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Document Title: The Culture of Prison Sexual Violence

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Document No.: 216515

Date Received: November 2006

Award Number: 2003-RP-BX-1001

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THE CULTURE OF PRISON SEXUAL VIOLENCE

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THIS REPORT WAS PREPARED FOR THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF JUSTICE
THROUGH GRANT NUMBER 2003-RP-BX-1001

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Executive Summary

The goal of this research was a nationwide study of the culture of prison inmate sexual violence. The principal investigators, at the behest of the National Institute of Justice, conducted a socio-cultural study of prison sexual violence in men's and women's high-security prisons across the United States. A multidisciplinary advisory panel composed of prominent scholars and correctional practitioners contributed to research design and methodology.

This study's qualitative methodology involved collecting interview data in comprehensive, semi-structured interviews. These interviews allowed inmates to freely express their subjective perceptions on sexual violence. The interview instrument was culturally sensitive and pre-tested in men's and women's prisons. A systematic sampling design resulted in selecting 564 inmate participants (408, men; 156, women) in 30 prisons in 10 States. Strict procedures protected the anonymity and confidentiality of both the prisons in the study and the inmate participants.

Inmate participants were experienced in prison life. At the time of their interview, 66.3 percent of men and 46.3 percent of women had served more than 60 months; 63.1 percent of men and 35.1 percent of women had served more than 120 months. Race and ethnicity was distributed across the sample as follows: 46.8 percent black, 40.2 percent white, 9.9 percent Hispanic, and 3.0 percent other. Prior to their imprisonment, 22.4 percent of male inmates, and 25.8 percent of women inmates self-reported gay or bisexual relationships.

According to the analysis, women perceived that 59.7 percent of the other inmates in their prisons were gay and 11 percent were “on the down low” (practiced socially hidden same-sex relations). Men inmates perceived that 14.8 percent were gay, and 27.5 percent were “on the down low.” Additionally, in their respective prisons, women and men inmates were asked for their subjective estimate on homosexual behavior. Women inmates perceived that 70.7 percent of inmates engaged in homosexual conduct; men inmates perceived that 42.3 percent of inmates engaged in homosexual conduct.

Inmates were asked for their subjective estimate on sex-related prison management issues. Sixty-six percent of men inmates and nearly 71 percent of women inmates reported they were aware of inmate-staff mutual sex relationships. Collectively, 9.1 percent of men and women inmates reported they were aware of a case of an inmate raped by a staff member. Among men and women inmates, respectively, 33.5 percent and 28.2 percent indicated they knew of inmate-reported rape to staff. Nearly 38 percent of men and 51.2 percent of women knew of false rape allegations against staff.

The analysis of the study related to inmate safety had qualitative and quantitative findings. A majority of inmates reported that inmates’ safety—protection from physical and sexual assault, was the personal responsibility of inmates, independent of institution efforts to protect them. Regardless of these personal perceptions, 28.2 percent and 31.5 percent, respectively, reported that a correctional system’s policies and procedures can protect them against rape. Men and women inmates reported on average that 56.8 percent and 62.5 percent, respectively, of correctional officers try to protect them against rape. Five percent of women and 22.0 percent of men reported they were certain that at least one rape occurred in an institution they were housed in their life-time experience of

imprisonment. Nine percent of women inmates and 21.3 percent of men inmates reported some worry or sense of threat caused by a potential rape. Inmates reported they did not fear imminent rape. However, they acknowledged such behavior may occur.

This study conducted a culturally sensitive analysis of prison inmates' subjective perceptions of prison sexual violence. Prison socialization gave them a shared body of cultural knowledge and rules of behavior on social-sexual conduct and sexual violence.

The qualitative analysis of hundreds of hours of interview data had six major findings:

- (1) Inmate culture has a complex system of beliefs and norms on sexual conduct. Beliefs and norms in concert with numerous social and economic issues create multiple interpretations of aggressive sexual conduct. Acts of similar sexual violence that occur in one context may have a different interpretation in another context. Interpretation depends on the pre-assault behavior of the victim, assailant, and other inmates' perceptions of the causes of the sexual violence. However, men and women inmates reported that prison rape as they defined it did not frequently occur.
- (2) Inmates reported they "self-police" the prison community in an effort to maintain peace and social order.
- (3) Inmates reported numerous protective social arrangements, such as religious groups, recreation friendships, and support by older inmates, to facilitate safety from physical and sexual violence. These arrangements also provide men and women inmates with social and emotional support.
- (4) Inmate sexual culture allows for inmates' disagreement on the meaning of acts of sexual violence in similar contexts. Some inmates may interpret sexual violence as rape

while others interpret a similar act as sexual violence other than rape. A key issue that distinguishes the meaning of sexual violence hinges on the response of a victim toward an aggressor after the act of sexual violence.

(5) Prison inmates judge prison rape as detrimental to inmates' social order. Prison rapists are unwelcome in a prison community.

(6) While men's and women's prisons show differences in observable social behavior, these prison cultures share a system of cultural beliefs, values, and norms. This shared culture results in similar subjective interpretations of sexual violence.

This project led to research-oriented recommendations with practice-oriented implications. Research recommendations would strengthen evidence-based practices. Staff training should emphasize heightened awareness of inmates' informal activities. Interviews with inmates indicate that correctional officers disregard inmates' informal activity in dorms and cell blocks. Who inmates hang out with, why they hang out with certain other inmates, social group composition, and so on, would give line staff direct observational input on potential pairings of sexual aggressors and victims.

Interview data showed that scared or naive inmates may not participate in social activities, such as watching television in a day room or playing cards. Rather, these inmates and those who have previously been victimized may remain within close proximity to their cells or bedding area in dorms. Victims of physical and/or sexual violence may not use shower facilities out of fear of further sexual or physical attacks. Line-staff observational training could enhance corrections officers' abilities to observe inmate social patterns. These direct, low-cost approaches to supervision would enable staff to systematically gather information on social interactions. This information could

be the basis of pre-emptive violence prevention and intervention. As a result of these changes in observational behaviors, corrections officers would be more likely to identify sexual aggressors resulting in these inmates being transferred to other housing units or institutions before the violence occurred.

Interviews consistently reported that rapists are unwelcome in mainstream inmate society, they have few companions, and their social life rests on the margin of inmate society. These insights can be tested with formal methods of social network analysis. If rapists could be identified through officer observation of the inmates' marginal behavior, institutions could devise pre-emptive approaches to identify and isolate potential rapists.

Observation data in concert with incident report information could provide the basis of a formal analysis of inmate social networks. Inmates hang out with different companions for different reasons. Some companions hang out for legitimate and nonviolent recreation, such as playing cards or watching television. Other companions hang out for illicit reasons, including physical, sexual, or economic exploitation of non-combative inmates. While systematic observations can provide some information on these groupings, the analysis of social affiliations from incident reports can be the basis of creating a graphic visualization of inmates' social interactions. Such visualizations illustrate how inmates are linked to one another for particular reasons.

Interviews reported that debts were often a cause of physical or sexual violence. Staff analysis of commissary expenditures matched against incident reports and staff observations could identify inmates who are economic aggressors. This analysis could also identify inmates who have no commissary expenditures. These inmates are at high risk of borrowing goods from other inmates. Borrowing without repayment can lead to

sexual violence. The act of borrowing itself puts a borrower in a passive position and subject to others' whims. These whims may include sexual favors to repay debts. Additionally, new inmates are given the opportunity to purchase commissary goods. However, older inmates prey on new inmates. Aggressive inmates may steal goods or conjure a manipulative relationship with new inmates. Such a relationship, interviews showed, may end in sexual favors or sexual violence. This suggests that institutions should regulate and carefully monitor new inmates' commissary purchases. At this point, incident report analysis and observation information would help staff find aggressive inmates who steal from new inmates.

