive for both the women and the organization for which they work. While many of the issues addressed and suggestions offered may not reflect an ideal situation, the authors believe that they reflect the reality of the environment as it exists today.

Background

While women have long been associated with corrections, it has been in roles which have kept them out of the mainstream. A study conducted by the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training in 1969 found that while women made up 40 percent of the national workforce, they accounted for only 12 percent of the correctional workforce.

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Women in corrections have been traditionally, and remain principally, in all-female institutions and juvenile corrections (Morton, 1981). However, Morton has described a rapidly changing trend. Since 1972, with the passage of Title VI amendment to the 1964 Civil Rights Act and other affirmative action rulings, the numbers of women employed in correctional settings have accelerated. Morton reported that the percentage of female correctional workers increased to 23 percent by 1978. With that increase has come a trend toward sex integration of the workforce in all-male facilities.

In addition to the legislation, correctional agencies and organizations have established standards and policies which reinforce both the letter and spirit of the law. The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals established in 1973 a standard urging correctional agencies to immediately develop policies and implement practices to recruit and hire more women for all types of positions in corrections (Morton, 1981). Following suit, the American Correctional Association issued a policy statement in 1976 encouraging the active recruitment and employment of minorities and women in corrections. Additionally, the Commission on Accreditation for Corrections has adopted standards which call for the implementation of equal employment opportunity programs for minorities and women at all levels.

In 1982, CONTACT, a Nebraska-based information clearinghouse, conducted a survey and found that of the 42 states responding, 41 hire female correctional officers in male institutions. Although the push toward the integration of females in all-male facilities is occurring, the result has not been the kind of upward mobility that males have enjoyed. Females remain employed in small numbers in all-male facilities, and the positions they occupy are typically low-paying, low-status, support, or other non-line positions. Chapman, et al., (cited in Jones, 1983) in a 1980 study for the Center for Women Policy Studies, found a distinct difference in the aspirations of male and female correctional officers that, in part, helps explain the disparity. Males have a greater tendency to aim for administrative positions whereas females are more likely to aim for supervisory posts within their present job category

or middle-management positions. It is quite possible, however, that their low aspirations have been engendered by the lack of opportunity and discriminatory practices which have systematically excluded women from higher level positions.

The fact that women have been employed in small numbers in corrections has prevented their accumulation in numbers sufficient to produce an effective lobby. In addition, their small numbers prevent the development of a support group of peers that is so important to job satisfaction and perseverance through difficult situations. Since women are more likely to have been hired more recently than men due to affirmative action legislation, women lack the seniority of men and are first to be laid off in times of fiscal cutbacks and austerity (Bracey, 1983). But these factors alone do not account for the slow upward mobility of women in corrections. As Bracey concludes:

Although all these variables help to account for the small proportion, low rank and marginal position of women in criminal justice, the most salient factors remain the skepticism and hostility of male employees and, more importantly, institutional barriers to the effective utilization of women. Even if equal employment opportunity legislation mandates the hiring of women in greater numbers, they may still be denied full participation and opportunities for advancement (p. 66).

Motivations And Attitudes

It is acknowledged that some progress has been made with affirmative action and EEO programs to increase the ranks of women working in male corrections. However, a major barrier to the further elevation of the current status of women is the expectancies held by male employees, prisoners, and the women themselves. An examination of these expectancies should assist in advancing the movement further.

Expectancies are made up of the attitudes and motivations that surround correctional work. Motivations may be expressed as reasons for working in corrections in the first place. For example, corrections usually is a secure job with relatively decent pay. It also involves a very needful population. Attitudes may include those the worker expects to project and those that are expected of her.

A new focus can begin with a thorough examination of these attitudes and motivations, the problems and constraints they produce and options for working within the boundaries they create.

Personal and Staff Attitudes

Attitudes are a very important part of approaching any job. In criminal justice settings, there are a number of different attitudes that come into play. The attitudes that women bring to the set-

ting, the attitudes the various staff have, the attitudes of the inmates and of the world outside the setting, all play a part in creating the environment in which the woman must work.

The attitudes that a woman brings to the job are very important in determining how she approaches her work and how others perceive her. One particularly destructive attitude is that she won't succeed because she isn't good enough. This self-doubt will be communicated quickly to both inmates and staff and can be a self-fulfilling prophecy. The attitude that she is good but that others, staff or inmates, will not let her succeed is equally destructive. This attitude might lead to giving up too easily. The best attitude that a woman can bring to the job is that she is fully capable of doing the job or at least as capable as men in similar positions. She should realistically expect difficulties but should approach them as a part of a learning and growth experience and not as a personal attack.

The female correctional worker in a male environment must not only deal with her own attitudes but with those of her coworkers as well. From her peer group, she may face attitudes of over-protection as well as unfair competition. Some fellow workers will want to protect her so much that she does not have a fair chance to do her job. As Martin (cited in Stuart and Carter, 1982) observed, some men "...have less experience with women who refuse to be coddled and who insist upon assuming their share of the work and responsibility" (1982, p. 70). Others will think she has an unfair advantage because less will be expected of a woman or because all she has to do is use her womanly wiles to get ahead (Fox, 1982).