This research as well as previous studies of prison social and economic systems shows that prison social and economic sub-systems are integrated. However, this research shows that inmate culture—inmates' learned and shared norms, beliefs, and rules, have a strong influence on inmate behavior. Single innovations, such as additional cameras or improved supervisory practices alone may not facilitate a long-term decrease in sexual violence.

Interview data analysis had implications for the improvement of new-inmate orientation. New inmates experience high levels of anxiety. Many new inmates who have no prison experience reported that staff orientation leaders frightened them with likelihood of rape inside the institution. Staff did not act to mitigate their fears and worries about rape; rather, inmates said, they were told they would have to learn 'how to handle it.' Inmates reported that staff said sexual violence was part of prison life; some inmates said staff told them that sexual victimization was part of their punishment. On the other hand, when inmates entered the mainstream inmate population they did not

encounter sex aggression or they were supported by older inmates or inmates they knew from free society. Generally, inmates said staff 'tortured' them with threats of sexual victimization. Only later did they find prison life safer than they had expected.

Data analysis shows that inmates' level of worry about rape remains relatively low over their period of incarceration. However, inmates hear gossip about rape incidents or tales of egregious rape that happened long ago. Only after inmates are socialized do they realize that what they hear about rape does not necessarily match their direct experiences.

Inmate orientation trainers must provide a balanced account of sexual and other types of violence. Trainers must never intentionally or unintentionally use the threat of sexual violence to manipulate inmates and frighten them. Trainers must always reinforce positive trends in inmates' social life and in staff-inmate communication relationships. Staff must always tell inmates that their fears and worries about rape will be taken seriously. Inmates often said correctional officers disregard or discount or devalue inmates' concerns over sexual or physical violence. Corrections administrators should be sensitive to the concerns of incoming inmates and train their staff appropriately to deal with these fears. Staff should be trained in positive forms of communication. They must learn how to express empathy toward inmates. They must learn how best to handle anxious inmates and those whose fears of sexual violence are justifiably real.

Inmates reported that generally line-staff interact with them in a professional manner. However, there are some who, inmates said, despise them only because they are inmates or in some cases are known or suspected to engage in homosexual behavior. Line-staff who inmates perceive to be fair and professional should train other correctional

officers to engage in similar professional behavior. Institutions must make a concerted effort to retrain professional corrections staff and reinforce the need for objective, professional interactions with inmates. Inmate complaints about alleged homophobes should be taken seriously. Obvious homophobic behavior by staff should be dealt with in a serious manner. Abundantly clear from the data are the serious management implications of poor staff communication and shirked responsibilities in supervising and treating all inmates fairly and professionally.

Inmates said that reporting sexual pressure or rape to staff most often results in the deterioration of a victim's lifestyle. He or she would be locked down in administrative detention while staff conducted an investigation. Some inmates said they could be locked down for years or transferred to another institution, where they'd have to assimilate to a new mainstream population. All the while, a sexual aggressor whose guilt was not substantiated may be returned to general population. Institution practices must design mechanisms that are not perceived as punishment for victims who report rape.

Women inmates reported that staff-inmate mutual sexual relationships are rather common (as data showed). Inmates said that such relations, while bringing them contraband or other material goods, erode their trust in staff; to paraphrase, 'if we cannot trust staff to obey the rules, why should we.' The erosion of trust becomes complicated when staff-inmate sexual relations cause jealousy and strife among inmates. The data in this study is clear: Women inmates know about sexual relations between inmates and male and female staff. Financial rewards offered to staff and inmates may encourage them to report violators of the sexual prohibition against sex with inmates.

Overall, the data show that correctional, program, and administrative staff have a limited understanding of the cultural and social dynamics of inmate social life. A more realistic appraisal of the staff's impact on inmates' behavior and anxieties, coupled with serious institution remedies for failing to meet professional standards would create a more positive inmate culture, which in turn would contribute to long-term formal and informal mechanisms to prevent sexual violence

CHAPTER 1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON PRISON CULTURE AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE RESEARCH

This literature review analyzes eight decades of scholarship on prison culture, prison sexuality, and prison sexual violence. Two complementary perspectives guided the literature analysis. First, research studies' contributions to the field of prison sexuality and sexual violence were abstracted and key issues highlighted. Second, particularly influential studies, such as Fishman's 1934 and Clemmer's 1940 research, were analyzed for their historical influence on contemporary prison theory of sexuality and sexual violence.

Research studies are reviewed by decade –1930s to 1950s; 1960s to 1980s; and 1990s to 2000s. The history of prison sexual culture studies have focused on men's prisons. However, in the past 20 years the rate of women's imprisonment has increased and so has interest in women's prison research. This literature review examines men's and women's prison research but does so separately. There are three reasons for a separate review of men's and women's studies. First, early and middle decades of prison research were dominated by men's prison studies. While today's literature on prison culture studies includes men's and women's prison studies, the core knowledge of prison sexual violence derived from men's prison research. Second, men's and women's prison studies show an early emergence of gender distinctions. This gender-based distinction led to significant interpretative differences for men's and women's prison sexual behavior. An early gender distinction led to a tacit assumption between women's and men's prison culture. Third, men's and women's prison research took different conceptual paths. Men's prison studies posited homosexuality and sexual violence as forces determining

the very nature of men's prison culture. Women's prison studies looked past sexual violence and focused on the complexities of social relations.

Together these disparate but complementary studies lack a holistic interpretation of gender-based prison culture research. The interests of researchers tacitly created a dualistic, macro-level theory of prison culture distinguishing men's vs. women prison culture. Instead, the end product of this literature review will be an argument for a single, macro-theory positing a single prison culture with gender-based behavioral variations. Such a distinction becomes significant in sexual-violence prevention. A dualistic theory infers distinctive forms of prevention and intervention. A single culture theory suggests common prevention and intervention mechanisms adjusted by gender. The former would be more expensive and complex to develop, given the lack of research in women's prison studies. The latter would be more economical and be able to exploit nearly 80 years of research history.

Early Decades of Prison Sex Research

1930s to 1950s

Joseph F. Fishman's 1934, *Sex in Prison: Revealing Sex Conditions in American Prisons*, explored an area of social scientific inquiry few understood 70 years ago. Fishman's theoretical premise, although not specifically named by him, became known as deprivation theory: incarcerated men, driven by the irrepressible need for sexual release, and deprived of "normal" heterosexual outlets, engage in same-sex relations. He distinguished between men who succumb to their need for sexual release and those men

who are forced or coerced into same-sex relations.¹ Fishman assumed that sexual deprivation was the primary source of the ills of prison life.

Should you doubt that deprivation of liberty constitutes the real punishment to a prisoner, imagine yourself living a first class hotel, the only condition being that you do not leave the building. I am sure you would tire of it in a week. Then imagine yourself confined there for from five to twenty-five years, and you can get some idea perhaps of how monotonous and irksome incarceration becomes even under the best of conditions. Fishman wrote: “but you are just one person. Assume now that there are about two thousand of the same sex in the hotel with you under exactly similar conditions, and that you see these same people, and no others, day in and day out, month after month, and year after year” (p. 165).