Neither are fellow female staff always supportive. There may be attitudes reflective of the "Queen Bee" syndrome where there is only room for one queen in the hive. The reigning queen kills or drives the others out to eliminate the competition. Women's attitudes toward women must be mutually supportive, not destructive.

Supervisors often have attitudes which impact their relationships with the women who work for them. They, too, can be over-protective or have a higher level of expectation. Their behavior can be colored by their perception of the female employee as daughter or wife because those are roles and relationships they understand. A competent female employee can also be potential future competition, creating a situation different from those in which the male supervisor is used to competing. A totally professional approach on the part of the female employee can cue the supervisor as to how he should respond.

Those in upper management can also have dif-

difficulties sorting out their attitudes toward women workers. Some of their attitudes are programmed in response to EEO and affirmative action programs, but others can be remnants of other times. This group may have more entrenched, traditional attitudes about women's roles and find them harder to overcome. On the other hand, most of the women they deal with occupy positions so far beneath them on the career ladder that they are no real competitive or threat to them. Some are also truly supportive and recognize that a percentage of the future belongs to women and the support of those women will be needed.

Motivations

Workers come to corrections with varied motivations, and women are no exception. As with any job, there are good and bad reasons for wanting it. These days, many people are merely looking for jobs that provide decent pay, some security, and a few retirement benefits. These are not inappropriate reasons for choosing corrections. Corrections is also an area where one can help people and, for many, that is the motivation. However, the corrections worker must be careful not to lose sight of the people to be helped. Staff members can get so wrapped up in helping inmates that they get lost. While this can happen to both men and women, it can be a particular problem when women lose their perspective in male institutions. A concentrated level of attention from a large number of males can be difficult to deal with. If the motivation for working in a correctional environment is or becomes the attention received, then it is inappropriate. Everyone needs supportive relationships and personal attention, but the correctional work environment is no place to meet those needs.

Inmate Attitudes

In the course of a research study conducted in an all-male correctional facility during 1982-83, the female investigator identified several distinct categories of inmate attitudes toward females that heavily influenced inmates' interactions with female staff (Etheridge, in preparation). These attitudes were typically formed long before an inmate encountered female correctional staff. Indeed, these attitudes appeared to take the form of a perceptual set with respect to females, creating expectations of how females will behave toward them and motives

¹Physical traits such as height and weight have been removed as a legal requirement for a job in criminal justice in most states and systems, and it is also the belief of the authors that such traits are irrelevant to job performance. Still, such characteristics often produce initial reactions and expectations with which both males and females must cope (Supreme Court of Oregon, 1981; Potter, 1980).

for females' behavior. Other inmate perceptions and roles appear to be created through actual interactions with females on the job and depend heavily on how the female conducts herself professionally. Although inmates' attitudes and perceptions are influenced by verbal interactions and manner of dress, it is the nonverbal communication to which inmates most keenly attend. This bit of information is significant in that we are less aware of our nonverbal behavior and it is the avenue of communication over which we have least control. Try as we might to convince someone that we are professional and "about business," a too-tight skirt, tilted head, rapidly blinking eyes, and high-pitched voice convey otherwise. Clearly, a goal of achieving complete control over our nonverbal behavior is unrealistic. More within the realm of possibility is creating greater consistency between our verbal and nonverbal behavior. Such consistency avoids the unnecessary conflict and misunderstanding that "double messages" often evoke. Women are just now breaking ground as correctional employees and can ill-afford to reinforce the stereotypes that constrain women and keep them from professional self-actualization.

The research study led to some interesting observations. A new female correctional employee entering an all-male facility for the first time will encounter inmates with attitudes and expectations about her long before she has had a chance to meet and get to know them and they her. These expectations probably arise from some combination of the following:

1. *Experiences Inmates Have Had with Females in the Past* - These are experiences inmates have had with women outside as well as inside the correctional setting. Experiences with mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, girlfriends, etc., are familiar to most men and they may generalize those experiences and expectations to new females they encounter.
2. *A Woman's Physical Characteristics* - Physical qualities such as age, race, height, weight, etc., may trigger an image and an expectation of a female based on that inmate's expectation of the behaviors and attitudes of women of a particular age, race, height, etc. Relatively short females of slight build may be stereotyped initially as cute and dainty whereas larger women may evoke a characterization on the more intimidating end of the continuum. Female correctional officers in particular must face this initially as they attempt to establish who they are and the limits they will tolerate.¹

3. *A Woman's Job Title and/or Position in the Organization* - Job titles and positions denote power and the degree to which one is able to influence and control the lives of others. A nurse, warden, secretary, chaplain, counselor, department head, student, volunteer, and correctional officer may all evoke different responses simply as a result of job titles and the relative status of those jobs in the organizational hierarchy.

It is important to realize that, initially, one or more of the above may be operating to produce reactions from inmates which have nothing to do with a woman's competence or lack thereof. Whether these reactions are positive, negative, or indifferent, it is helpful to realize that they are initial reactions only, subject to change as inmates gather more information about the woman in question. Regardless of sex, the recommended way to deal with inmate's roles and images is in a straight-forward, non-manipulative way, and, in so doing, demonstrate that the same is expected in return. Especially in a correctional setting, a woman must be a role model, not only for inmates but for new female recruits as well.

Cultural Stereotypes

Some of the common images that male inmates hold about women are reinforced by stereotypes perpetuated by our culture, the media, and inmates' personal experiences with women. Below are some of the images that cluster around this category that were identified in the context of the correctional research study mentioned earlier:

1. *Mother/Daughter* - A woman's age, style of dress, and manner may convey an image that evokes in the inmate a reflection of his experience with his own mother or daughter or an ideal typification of those roles. Unfortunately, an image of "mother" may call forth a memory of a punitive or rejecting mother, one who manipulates through the infliction of guilt, or the indulgent mother. If a female employee falls into this role, whether knowingly or not, it may cloud interactions by burdening them with excess meanings and feelings. The daughter role may be equally counter-productive for healthy staff-inmate interactions. It is common for males to assume a protective role with females. This tendency is magnified in correctional settings. One factor that might evoke the protector role is a great age difference, something the female can do nothing about. To prevent relationships from developing into

father-daughter (i.e., parent-child), it is important, as a female correctional employee, to function independently to the degree possible and rely on "help" or "advice" only when needed. Ultimately, an unproductive parent-child relationship may be played out all over again as it was in the family.

2. *Girlfriend* - If a woman is flirtatious or conveys the idea she is available for romantic pursuits, she is in trouble, particularly when the "suitor" is an inmate. Ownership is exercised over the woman quickly, jealousy develops among inmates and conflicts erupt which detract from the orderly operation of the institution. Women should establish romantic ties outside the prison environment or at least avoid doing so with inmates.

A woman's position in the organization seems to have an effect on the frequency with which she is faced with the ownership issue. Observations from the correctional research study indicate that secretaries and volunteers frequently have inmates attempt to thrust this role upon them. It is less likely to happen with department heads and other individuals charged with direct care or case responsibilities such as nurses and counselors. It could be that secretaries and volunteers are perceived as less threatening and more approachable than other females. Further, secretaries, unit secretaries in particular, are in frequent contact with inmates and often are alone with them for extended periods, both of which make such approaches more likely.

3. *Friend/Confidant* - Although less troublesome than some of the other roles and images, the friend role may backfire unless a delicate balance is maintained between being a friend and showing favoritism and partiality. As with the girlfriend role, jealousies can develop from the exclusiveness that friendship often connotes.
4. *Peacemaker* - A trait commonly attributed to females is peacemaking. A woman cast in this role of peacemaker may find an abundance of adjectives attached to her such as "nice," "sweet," and "pleasant." While not necessarily an unhealthy role, it can lead to problems if the peacemaker image includes a tendency to effect premature closure in situations where confrontation is called for. It is important to know the difference between judicious peacemaking and inappropriate retreat.
5. *Gullible, Naive* - For some inmates, there are two kinds of women, the pure, clean and untouch-

ed, and the loose, tainted and sinful. For these inmates, there are no shades of gray on this issue. The pure, untouched female, because of her purity, is also gullible and naive because she knows nothing of the "underside of life." Besides, her mind just doesn't work that way. Her initial conceptions of people are not in terms of their potential for manipulation and wrong-doing. She perceives them as good and as pure as she. Consequently, she is gullible and naive and easily manipulated.

6. *Rescuer/Savior* - The perception of women as rescuers and saviors is a natural extension of their characterization as pure and above sin. Inmates who hold this view of women see their purpose in life as that of caretaker. Often being strongly motivated toward the helper role anyway, women are defenders of the morality. It is their job to monitor and enforce the moral code of society for both men and themselves. In so doing, they must rise above sin. Their inherent purity and natural drive toward helping pave the way for the rescuer/savior role. Males are inherently sin-directed so women must "reach down in the mire" and pull them up from the depths. However, if a woman falls from the pedestal, she is a "fallen woman" no longer capable of rescuing.
7. *Bleeding Heart Liberal/Sympathizer* - Male inmates look for bleeding heart liberals who are often (but don't necessarily have to be) enthusiastic college students or volunteers who are ideologically committed to equality, justice, and the side of the underdog. Inmates may be seen exclusively as victims of American capitalistic society and therefore deserving of a favorable judgment whatever the issue or situation. To male inmates, this role is consistent with the image of women as nurturing and helpful. It is easy to become caught up in a zeal to meet a need. In so doing, however, perceptions often become narrow and one-sided. A woman who blinds herself to the various sides of an issue is handicapped in carrying out her duties and may find herself manipulated by those who know her leanings all too well.