His work gave a broad outline of the culture of prison sex, and a limited lexicon of prison socio-sexual terminology. This was an important first step at recognizing the interplay between verbal labels and social roles. He recognized openly homosexual men known as “fairies,” “fags,” “pansies,” or “girls.” They exhibited effeminate traits, and were common targets of sexual predation. The ascription of sexual proclivities to physical characteristics became a dominant theme in prison socio-cultural research, which continues to the present day (see Hensley, Tewksbury, and Castle, 2003). There were “wolves” or “top men” who were predators who targeted fairies and younger inmates of slight build perceived to be effeminate. Fishman considered the majority of

¹ Fishman’s concept of deprivation seems to derive from Freud’s 1905 exposition of sexuality in *Three Essays of Sexuality*. Freud made the distinction noted here. He wrote that people deprived of sexual expression will resort to (his word) “intercourse” with members of their sex. Freud wrote: “under certain external conditions—of which inaccessibility of any normal sexual object [exists] . . . they are capable of taking as their sexual object someone of their own sex and of deriving satisfaction from sexual intercourse with him” (Freud, 1905/1962, p. 3). Fishman may have misinterpreted Freud’s connotation of ‘normal.’ Freud’s intent was not abnormal or deviant as interpreted today. Freud’s technical use of normal would be synonymous with ‘baseline,’ as a baseline form of sexual expression.

wolves to be formerly heterosexual men who were driven to homosexuality and sexual predation as a result of sexual deprivation.

Fishman captured the social dynamics of sexual pursuit. He noted that wolves may “court” other inmates, sometimes quite persistently and over a long period of time, and shower them with gifts and favors, hoping to make the target into a “girl.”

They usually begin with a friendly offer to protect the newcomer, and to see that his life in prison is made as easy as possible for him. This offer is often gratefully accepted by the new inmate because he is not yet accustomed to prison life. . . . The first advance is usually followed by the giving of small presents, such as a box of cigarettes purchased from the prison commissary. Unless the new prisoner has someone to ‘put him wise,’ assuming that he does not know the object of these advances, he gradually slips into a position of helpless dependency on his self-styled protector. When the final purpose of these attentions becomes known, and if the object of them resists, he is very often threatened with physical harm. (p. 84)

In addition to the physical violence often suffered by targets of sexual aggression, Fishman emphasizes the moral degradation of becoming a “pervert” and facing the physical harm he believed to be caused by long-term homosexual activity.²

² Fishman refers to homosexuality as moral degradation. Freud did too, but Freud did not judge homosexuality. Freud did not use degradation to infer moral degeneration. In the gentile time of the day, Freud called homosexuals inverters and homosexuality inversion. Inverts, wrote Freud, “do not have a compelling need for sex. Inversion and sex do not coincide. . . . outpourings of emotion . . . are commoner among [inverters] than among heterosexual lovers” (p. 11-12). The association of prison homosexuals with publicly displayed emotions (vs. the stoic image of the non-emotional heterosexual male) appears often in the literature. Additionally, Freud wrote: “Several facts go to show that in this legitimate sense of the word inverters cannot be regarded as degenerate: (1) Inversion is found in people who exhibit no other serious deviations from the normal” (Freud, 1962, p. 4).

Clemmer's *The Prison Community* (1940) made a major conceptual contribution to prison research by identifying culture as a topic of formal study:

. . . a more obvious principle is that the prison, like other social groups, has a culture. "Culture" may be defined as those artificial objects, institutions, modes of life or thought which are not peculiarly individual, but which characterize a group and have both special and temporal contiguity; or, in the oft quoted words of Tylor (1924 [orig. 1871]),³ as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." Culture, therefore, is supra-individual. . . To understand the culture of the prison, knowledge of certain fundamental processes of human interaction is necessary. To the sociologist culture is societal structure, and the social processes are functions. (p. 86-87).

The Prison Community exposed structures and functions of prison culture and described the process by which inmates become socialized to prison culture, a process Clemmer dubbed *prisonization*, a seeming analogy to anthropology's concept of enculturation. Clemmer saw prison culture as an amalgam of many influences: the characteristics, norms, values, and knowledge brought into the prison from their previous lives by a diverse group of inmates; the characteristics of the prison as an isolating and segregating society; and the physical plant and organization of the prison itself, to name but a few.

³ Edward B. Tylor, 1924 [orig. 1871] *Primitive Culture*. 2 vols. 7th ed. New York: Brentano's. Tylor proposed that cultural regularities were determined by general laws of culture rather than biological determinism.

Prisonization proceeded differentially for inmates. The unique interplay of social forces and physical context influenced inmates' experience. Thus, for example, an inmate who, by sheer luck, got a work assignment that allowed him to remain relatively isolated, and a cellmate who was not violent, predatory or involved in drug trafficking, would be prisonized to a lesser extreme of prison life than another inmate whose cell and job assignments forced him into closer contact with hard-core inmates. Clemmer viewed these chance placements of cellmate, cellblock, and work assignment as the strongest determining factors in the degree of inmate prisonization.

Clemmer devoted a chapter to prison sexual activity. Briefly, he views homosexuality of any kind as sexual perversion, and men who engage in homosexuality as either not having followed a "normal" course of male sexual and emotional development, or else as relapsing due to the pressures unique to prison life. These pressures include deprivation of normal heterosexual outlets, but they also include: the relative promiscuity of the average inmate prior to being incarcerated; ubiquitous sexual stimuli in the form of radio and magazine advertisements; the focus on sex in prison argot and humor; and the disquieting affect of the presence of inmates committed for sex offenses and inmates who are openly homosexual.

Deprivation theory remained unnamed in Clemmer's work. Nevertheless the premise of socio-sexual deprivation was a core theme in Clemmer's analysis of prison sex. Unlike later uses of the deprivation concept, Clemmer did not consider deprivation a crucial factor in shaping the culture of prison sex. "Without further elaboration it may be stated categorically that sex yearning and lonesomeness for feminine companionship is

for the great majority of prisoners the most painful phase of incarceration” (p. 256). However, Clemmer specified that multiple forces shaped prison culture.

. . . we have a population of adult males whose previous sex experiences have been wide and generally not restricted. They are unhappy for many reasons. A high degree of yearning for the body of woman engulfs them. They are living together in cramped quarters and are bombarded on every hand by stimuli of a sex nature in newspapers, radio, magazines, and books. In their communication with each other sex topics become an important subject. They are in contact with individuals who are sexually abnormal and were sexually abnormal before they came to prison. Also, about 6 per cent of the population have been sentenced for sex crimes and each of these personalities is an occasion for focusing attention on sex. A consideration of all these factors indicates that the prison culture fosters abnormal sex behavior and tolerates it. (p.257)

Clemmer’s only mention of sex-related violence was in reference to fights that break out between jealous inmates competing for the attentions of the same man. In such cases formerly “straight” convicts initiated sexual advances toward openly homosexual convicts. Clemmer concluded:

The all-male environment, the absence of strong social controls, the impersonalization of social relationships, and, most of all, the existence of centers of infection in the penal culture, stimulate abnormal sex conduct. The most important of the infectious foci are the definite homosexual psychopaths who spread perversion throughout the community. (p. 264)

In the early 1940s, Deveureux and Moos (1942) suggested that homosexuality was not a condition of "human or criminal nature." Rather the problem of homosexuality was caused by inner psychic turbulence. "The process [of becoming a homosexual] is facilitated by the fact that there is always a potential infantile homosexual lurking behind the 'manly' mask of the beast of prey, which rejoices in male society" (pp. 306-324). Perhaps, prison researchers' current concept of the prison sexual predator finds its intellectual genesis in Deveureux and Moos's beast of prey.

Soon after Deveureux and Moos, Karpman (1948, pp. 475-486) wrote that "[a]s the hope of gaining access to a person of the opposite sex recedes farther and farther, the transition from this type [of sex] to the more abnormal expressions takes place sooner or later." He continued: "phantasies gradually develop an abnormal character picturizing paraphiliac situations, the masturbatory practice assumes a definitely pathological aspect, and the nearest thing to a 'real' female is the feminine homosexual." Here too emerged the abnormality of same-sex relations, or the idea that same-sex relations must emerge as a deviant form of sexuality rather than a natural expression of human sexuality. Masturbation, Karpman thought, was pathological behavior. He asserted that the only intervention taken by prison staff to resolve sexual abnormalities was "violent suppression" and that abnormal influences of prison sexual life were carried by inmates back to the community. Finally, a close reading of Karpman finds methodological pitfalls. He bases his interpretations of prison sex on an unspecified theoretical model without identifying any substantive data.

Early Decades: Summary of Key Findings

The early decades of prison culture research created groundwork for decades of later research. An enumeration below finds early research outcomes keyed to scholar and date of research. Also noted are intellectual ideas that flowed from the 1930s through the 1940s.

- Deprived of heterosexual relations men inmates will develop irrepressible urges for sex and will engage in same-sex behavior. Sexual predators were heterosexuals driven to sexual violence by sexual deprivation (Fishman, 1934).
- Prison culture has the power to alter sexual propensities (Fishman, 1934; Sykes, 1958).
- Homosexuality was deviant behavior (Fishman, 1934; Sykes, 1958).
- Prison was a pathological environment and caused inner psychic turbulence and untold psycho-sexual harm (Fishman 1934; Deveureux & Moss, 1942; Karpman, 1948).
- Prison had the power to transform heterosexuals into homosexuals (Clemmer, 1940).
- Homosexual psychopaths spread sexual perversion, like an infection, among inmates and adversely influenced multiple domains of prison life (Clemmer, 1940).
- Infantile homosexual lurking within men-inmates' psyches cause them to become beasts of prey (Deveureux & Moos, 1942).
- Masturbation expresses pathological behavior (Karpman, 1948).
- Prison authorities try to punish homosexuality 'out of' inmates (Karpman 1948).

- Deviant sexual behavior in prison extends to post-release community behavior (Karpman, 1948).

Over many decades the conceptualization of prison sexual predators illustrated their manly qualities and manhood while their prey appears weak and defenseless. These psychological stereotypes of sexual aggressors and prey persist into modern research.

Middle Decades of Prison Sex Research

1950s to 1970s

Influences of World War II on the conceptualization of prison culture

Arguably the single-most theoretically influential prison study was Gresham Sykes' 1958 *The Society of Captives*. Sykes was a Princeton University sociologist who described inmate social life at the New Jersey State Maximum Security Prison. His data were collected from approximately 20 inmates. He said they "served in effect as a panel which could be interviewed again and again over the course of time" (p. 135).

Sykes' far-reaching scholarly influence focused on his prison-as-concentration camp analogy. Writing in the early post-World War II era, Sykes' compared prisons to Nazi concentration camps; at that time, such a comparison seemed natural enough. Sykes infused prison life with multiple deprivations. These include: the deprivation of liberty; the deprivation of goods and services; the deprivation of heterosexual relationships; the deprivation of autonomy; and the deprivation of security. Taken together, these deprivations threatened inmates' ego-structure and created a defiant, survival adaptation. Defiance was also manifest in the prison argot with its emphasis on being a "real man," or someone who can do his time; take what the guards dish out to him; refuse to

complain; and remain cool. A real man “confront[ed] his captors with neither subservience nor aggression” (p. 102).

Out of the prison-as-concentration camp analogy Sykes’s proposed a prisoner code, a defiance of authority manifested itself in strict prohibitions against undue cooperation with prison staff and against “ratting” or “squealing” on other inmates for any reason. Over the past 50 years the concept of the rat or squealer as an inmate who deserves punishment, justifiably so, has been an enduring theme in prison research, even one inmates use to justify severe beatings and homicide of other inmates (Fleisher, 1989).

A contextual theory of prison culture and inmate sexuality emerged in the sociology of Gresham Sykes. Sykes proposed a social and physical environment does have dramatic effects on inmates’ thought and behavior. Bruno Bettelheim’s experience in concentration camps supported Sykes’s thesis of the pervasive effects of concentration camp-like prisons on inmates.

As Bettelheim⁴ has tellingly noted in his comments on the concentration camp, men under guard stand in constant danger of losing their identification with the normal definition of an adult and the imprisoned criminal finds his picture of himself as a self-determining individual being destroyed by the regime of the custodians. It is possible that this psychological attack is particularly painful in American culture because of the deep-lying insecurities produced by the delays, the conditionality and the uneven progress so often observed in the granting of adulthood. (p.75)

⁴ Bruno Bettelheim, an Austrian Jew and psychiatrist, and expert on normal and abnormal child psychology, was a concentration camp survivor.

Just as the prisoner code arises from a defiance-based ego-need as an effect of the loss of liberty and autonomy, inmate culture's other aspects are born of deprivation, including inmate solidarity. In its ideal state, deprivation of goods and services leads to inmate sharing; however, scarcity inevitably creates the 'haves' and have-nots' and leads to the "merchant" or "peddler," the prisoner who takes advantage of other inmates by selling them goods instead of simply sharing them; and the "gorilla," the inmate who takes what he wants by force. Sykes summarizes the issue as follows:

But if the rigors of confinement cannot be completely removed, they can at least be mitigated by the patterns of social interaction established among the inmates themselves. In this apparently simple fact lies the key to our understanding of the prisoner's world. (p. 83)

Deprivation of heterosexual relationships lies at the heart of the majority of prison sexual activity:

There are, of course, some "habitual" homosexuals in the prison – men who were homosexuals before their arrival and who continue their particular form of deviant behavior within the all-male society of the custodial institution. For these inmates, perhaps, the deprivation of heterosexual intercourse cannot be counted as one of the pains of imprisonment. They are few in number, however, and are only too apt to be victimized or raped by aggressive prisoners who have turned to homosexuality as a temporary means of relieving their frustration. (p.71)

Sykes' analysis of prison argot identified sexually aggressive prisoners--the wolves, as situational homosexuals⁵ driven by deprivation of heterosexual outlets.

And the inmates, too, attempt to distinguish the 'true' sexual pervert and the prisoner driven to homosexuality by his temporary deprivation. In the world of the prison, however, the extent to which homosexual behavior involves 'masculinity' and 'femininity' would appear to override all other considerations and it is this which provides the main basis for the classification of sexual perversion by the inmate population. (p. 95ff)

The outward structures of prison sex culture were seen as rooted in the deprivation of heterosexual relationships. However, in addition to these outward structures, Sykes pointed to the deep-running psychological effects of deprivation, which were the true mechanisms through which deprivation created the culture of inmate sex:

Yet as important as frustration in the sexual sphere may be in physiological terms, the psychological problems created by the lack of heterosexual relationships can be even more serious. A society composed exclusively of men tends to generate anxieties in its members concerning their masculinity regardless of whether or not they are coerced, bribed, or seduced into an overt homosexual liaison. Latent homosexual tendencies may be activated in the individual without being translated into open

⁵ Eigenberg's 1992 article discusses "normal" heterosexuals who, as an effect of deprivation, engage in prison homosexuality. She described a typology ambiguity in the distinction between homosexuality and heterosexuality and how the ambiguity influenced the interpretation of prison rape. This argument raises a significant theoretical issue. It poses a (1) dichotomous classification of homo- vs. heterosexuality or (2) condition of variable states of "normal" sexuality. Variable states of homosexuality argue for a type of baseline sexuality with conditional variation induced by situational conditions; this position seems consistent with a Freudian theoretical perspective on sexuality.

behavior and yet still arouse strong guilt feelings at either the conscious or unconscious level.

A crisis of self-image and self-understanding induced by the deprivation of heterosexual relationships creates the culture of prison sex. Such deprivation stands as the dynamic force in creating aggressive socio-sexual characters--wolves, and their weak prey-punks.