Power Issues

Other roles and images that women may convey relate to issues of power. Male dominance and female submission is the norm for many in society. When a woman takes a job in a prison, the power issue becomes acute and is often played out in its rawest form. Male inmates are cast in a position of

powerlessness, stripped of the rights of normal citizens and dominated by other males. Adding females to the ranks of power figures is like rubbing salt in the wound, the ultimate degradation. Some inmates feel the humiliation intensely. In fact, a familiar theme discovered in the correctional research study was inmates' belief that the prison administration had purposefully hired female staff to make humiliation a vital part of the punishment for their crimes.

How inmates see power is important to the functioning of any female in a prison setting. Some of the roles and images that seem to cluster around the power issue are as follows:

1. *Weak, Passive Female* - Observations from the correctional research study indicated that inmates were rarely neutral on the issue of feminine power. Indeed, there are strong sentiment and even chivalrous support of the weakness and powerlessness presumed inherent in womanhood. Some inmates reported that they would never allow a woman to go into "business" with them on the street because they're weak and "fold under pressure." You can't trust a woman with information because she'll "give it up under pressure." Homosexuals are typically considered weak people because they are like women. Because women are weak and passive, the image goes, they have to be protected, defended, and taken care of by males. Some women feel this works to their advantage in a prison setting. This push to protect the female employee may be a power-grabbing technique used by the male inmate in his dealing with all women. The advantage of this attitude rests on the face-saving qualities provided the prisoner by the protective posture. After all, if a woman needs protecting, how powerful can she be? This image may not provide the safety that some women believe, however. There are many instances where a woman's refusal of male protection has been taken as a rebuff. Conflict often arises when females don't share this perception of themselves as weak and helpless. It is questionable whether a female staff member can do an effective job if she and others believe that she is weak, helpless, and in need of protection.

2. *Overly Masculine, Dominant Female* - This role is usually unacceptable to inmates. Some may see it as a sadistic urge born of insecurity in the female. If a woman is unsure of her sexual identity, she may be seen as one who can be manipulated and distracted through flattery.

3. *Women as Property* - Inmates often refer to their girlfriends on the street as "my woman." This attitude of women as property often enters the institution with inmates and is transferred to female staff. Some inmates attempt to monopolize a female staff member's time and order inmates away from her presence after they lay claim to her. It is as if they have been endowed with the right to decide how and with whom she spends her time. Inmates may sometimes get angry and demanding if their bids for attention and exclusiveness are not met. Other inmates may use their contacts with females as precious goods they can trade or barter. They may assume the role of gate-keeper, allowing other inmates access to the female for a price. The female who allows this to happen or is unaware that it is occurring may find herself in a confrontation with other inmates around the issue of exclusiveness.
4. *She Functions and Thinks Like a Man* - The message here is, "if she's performing well and using power effectively, she's behaving as a man would in the situation, not as a woman." Her abilities and performance may be automatically discounted by attributing to them a masculine origin. Research comparing the job performance of male and female correctional officers indicates that gender makes no difference in the evaluations of officers. They perform in the same professional manner in similar situations (Bowersox, 1981, p. 492). There are subtle variations in the way they go about their duties, however. One difference that has sometimes been observed is the tendency of males to intervene with force in a conflict more readily than females. Recent research indicates that females may be more inclined to defuse potentially volatile situations without the use of force (Petersen, 1982, p. 444). Thus, "she functions and thinks like a man" is not necessarily a compliment.

Personal Insecurities

There are other personal insecurities that, if allowed free expression, may override professionalism and interfere with the performance of one's duties. To have insecurities is no indictment of one's character. It is important, however, for a woman to know herself well enough to be able to recognize her insecurities and be able to cope with them when they occur rather than allowing them to control her. From the correctional research study mentioned earlier, several categorizations of female staff insecurities were identified by male inmates. Rather, they were idiosyncratic vulnerabilities that inmates

noted in certain female staff members, qualities inmates used to their advantage as the "need" arose. Several inmates reported that, lacking in legitimate power, they capitalized on staff insecurities and vulnerabilities in order to control their environment.