Shut off from the world of women, the population of prisoners finds itself unable to employ that criterion of maleness which looms so importantly in society at large – namely, the act of heterosexual intercourse itself. Proof of maleness, both for the self and for others, has been shifted to other grounds and the display of ‘toughness,’ in the form of masculine mannerisms and the demonstration of inward stamina, now becomes a major route to manhood. But for homosexuals and non-homosexuals alike, the emphasis placed by the society of captives on the accompaniments of sexuality rather than sexuality itself does much to transform the problem of being a man in a world without women. (p. 97)

Sykes's Influence on the Future of Prison Intellectual Thought

In the history of prison research, Sykes's significant conceptual contribution was the introduction the prison-as-concentration-camp analogy. Positing that prisons and concentration camps share a core culture, Sykes' proposed that prison culture was primarily the product of deprivations imposed on and endured by inmates.

Out of the prison qua concentration camp analogy evolved themes and concepts still accepted as axiomatic in prison culture research. Inmates' were necessarily defiant

against “guards.” Snitches were men who aided the enemy. Snitches were justifiably punished by inmates. Abstract concepts appeared. Wholly inadequate, even brutal prison conditions maintained a helpless prisoner population. Helpless and hapless, inmates were guarded by cruel keepers. Socio-psychological consequences of imprisonment effected permanent life-term damage.

Nazi brutality against homosexuals diffused into prison scholars’ worldview. Not until the 1960s did prison scholars seriously consider less harsh and judgmental ideas about the socio-psychological nature of prison homosexuals and reappraise the damaging effects of homosexual conduct. What had been at minimum 30 years of negative judgment about prison’s near-inevitable damage inflicted on inmates’ socio-sexual lives began to shift with a few exceptions (see Davis, 1968) in the 1960s. Macro-sociological changes in American culture, such as civil rights legislation, likely opened prisons to considerations more enlightened than previously recognized. Several mid-50s studies foresaw the future.

The mid-1950s saw one of the few studies of homosexuality in federal prisons. Smith’s 1956 study at the Medical Center for Federal Prisons, Springfield, Missouri, examined homosexuals’ quality of life. He concluded that institutions need “a closely supervised program for homosexuals,” a need for more effective diagnostic criteria and methods, and a means to increase validity of classifying homosexual inmates. He also concluded homosexual inmates were content with themselves and their sexual preference.

Ward’s 1958 examination of institutionalized adolescents, while distinct from adult prisons in many ways, had findings similar to others’ research in adult prisons. He found there are non-homosexual aspects of homosexuality in institutions, and that

"[b]ullyng and aggressive homosexual behavior become confused with manliness."

Ward proposed that a lack of rape investigations was linked to American culture's bias against homosexuality. "Because of the stigma which our society places on homosexuality, and because of society's demand that such behavior be eliminated, officials are reluctant to encourage investigation of homosexual practices in their institutions. The possibility of unfavorable publicity brings with it the real danger of dismissal from office by public demand (pp. 301-314).

By the 1960s male and female inmate homosexuality had distinctly different and gender-biased interpretations. While male inmate homosexuality was perverse and psychopathological, female inmate homosexuality was a supportive and situational activity and exacerbated by women's customary need for social and emotional support. Ward and Kassebaum (1964, pp. 159-177):

The process of turning out seems to represent socialization of the new inmates into practices which provide support, guidance and emotional satisfaction during a period when these are lacking. . . . Inmates believe that most homosexual involvement occurs early in imprisonment, that most affairs are situational with heterosexual relationships to be resumed upon release and that many are 'once-only' affairs.

By the 1960s researchers expanded their theoretical focus and looked at social and sexual roles and their influence on institution social control. Sykes and Messinger (1960, pp. 77-85) raised a significant point. They noted inmates have a conscious appreciation of institution social control and make deliberate efforts to achieve and maintain it.

A cohesive inmate social system institutionalizes the value of 'dignity' and the ability to 'take it' [overcome deprivation] in a number of norms and reinforces these norms with informal social controls. Almost all inmates have an interest in maintaining cohesive behavior on the part of others, regardless of the role they play themselves.

Garabedian (1963), like Sykes and Messinger, described a variety of inmate social roles and how they accommodated prison life. His data collection method contributed to an analysis of prison socio-cultural adaptation. He stratified data collection by phases: an early phase consisted of inmates who had been incarcerated less than six months; a middle phase included inmates who had been incarcerated more than six months but also had more than an additional six months to serve; and a phase inmates had served the majority of their sentence and had less than six months remaining to release. He reported: "While the dominant process in the early period [of imprisonment] appears to be one of isolation, processes of [social] involvement are linked to most of the role types during the middle period." He argued further that "pains of imprisonment" diminish, and when they do, inmates became more involved in positive prison life (cf. Leger, 1973).

Gagnon and Simon's (1968, pp. 23-29) study identified patterns of sexual adjustment among men and women inmates. He focused on the effects of sexual deprivation and its effects on socio-sexual relationships. They argued a need to clarify two points. The first point was the "unfortunate tendency to view the sexual adjustment of prisoners as arising exclusively from the contexts of prison life." The second point stressed that inmates' sexual behavior must "specify the range of sexual responses that are available to those imprisoned." By range of sexual responses Gagnon and Simon

referred to a lack of knowledge about inmates' pre-imprisonment sexual behavior, which was necessary to understand inmates' general adaptations and sexual responses to prison deprivation.

These researchers argued that positing inmate homosexuality as an effect of prison sexual deprivation was “a major oversimplification brought about primarily because of a lack of information about the prior sexual and nonsexual lives of those who are prisoners and the way in which this prior experience conditions persons' responses not only to sexual deprivation, but also to a general loss of liberty.” They noted that “women have fewer problems than men in managing sexual deprivation” and that “most prisoners do not seem to feel an overwhelming sexual need.” The latter point strengthens Garabedian's finding about late phase imprisonment; and Ward and Kassebaum's finding that women inmates' sexual behavior was supportive and reflected women's customary need to obtain social and emotional support. The idea that men's homosexual behavior was deviant but women's was normal became firmly implanted in the intellectual history of prison inmate sexual research.⁶

Davis's 1968 study reviewed administrative reports for the period June 1966 to July 1968. He interviewed inmates incarcerated between July 15, 1968 and July 31, 1968 (n=3,304). He analyzed written statements from selected inmates, and relied on a lie detector to verify inmates and staff claims. Out of 26 staff asked to submit to polygraph, 25 refused. Out of 48 inmates asked to submit to polygraph, seven refused, and 10 of 41 failed the polygraph. Davis found sexual assaults in the Philadelphia prison system were epidemic: 156 sexual assaults were documented in the 26 month study (seven in sheriff's

⁶ There are no theoretical or research-based challenges to this gender-based interpretation about men's and women's sexual behavior in the history of prison sexual research. Today's research still uses women's need for comfort and emotional support as basis of explaining women inmates' pseudo-families.

vans, 149 in prisons): 82 were buggery; 19 fellatio; and 55 were attempted coercive solicitations involving 97 different victims and 176 different aggressors. Davis's predecessors and contemporaries reported inmate squabbles over sexual partners. However, no prison studies reported the magnitude of sexual violence in this study. Davis's findings remain anomalous up to the present day.

Soon after Davis's study, Linda Charlton, a journalist, published the article *The Terrifying Homosexual World of the Jail System* (1971). She alleged that new inmates were approached for sex very shortly after they come in; that homosexuality in jail alienated inmates and further separated them from the normal outside; and that a prison should create conditions that parallel the outside world, allowing inmates heterosexual behavior. Creating an inside world that mirrored the outside, she wrote, would decrease the devastating effect of prison on inmates. Based on an unspecified number of conversations with former inmates, and a self-selected literature review, Carlton concluded that homosexual behavior and sexual aggression in jail was a major problem. She brought to the popular media the stereotypic inmate homosexual, the stereotypic sexual predator, the stereotypic prison-as-concentration camp image, and a reinforced notion that prison rape had reached epidemic levels.

Johnson's 1971 (pp. 83-97) study found homosexuality was not epidemic and devastating but rather an adaptation to prison life. He suggested the constant contact among men, the inmate's "whole life is predicted on homosexualized group contact." The social organization of the prison environment, he argued, caused inmates to create a "class of women substitutes" and to engage in inmate marriages, which "serve[d] to release sexual and emotional frustration." There was no protection for homosexuals who

were raped. Staff, he said, had negative attitudes toward homosexuals. He described how a raped homosexual's lover would seek revenge on the predator. However, he had no empirical data to support the retaliation contention.

Kirkham's 1971 study examined prison homosexuality. He made five points. (1) There were only three possible adaptations open to members of the inmate community: sexual abstinence; masturbation; or participation in institutional homosexuality. (2) Situational homosexuality was fostered by a tendency on the part of sensational writers to grossly exaggerate the actual incidence of the phenomenon. The "number of inmates who participate in any form of homosexual behavior while imprisoned is relatively small when compared to the vast majority of prisoners who adapt to sexual frustration by masturbating." (3) Inmates who engaged in homosexual activity⁷ presented a façade of toughness 'manliness' to escape being defined as a homosexual. (4) The marital relationship between a man inmate and his male wife was largely instrumental; a male-wife would obtain goods for her man, and in turn he provided physical protection. Women, he said, moved among relationships; social shifting among relations caused jealousy and conflict. (5) Sex roles, he said, such as a wolf or jockey, were not considered "real" homosexuals.

Kassebaum (1972) said sexual affairs were coercive, commercial, and romantic. Coercive relationships were those when a person gave in to the requests of others out of fear of actual or threatened violence. In commercial relationships, money or goods exchanged hands for sexual favors. Romantic relationships were characterized by affection and willingness of both parties to engage in sex. Kassebaum made a

⁷ Note the cultural distinction between inmates who engaged in homosexual behavior and inmate homosexuals.

classification of sexual orientation, ranging from inmates who were homosexuals on the outside and openly admitting to it to inmates who avoided homosexual contact and used masturbation as outlet. Finally, he found that approximately 50 percent of women inmates had had some form of in-prison sexual experience.

Akers, Hayner, and Gruninger's 1974 research examined homosexuality and drug use in 25 national and international prisons. This report presents the findings from only the seven American prisons. The authors argued that drug use and homosexual behavior had a major impact on the inmate social system and culture. Authors argued that homosexual behavior and drug abuse were positively correlated. "Without exception, [prisons] with high levels of reported drug use also experience high levels of homosexual behavior; and prisons with low levels of drug use also have low levels of reported homosexual behavior." Their significant finding was that "the amount of drug and homosexual behavior among inmates is more a function of the type of prison [security level] which holds them than the social characteristics which [inmates] bring with them from the outside." This represents a counter-argument to the assumption that prison social life was influenced by inmates' proclivities imported into prison. The research also added a new dimension to deprivation theory by emphasizing that security level has a strong influence on generating homosexual behavior even though low-to-high security-level prisons share similar deprivations.

Middle Decades: Summary of Key Findings

The middle decades of prison research amplified earlier findings and added to the literature new concepts, ideas, and interpretations. They are enumerated below.

- Inmates have a conscious appreciation for institution social control and make deliberate efforts to achieve and maintain it (Sykes & Messinger, 1960).
- Imprisonment lessens in deprivation over time (Garabedian, 1963).
- Male-inmate homosexuality was perverse but female inmate homosexuality was a supportive and situational activity and exacerbated by women's customary need for social and emotional support (Ward & Kassebaum, 1964).
- Prison life limits inmates' range of sexual responses; inmates' pre-imprisonment sexual history influences inmates' sexual choices and determines if inmates do indeed suffer from prison sexual deprivation; sexual deprivation oversimplifies inmates' same-sex relations; women inmates have fewer sexual problems managing sexual behavior than men and women do not feel an overpowering need for sex (Gagnon & Simon, 1968).
- Homosexuality not to be epidemic and devastating but an adaptation to prison life (Johnson, 1971).
- Inmates' preferred form of sexual expression was masturbation vs. homosexuality (Kirkham, 1971); and
- Sexual relationships can be coercive, commercial, or romantic (Kassebaum, 1972).
- Davis's research was the first study to suggest an epidemic level of sexual violence in a prison context, the Philadelphia jail system (Davis, 1968).

Modern Decades of Prison Sex Research

1980s to 2000s

Daniel Lockwood's *Prison Sexual Violence* (1980) used data collected in 1974-75 in the New York state prison system. Lockwood defined "sexual aggression" as:

. . . behavior which leads a man to feel that he is the target of aggressive sexual intentions. . . . We see sexual aggression as a continuum marked by different levels of attempts to exploit, and different levels of reaction to exploitations. At the bottom of the continuum we might see a target imagining aggression from an aggressor's overture. At the top of we might see the gang rape. Along this continuum, any incident of aggression is created as much by the interaction that unfolds as by the intentions of the aggressor (p. 6).

Lockwood identified characteristics of targets and aggressors and salient features of different kinds of aggressive incidents important to understanding the culture of prison sex. He found targets were significantly more likely to be white, while aggressors were significantly more likely to be black. Targets were generally younger than aggressors and of relatively slighter build and lower weight than aggressors. They had effeminate characteristics; were fairly inexperienced in prison life; and were particularly vulnerable in the first few weeks of initial imprisonment or transfer to another institution. Aggressors sought newcomers. They were naive and easy prey and unaware of aggressors' hustles. Targets and aggressors were similar on sentence length, previous incarceration history, and total length of incarceration. Aggressors, Lockwood found, did not view themselves as homosexuals but did view victims as women.

Lockwood elaborated Fishman's descriptions of the context and dynamics of sexual aggression and offered a tentative typology of aggressor approaches.

- The Propositioning approach – No threats or use of force are present.
- The Player approach combines force and threats with verbal tactics.
- The Gorilla approach – relies exclusively on force or threats. 'Gorillas,' also known as 'booty bandits,' 'asshole bandits,' or simply 'bandits,' are prisoners who pounce on other men and attempt to sodomize them.

Lockwood documented the effects of sexual aggression on targets. Effects included chronic anxiety, depression, and suicidal ideation. A frequent outcome of sexual victimization was victims' aggressive retaliation from prison social life via self-isolation or protective custody.

Prison culture recognizes several approaches to handle sexual threats. A threatened inmate has the dilemma of whether to report the aggressor to the authorities. Reporting would incur the label a snitch and then may make him vulnerable to reprisals. Such a situation, Lockwood wrote, may be worse than the sexual aggression a potential victim seeks to avoid. A snitch may opt for protective custody. However, protective custody severely restricts job access, exercise, and recreational opportunities. The only alternatives to snitching, Lockwood wrote, would be fighting or submitting to an aggressor. A target's preemptive public display of force may prevent an assault. A retaliatory post-assault strike may stave off future problems. Sexual pressure and responses to it are cultural blueprints. They are matters of thought and discussion but neither may be acted out.