1. *Ax to Grind* - A woman who cares too strongly about an issue may be setting herself up for a needless confrontation or manipulation. Issues related to feminism, minority group advocacy, politics, personal vendettas, etc., may rub the often raw nerves of other staff members as well as inmates. Issues about which one feels deeply and emotionally should be handled with caution and discretion.
2. *Insecurity About Being Liked* - Those women who are afraid of not being popular are probably setting themselves up not to be. A woman who is afraid of not being liked by inmates and staff may be putting herself in a position of bargaining for that popularity. Eventually, compromises may be made that undermine professionalism. Women are often more sensitive to rejection than men and respond more intensely to real or imagined slights, rebuffs, confrontations, and general negative feedback. Women need to stop equating being popular with professionalism and success.
3. *Insecurity About Intelligence* - Prisons are increasingly becoming places where confrontations take place on a cerebral rather than a physical level. Further, women, because of the image they convey, are not typically viewed as legitimate targets for physical aggression. Consequently, a woman's intelligence rather than her physical prowess may be challenged when confrontations arise. A woman who doubts her intelligence and expresses it either as intellectual one-upmanship or "poor dumb me" raises a flag to others that this is an area of vulnerability that she may respond to when and if someone wishes to neutralize her power or use her to subvert the rules and regulations.
4. *Insecurity About Personal Appearance* - A woman who is insecure about her physical attractiveness puts herself at a disadvantage in performing her job in a prison setting. A woman may express this kind of insecurity by what she says about other women and their attractiveness and/or by over-responding to flattery. Such a woman may find that she is willing to exchange some things for compliments, or she may feel a need to retaliate against those who deliver uncomplimentary remarks.

5. *Insecurity About Personal Power* - A woman who does not feel that she is able to wield the kind of power she needs to in order to get the job done may be confronted and forced to demonstrate her authority more often than if she conveyed an air of confidence and self-assurance. Further, as with other insecurities, both males and females may be manipulated if an insecurity about personal power comes across as vulnerability.
6. *Catty, Back-Biting, Gossipy* - These descriptors are typically applied to women rather than men. Such behaviors often signal an insecurity and a vulnerability that can be used to others' advantage and the woman's disadvantage. More importantly, it signals a deterioration of the professional role and a conveyance of an undesirable image that may undermine a woman's attempt to progress on the job and in the organization.

Sexuality

For female correctional employees, the issue of sexuality is dangerous to ignore. Inmates are placed in a position of forced celibacy when they are incarcerated. Long-term sexual deprivation is an abnormal condition. Yet it is the reality in a prison setting. Women frequently will be confronted with the fact that they are sexual beings when they work in an all-male prison setting. Under such extreme conditions of deprivation, the issue of sexuality is highly inflated relative to its importance in the free world. Women must acknowledge their sexuality and handle it maturely if they are to carry out their jobs in a professional manner. It goes without saying that romantic attachments between inmates and staff have no place in a prison setting. Many of the stereotypical images inmates hold about females converge on the issue of sexuality:

1. *Righteous, Pure, Virginal* - A point made earlier was that females are often perceived at one end of a dichotomy—either pure, virginal and without sin or as a morally decrepit hussy. Women who are perceived as pure not only can do no evil but also see no evil because of their purity. As a result, they may be manipulated or duped. Unfortunately, the fall from grace is far. Played out in its most macabre fashion, penalties for a "fall" may be physical and very violent. While not a frequent occurrence in prisons, inmate violence against female staff has occurred over this issue.
2. *Easily Offended by Profanity* - Women who are offended by profanity are, in one respect, exposing an area of vulnerability. If someone is sensitive or embarrassed by certain kinds of

language, it can be used as a way to intimidate and harass. It may also signal a certain sheltered lifestyle and naivete.

3. *Hussy/Slut* - Many inmates view the hussy as worthy of outward displays of disgust and disparaging comments. To inmates who are mentally disturbed, she may be a target of physical abuse and violence. In some inmate subcultures, there is no greater fall than a woman's sexual fall from grace.
4. *Seductress/Temptress* - The mere presence of women in a prison setting represents temptation to some inmates. In fact, it is not an uncommon belief among inmates that the administration strategically places female staff in male prisons to torment inmates with "here's something you can't have." Others express the fear that females may seduce them into making an improper approach or advance that will lengthen their stay. Still others feel that they will become powerless in the presence of a pretty face and reveal information that could cause them to be labeled a "snitch" and endanger their safety. The image of woman as temptress is a common one and an important one to recognize. It may well be a stereotype that a female first has to overcome before she will be considered a serious professional by inmates and staff.
5. *Lesbian/Man-Hater* - Some men interpret "masculine" mannerisms they may see in females as a sign of confrontation and aggression toward men. Such women may be met with hostility without any obvious provocation. Inmates have voiced the belief that a female who works in male prisons does so to satisfy a sadistic urge to punish all men for a hurt she suffered from a lover in her past.

Women who reject male sexual advances may be discounted as lesbian by inmates to salve their own wounded masculine pride. Women should come to terms with their sexuality so that they don't respond irrationally and over-aggressively to remarks that question their heterosexuality.

Community Attitudes

Even those outside the immediate work environment have attitudes which can impact women on their jobs. It is still not really acceptable for women to work in the male correctional environment. The motives of those who do are questioned. "Why would a woman want to work in a place like that?" is asked. "Is she trying to be a man?" (i.e., homosexual). "Aren't you afraid?" Underlying all the ques-

tions and comments is the assumption that there must be something wrong. The amazement of those you meet casually can be fun at times but attitudes about the job can get in the way of relationships on the outside. The community at large sees all correctional workers as law enforcement personnel and as such expects a higher standard of conduct from them. Women are no exception. Drug experimentation, abuse of alcohol, and very personal aspects of life come under very close scrutiny. The quantum leap is made in many minds that if she behaves this way in the community she must be even looser on the job where she is surrounded by all those male inmates.