Lockwood reaffirmed deprivation theory as the motivating force propelling aggressors:

The idea that violence is an end in itself, which is mentioned in the rape literature, has little supporting evidence in our study. Violence for its own sake is not explicitly present. . . . Aggressors who spoke openly about their behavior sometimes expressed guilt and remorse over having been driven to such lengths. On the other hand, they saw a peremptory sex drive behind their activities, and blamed the prison and other external forces for creating the pressing problem which inevitably forced their actions: How can you cope with being sexually deprived for three years, for two, for even five years at a time? . . . Paradoxically as it may strike us, aggressors can thus not only justify their acts but can argue that they, ultimately, they are the real victims. (p. 338ff)

Wooden and Parker's *Men Behind Bars: Sexual Exploitation in Prison* (1982) examined rape and coercion. However, the greater focus of their research was the role and welfare of gay prisoners. Gay referred to the community sense of term, which meant men who were openly homosexual prior to incarceration (or if not overtly gay in their demeanor and comport they had sexual experiences with other men prior to incarceration). Wooden and Parker vision of homosexual prison behavior was rooted in lower-class men's culture of machismo. Machismo valued the defense and assertion of manhood.

The 1980s had a proliferation of prison sex and violence research. However, few new ideas were forthcoming. Nacci & Kane (1982; see 1983, 1984) studied sexual

aggression in federal prisons. Based on a survey methodology, they found that one in 330 inmates had been targets of sexual aggression but that less than 0.3% had been raped. Sexual targets were homosexuals or bisexuals 70 percent of the time. The stereotypic image of the sexual-assault victim emerged. Victims were slender, effeminate, and had long hair. Sexual targets, Nacci and Kane found, discussed sex openly in public earshot.⁸

Tewksbury's 1989 study at the Lebanon Correctional Institution in Ohio found that inmates over-reported rape. Questionnaires were distributed to college-program inmates in their classrooms. Responses from 88 inmates were gathered from the group administered survey. Tewksbury found that inmates over-report prison rape.⁹ Inmates reported rates of homosexual activity at or below the general [free] population. The estimations of these [coerced sex] activities in the institution are much higher than self-reported incidence. About seven percent report attempts at coercion, but no one reported being raped. However, inmates estimated that 14 percent of inmates had been sexually assaulted or raped while in prison (pp. 34-39).

Corroborating Tewksbury's finding, Lockwood (1994, pp. 97-102) reported that homosexual rape was a rare event and that large numbers of offenders are propositioned for sexual favors. Writers and inmates, Lockwood said: "have been perpetuating certain ideas about prison sexual violence that are not supported by systematic research on the topic."

⁸ Inmates reported that incidents of sex play, "grab ass," as they called them, get out of control and can lead to someone to feel as if he'd been grabbed too hard or mocked.

⁹ Since the inmate sample was not representative of the general population's education level, this finding may be partially an outcome of differential prisonization.

Hensley, Tewksbury, and Wright (2001) in the men's maximum-security Southern Correctional Facility, Lucasville, Ohio, studied masturbation and consensual sex. Hensley et al. (2001) found that 79 percent said they were heterosexual prior to incarceration; 69 percent continued to be heterosexual after incarceration; 36 percent received oral sex from another male inmate; and 32 performed anal intercourse on another male inmate. Hensley and Tewksbury 2002's literature review found a lack of clear definitions of sexual behavior and sexual terminology used in research studies. They noted further, a comment not in literature until their study, that 60 to 70 percent of America's inmates were illiterate (pp. 226-243).

Theoretical Approaches to Inmate Sexual Behavior

Importation vs. Deprivation

Perhaps no single concept pervades the literature about prison culture and inmate sexuality more than deprivation. Despite its widespread use there has been little empirical scrutiny of the claims of deprivation theory. Inevitably with time, the notion of deprivation began to be challenged by prison researchers on theoretical grounds. Early deprivation was discussed in a broader context of Freudian thought. The alternative theory was called importation theory, or the importation model. Deprivation saw the basic structure of inmate culture in general and inmate sexual culture in particular as responses to multiple deprivations. The importation model viewed the prison culture as primarily the result of the importation of attitudes, norms, proclivities, and mores inmates brought into prison from the outside world. Thus prisons were violent because violent men were imprisoned. Rape and sexual assault occurred in prison because these same men committed rape and sexual assault outside. Deprivation and importation should not

be mutually exclusive concepts. Only together, when one concept can help define the other, do these concepts make the best contribution. After all, it would be irrational to assume inmates' personality and criminal history do not influence at least in a narrowly defined way prison life. Deprivation can be measured on a continuum. Extreme deprivation, defined by poor food, inadequate recreation facilities, and poorly trained staff, would likely engender a harsher prison climate than a prison which withholds goods and services as a function of its nature as a confined, secure institution.

Goffman's Dramaturgical Sociology

Smith and Batiuk (1989) offer the major critical work of importation and deprivation while advancing Goffman's dramaturgical sociology. Goffman's dramaturgical sociology was the theoretical foundation of Smith and Batiuk's 1989 study, *Sexual Victimization and Inmate Social Interaction*.

. . . the individual is seen as possessing a "social self" which emerges, adapts, and changes in the process of interaction with individuals and the social setting as opposed to possessing a "personality" which responds to any given social setting in more or less typical and rather predictable ways. For Goffman, interaction is characterized as a theatrical "performance" in which the individual "actor" and the "audience" (those who take an active part in the social setting) work together to create and confirm a "definition of the situation" that allows for problems to be solved and business to on "as usual." (p. 30)

Individuals were continually engaged in impression management. They carefully orchestrated their behaviors to legitimate their performance in the eyes of a particular audience.

Smith and Batiuk's 1989 study interviewed 66 inmates at a single institution. They found prison imposed severe restrictions on inmates' ability to engage in impression management. Inmates could not select who observed their behavior at any given time. Furthermore, they were always under observation; there was no back stage time, no privacy. Thus inmates had to be 'on stage' every minute of every day and perform for a hostile audience looking for weaknesses to be exploited. The need to put up a front all times begs the question of inmates' decision about the most essential public face. Smith and Batiuk:

. . . . one type of performance comes to dominate all others. This performance is directly related to the fear which permeates the entire inmate population of being labeled a homosexual, or worse, being raped. . . . This pervasive fear of sexual victimization leads to a performance which emphasizes strength and masculinity and de-emphasizes characteristics which are considered weak or feminine [such as compassion, love, and the like] (p. 32).

Inmates are thus driven to exaggerated masculinity. Exaggeration included aggressiveness often contradictory to an individual's natural forms of expression.

Smith and Batiuk concluded that, even if the actual incidence rate of sexual victimization in prisons was relatively low, the pervasive fear of such victimization dictated inmate behavior and dominated a majority of inmate interactions.

Race, ethnicity, and aggression

Race, ethnicity, and sexuality have continued to be prominent prison research topics since the early decades of the 20th century. Moss, Hosford and Anderson (1979) conducted a pilot study of 24 federal inmates: 12 known rapists were compared to 12 randomly selected inmates from a federal prison population. Researchers posited that inmate age at the time of imprisonment correlated positively with Scholastic Achievement Test score, few disciplinary reports, and less involvement in homosexual rape. A total of 48 variables were analyzed. Study participants were divided into four groups: black-rapists, black-non-rapists, Chicano-rapists and Chicano-non-rapists. Statistical analyses determined variations on study variables between rapists and comparison inmates. These tests lacked statistical power. Authors weren't able to distinctively define a "rapist." Twelve rapists were members of a minority group (7 blacks, 5 Chicanos), 10 of 12 victims were white. All rapists selected targets of a different race.