Friendships and other satisfying relationships may be difficult to establish. Those who make overtures may back off when they learn of the job that is held. They may make the assumption that something must be wrong and not wish to invest the time and energy to find out. Others may make assumptions regarding moral stance and act accordingly.

Spouses and family can react negatively to the prospect of a woman's working in male corrections. Concerns for safety as well as the image such a job may create can cause difficulties. It can be threatening to a man to acknowledge to his peers that his wife works as a guard in a male correctional facility. Women have turned down job offers or quit because of such family pressures.

All of the above attitudes and motivations must be realistically acknowledged by the woman who works in male corrections. Once faced, they can be dealt with.

Coping Strategies For Women In All-Male Correctional Facilities

The cautions issued above should not be interpreted as insurmountable odds. There are concrete steps women can take to keep from falling victim to the stereotypical images others may hold. The first step in the process is careful and extensive self-examination. Plato's admonition to "know thyself" will likely never be more important than now as women in corrections attempt to overcome the attitudinal barriers to their full acceptance in all-male settings. Women must examine their own attitudes and motivations for working in corrections, clearly establishing who they are and what they want to do. Once this important initial step is taken, they can then begin to build the kind of image they will need to carry out their jobs safely and competently. Following are outlined some specific coping techniques for female correctional staff in all-male settings.

1. *Interact with inmates in a straight-forward, non-manipulative manner and do so consistently.* As one inmate in an all-male facility put it: "It's not that the women here ain't about business. It's just that some of them ain't about business all the time." The lesson here for the female correctional worker is not to contaminate the image she is trying to convey by being inconsistent. Inconsistent interactions or a lack of congruence between verbal and non-verbal messages is confusing and difficult to interpret. She must know the message she wants to convey and do so clearly and matter-of-factly. One of the most difficult tasks for a new female employee is walking across the compound. She feels hundreds of eyes on her. If she hurries across trying not to see anyone or if she seems to relish the attention and moves her body in response, she has lost the game. In this instance, as always, she should walk purposefully and with deliberate speed: Walk with head erect. Make eye contact. Extend a greeting in a very business-like manner. The female correctional worker is likely to receive compliments, especially at first, and how she responds again gives the inmates clues. The best response is a clipped "thank you" or a nod and a quick movement to a more business-like topic. She has acknowledged that she is the opposite sex while, at the same time, indicating that her purpose is business.
2. *Develop a reputation for treating inmates fairly and impartially.* The female correctional worker must not single out certain inmates for special favors and privileges. Also, she must be aware of how she is spending her time and who she is spending it with. Inmates, by virtue of their position, are keen observers of the subtleties operating in the correctional environment. They know if a female staff member is spending a disproportionate amount of time with a particular inmate. Once the message gets around (and news travels fast in a prison), the female in question has developed a reputation for showing partiality and favoritism. When this happens, a challenge to her authority or a bid for her favors is usually just around the corner.
3. *Dress appropriately.* John T. Malloy, in his book *Dress for Success for Women*, identifies certain ways of dressing that produce images that either help or hinder a woman's job performance. The prison environment with its usually limited numbers of women exacerbates the problems that can occur over the issue of dress.

"Anything a woman wears sends a message" (1977, p. 62). Both staff and inmates will be looking at how the female employee dresses to find clues to how she feels about herself and how she is going to act toward them. Dress that is either too feminine or too masculine will cause problems.

As Malloy observes, "dressing to succeed and dressing to be sexually attractive are almost mutually exclusive" (p. 21). Dressing in a very feminine or sexy fashion will be interpreted as a signal of the female employee's availability and she probably will be approached on that basis. A rejection or denial will also cause problems because the physical cues will contradict what she is verbalizing. This can be taken as a typical female ploy of saying no when she means yes. Low-cut necklines, light clothes, and short or slit skirts are inappropriate in any professional work environment and especially so in a prison. Given that a very feminine style can cause problems, the female correctional worker may be tempted to go to the other extreme and dress in a very masculine manner. This too creates some problems although perhaps more with other staff than inmates. Masculine dress can and will be interpreted as an indicator of sexual deviance. This is also somewhat reinforcing of the male stereotype that "only women who want to be men are interested in working in corrections."

The clothing guides for work in a prison environment are much the same as dressing for any professional position. If there is a uniform required, wear it well. Make sure that it is properly fitted and sized. If it is designed only for men, or if the female version does not have the conveniences required, such as pockets or belt loops, complain through proper channels. It should be clean and pressed and the employee must resist the impulse to feminize it by adding to it.

If there is no uniform required for a particular position, personal dress should be conservative. The clothing should fit well without being too tight or too loose. Skirts and jackets are preferred with the skirts reaching just below the knee. Blouses should not be the "see-through" type. They should be tailored and not frilly. In short, while on the job, a professional, no-nonsense image should be projected. There should be no dichotomy between how the female employee dresses and what she is required to do.

4. *Be prepared for initial negative reactions.* Anything new in a prison setting is a potential

threat, and the introduction of women to the staff in an all-male facility is no exception. Accept the fact that at first no one knows you well enough to have a personal grudge against you. Rather, any initial negative reaction is probably a reaction to what you represent (i.e., change, authority, etc.). Recognize that physical traits such as age, race, height, weight, etc., may cause inmates to react to you in a particular way regardless of what you say or do. Tearing down expectations based on stereotypical images may take time but it is worth the investment.

5. *Maintain a professional distance from inmates.* Don't get too involved in their personal lives and dealings on the compound. A role of professionalism allows for the kind of objectivity that makes for sound decisions and prevents the emotional drain that ends in burnout. The professional role may be hard to maintain because of the pressure from inmates to be more "personal." As one inmate expressed it:

Nurses are hard to talk to because they're always taking notes while you're talking, like an intern. I want more personal conversation. It's like they're professional, like they really didn't take in all you're saying when they're writing.

The professional role need not be synonymous with coldness and impersonality, although to the lonely inmate who wants female companionship, the professional role may seem distant indeed.

6. *Deal with conflict decisively and assertively.* Don't be afraid of confrontation. On the other hand, don't hesitate to use other approaches when appropriate. Know the difference between being assertive and being aggressive. As a rule, "assertive" opens doors that "aggressive" can't.
7. *Build positive relationships with male co-workers.* Even though you may be met with less than an enthusiastic reception, treat male co-workers cordially and professionally at all times. Inmates often take their cue as to how to relate to female staff from observing what male staff say about a particular woman and how they relate to her. Although a woman can't control vicious, unprovoked rumors started by males threatened by her presence, she can keep from adding fuel to the fire. Inmates are very observant and can quickly weed out false pieces of information simply by observing disparities between a woman's behavior and what is said about her.
8. *Develop a support network of other females in*

the organization. The support of other women in the organization can be a key source of comfort and fortification in stressful times. Women who have been on the job for a while can offer guidance and advice from the wisdom their experience has provided. New employees can help each other by sharing their experiences and perceptions, letting each other know that "you're not in this alone." It may even be helpful to create a formal organization of female correctional employees to deal more formally and in-depth with the career issues of women. Care must be taken, however, not to become cliquish and exclusive. Special interest groups have a way of developing into factions and factions can quickly create divisiveness and become isolated from the mainstream of the prison environment. If a formal organization seems to meet a need, go ahead with it, but invite men to the meetings. Make an effort to sensitize them to the concerns of women in correctional settings.

9. *Keep an open mind.* Try to avoid snap judgments and look at all sides of issues. Think of your job as one of information-gatherer in addition to your formal duties. Develop an inquiring mind and work to develop creative solutions to problems. Your very survival in the organization may depend on this ability.
10. *Be supportive of other women.* Inmates judge a woman by what she says about other women. Women who criticize other women are considered insecure and vulnerable. The woman who criticizes other women hurts herself and other women as well. A woman will face enough roadblocks on the job without having more erected by those who share her ordeal.
11. *Do your job.* Neither ask for nor accept special favors. Don't let others make allowances for you because you're female. Show by your actions that your femaleness will not be a burden to fellow staff and inmates. Never use your femaleness as an excuse.
12. *Prepare for the next job.* Any person looking to move up the career ladder of an organization must be preparing to meet the qualifications at the next step. Potential future jobs should be identified and the requirements for them determined. Learning experiences on the job should be sought even if that means working an undesirable shift or post. If necessary, go back to school during off hours for the required education or specialty training.

Many correctional employers require geographical mobility for promotion and this can be an extremely difficult question for a woman. She must determine if this is a factor and make her decisions about it. If mobility is required, the woman must be willing to move or accept the fact that however good and qualified she is, she may not be selected for promotion.

13. *Keep your mental health in good repair.* Corrections is a highly emotional business. Correctional workers deal with human lives and destinies. Inmates will sap them of emotional strength if they let them. The self-control and situational control needed to do the job is also draining. If the female correctional worker is not an emotionally strong person, corrections is not for her. Even people who are emotionally vulnerable for a specific reason, who normally may be strong, need to be cautious. A sympathetic inmate ear offered to a newly divorced woman can be tempting. The inmate may be able to provide exactly the kind of support needed, but the context is wrong. It is a adage in corrections that "your personal business is no business of inmates."

Women who are not used to male attention can have problems dealing with the sudden deluge they will receive. Keep a perspective and realize that, to male inmates in their state of sexual deprivation, anything resembling a female is attractive. A woman must not be flattered into thinking that she is the most special, attractive, desirable woman that has ever walked through the door. It is difficult to keep from losing perspective in an environment where women may become the objects of adoration. Many women report finding it helpful to develop a satisfying private life outside the institution. They must not let their work become their only source of reward, fulfillment, and satisfaction. Develop stimulating friendships and interests unrelated to work.

A Woman's Place In Male Corrections

What do women have to offer as members of the staff in all-male institutions? Do women have anything to offer that is distinctly different from their male colleagues? What is a woman's place in male corrections? The answer to the last question is any place and all places.

The presence of women in the work force of all-male institutions is relatively new, particularly in positions men have traditionally filled, e.g., correctional officers. It is no secret that expectation of

women's performance is high, perhaps disproportionately so. There is concern on the part of their male counterparts and inmates as to whether women are capable of performing the duties that are required of correctional personnel. The worry is whether women can handle the physically and mentally demanding and stressful situations that one is confronted with in the correctional setting. Being considered the "weaker sex" could seemingly put women at a disadvantage, if what is expected is brawn as opposed to brains. All correctional personnel are required to show professionalism, competency, and the ability to use their heads, both in a crisis and in the performance of day-to-day responsibilities of correctional work. What is expected of women is no different, and women can offer no less. As Camille Graham, Deputy Director of Adult Institutions, Arizona Department of Corrections, concludes:

The only ingredients necessary for being a woman employed in a male institution also apply to male correctional workers. Masculine traits are not necessary; professional traits are (Graham, 1981, p. 27).

Women must conduct themselves in the workplace with the highest degree of professionalism and competence. It is quality job performance that will distinguish women in all-male institutions, as in any organization or career they enter.

Because of undeniable physiological differences and the unique role women occupy in society, female correctional workers do have something distinctly different from men to offer the correctional environment. The male inmate, though for the moment barred from normal contact with women, has developed an image of what a woman is or should be. Unfortunately, the image that most of them have of a woman is neither positive nor healthy. A woman is, to most of them, an object of pleasure, subordination, or abuse. Inmates tend to hold onto these images of women as the norm and may not be aware or open to the possibility of more positive images. At best, women are viewed as little more than objects, dependent, needing protection, and incapable of being independent career women sharing responsibility with them.

The presence of women as correctional staff in all-male institutions is significant in that women can provide positive images of women who exercise power and give the inmate an opportunity to observe and interact with them as professionals. Women in positions of authority may cause some immediate discomfort to the inmate while, at the same time, they disrupt his perception of women. Perhaps they will, in some way, induce him to take women seriously and view them, not as objects of

pleasure and abuse or as dependent, dumb creatures or those to be feared or revered because of some power they may have over him, but rather as persons of integrity, intellect, and ability.

Presenting positive images will depend largely on how a woman conducts herself in the institution. She is highly visible in the correctional community who is observing the way she dresses, the way she walks, and the way she relates to other staff and inmates. When relating to staff and inmates, a woman should be comfortable with herself. She is not a man, therefore she should not act like a man. In fact, co-workers may find it difficult to relate to a woman who masquerades as a man. What is expected is that she display the warmth, sensitivity, and understanding that are usually attributed to women, traits that all correctional employees would be well-advised to develop and refine. The woman should be feminine but firm, be assertive and not play games. She should make sure that people know where she stands at all times. It is important for her to be honest and forthright, and a person of her word. It is not wise to make promises that she does not intend to or cannot keep. Expectations regarding a woman's performance are high; therefore, there is little room for error, especially where matters of personal integrity are concerned.

Single-sex institutions are abnormal settings and make incarceration even more difficult for inmates. The presence of women in all-male institutions brings some normalcy to the situation. Many inmates maintain that the presence of women in the institution helps them feel like they are still a part of the real world. Others report that they groom themselves more carefully and watch their language, manners, and behavior more diligently in the presence of women (Graham, 1981; Petersen, 1982). Perhaps the presence of women in all-male prisons is just what is called for to add elements of humaneness and civility to an all-too-often hostile and uncivilized environment.

Conclusion

The struggle of women for the right to work in the male correctional environment in jobs which carry higher salaries and promotion potential seems to be over. However, their struggle to win the acceptance of their male co-workers and male inmates and to achieve the cooperation needed to give them an even chance of succeeding is just beginning.

The woman who finds herself working in a male correctional environment must realistically face the ingrained attitudes of her male (and often female) co-workers and inmates and be prepared to deal with

them. This requires a thorough knowledge of what those attitudes are likely to be and ways of coping with them effectively. At the same time, she must maintain her sense of self-worth and contribution to her chosen field.

The removal of the legal and formal barriers to employment has been only the first step. The larger task of removing the less tangible human barriers of the workplace remains. It is vital that, given the small numbers, every woman do her best to succeed. It is only with the continuing progress of women through the ranks of male corrections and into top management that the place of women overall is finally assured.

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