Chonco (1989) conducted interviews with all inmates passing through the pre-release center of a minimum-security Midwestern prison. Interviews were open-ended, with the author seeking to gauge the role of race in the targeting of victims of sexual assault. Race was not mentioned by the inmates as victim-selection criteria, so the author concluded that race was not a factor in victim selection. However, this conclusion may have had as much to do with the nature of the questions asked as about the actual role of race in victim targeting.

History of prison rape research has no definitive analysis between rapists' and race victims' race or ethnicity. There are, however, indirect references, to a black rapist

and white victim. Racial affiliation independent of physical size and strength and social affiliation, such as religious group membership, gives little to no definitive analysis of how race functions as deciding factor in sexual assault. No researchers have yet to assert that inmates engage in behavior that in the community would be labeled racially motivated sexual assault.

Fear of sexual assault

Several studies have suggested that the *fear* of rape and sexual assault shapes prison culture as much as do actual incidents of the above. Smith and Batiuk (1989) concluded that if the actual incidence rate of sexual victimization were relatively low, the pervasive fear of victimization would dictate dominate the quality of inmates' social interactions.

Jones and Schmid (1989) provide another view of how the new inmate conceptualizes prison life, and how that conception changes over time. Participant-observation (one of the authors was an inmate) was used over a 10-month period at a mid-western state maximum-security facility. Twenty inmate interviews revealed the fear of sexual assault inmates feel. Fear, they concluded, dominated new inmate's concept of prison life. Fear led to a rudimentary "isolationist" survival strategy. Inmates adjust in the first few days and weeks. Once they acquire a more realistic assessment, they release their fear of sexual assault until a rape or sexual assault occurs.

[T]he critical incident need not and generally does not, involve the new inmate himself; the fact that he hears about the event is sufficient to destroy his feelings of relative security. . . . The effect of a reported sexual assault is so powerful to a new inmate that a temptation often exists

– a few days after the event – to ‘write off’ the incident as an isolated occurrence, and to struggle to regain the sense of well-being that had gradually been developing. Although some inmates are successful in recapturing a feeling of security, it is again sabotaged by another dramatic event a few days or weeks later. (p. 56)

Over time, the authors contend, the inmate learns to make sense of these violent attacks. Thus, for example, he learns that a murder that occurred was pay back for a bad drug-deal, that a “rape” was the toll exacted for an inability to repay a debt. In essence, the authors argue that over time a new inmate comes to understand these events in their cultural context and comes to see them less and less as random and unpredictable acts of violence. He may even welcome them somewhat as “a dramatic disruption of an increasingly tedious prison routine. McCorkle (1993) examined the level of inmate fear in the Tennessee State Prison (TSP), a maximum-security facility. He found that (1) exposure over a long period to prison conditions were not uniformly damaging to inmates; (2) conditions of prison did not induce psychological conditions; (3) crowding caused an increased feeling of deprivation; and (4) prison life was especially difficult for offenders who cannot find time-consuming activities (pp. 27-42). Deprivation was an expected and acceptable part of the prison experience. However, the loss of personal safety was not. If offenders were fearful, they most likely experienced more mental anguish disturbances.

Modern Decades: Summary of Key Findings

The past 25 years of research has contributed nuanced interpretations of prison sexual aggression.

- Sexual aggression often has racial overtones (Lockwood, 1980).
- Verbal non-aggression, verbal aggression and threats, and force or threats are common sexual procurement approaches among men inmates (Lockwood, 1980).
- Sexual targets suffer chronic anxiety, depression, and suicidal ideation result from the stress of targeted sexual aggression; sexual targets are likely to become violent (Lockwood, 1980).
- Sexual violence has metaphoric value functioning to filter inmates' interpretations of prison life (Smith & Batiuk, 1989).
- Inmates' estimates of sexual coercion are higher than self-reported incidents; there were no rape self-reports in this study (Tewksbury, 1989).
- Fear of sexual assault dominates new inmate's isolationist adaptation to prison life; over time inmates' adjustment becomes more realistic and their fear of sexual assault wanes until a rape or sexual assault occurs (Jones & Schmid, 1989).
- The actual incidence rate of sexual victimization appears relatively low; however, the pervasive fear of victimization dictates inmate behavior and dominates a majority of inmate interactions (Smith & Batiuk, 1989).
- Prison rape rarely occurred (Lockwood, 1994).

Research Literature on Women Inmates

Academic literature on women inmates' sexual behavior was been under-represented in the prison literature with scant mention of sexual coercion or sexual

assault. On the topic of women inmates' sexuality studies begin with "few studies address," or "there seems to be a void." In fact, there are even articles written about how little research has been done (Tewksbury & West, 2000).

In early prison literature, sexuality was relegated to realm of unnatural relationships. However, racial and class differences were a prominent topic (Otis, 1913). In discussions of homosexuality, black women were thought to be more aggressive and dominant; white women fell into relationships with them to gain safety (Freedman, 1996). Low socio-economic status women were thought susceptible to lesbianism than those from an upper-class upbringing. Prison and community homosexual relationships were thought to be a perversion. Early research reflects homosexual perversion as a predetermined conclusion. Forced or coerced sexual activity was not mentioned in early prison literature.

In the past 30 years, few changes occurred in the description of women's prison homosexuality. Consensual relationships are among "femmes" and "stud" broads, or butches. Heterosexual on the street, a femme's prison orientation expresses traditionally feminine characteristics. A stud broad adopts male behaviors, dress, hairstyles, and speech (Giallombardo, 1966). Stud broads pursue femme (Ward & Kassebaum, 1965). African Americans and street lesbians are more likely to play the stud role (Alarid, 2000). Inmates reported prison homosexuals are more likely to be either younger inmates or those with longer periods of incarceration (Hensley, Tewksbury, & Koscheski, 2001). Koscheski and Hensley (2001) suggested the trend toward younger inmates' homosexuality mirrors homosexual behavior outside prison where younger inmates were more likely to have sexual experimentation prior to incarceration.

Pseudo-families

Women inmates' pseudo-families have stimulated research over many decades (see Selling, 1931). Modern pseudo-family research has reinforced the association between the prison deprivation (boredom, forced associations with others, and lack of privacy) and participation in familial roles. Giallombardo (1966; Propper, 1981, 1982) noted pseudo-families provided asexual emotional ties. However, some research identified women's fear of closeness to inmates (Greer, 2000, pp. 461-62). Inmates' perceptions vary on the issue of the personal functions of pseudo-family.

“Christian families call each other sister. One girl calls another inmate mommy. After you spent some time at the facility, the juveniles get into plays, activities; older inmates are reminded of their children on the outside. It is just a name, no actions are taken, nothing sexual. This is a form of friendship terminology.”

Gagnon and Simon (1968) found women inmates did not have an over-powering sexual urge. Heffernan (1972) noted that women who created a prison family were more satisfied than inmates who did not create a pseudo-family. Women inmates' socio-sexual identity within a pseudo-family would extend their outside socio-sexual identity and allow them to maintain a sense of self (Culbertson & Fortune, 1986: 33). Hensley et al. (2002) suggested that women who closely identified themselves with the roles of wife, or daughter, or mother prior to incarceration would most likely engage in pseudo-families. Pollock (2002) wrote that pseudo-families help women cope with family deprivation by forming substitute relations. Most of these women did not participate in same-sex behavior prior to incarceration, Pollock wrote, and would not likely be committed to a

post-release homosexual lifestyle. Instead, homosexuality was a cultural adaptation to incarceration and means of obtaining affection and attention. However, this research shows that nearly 50 percent of women inmates participated in same-sex pre-imprisonment affairs.

Women inmates' homosexuality

Women's research did not distinguish homosexuality within or outside a pseudo-family. Inmates who reported participation in homosexual prison activities involved younger inmates or those with longer sentences (Hensley, Tewksbury, & Koscheski, 2001). Younger inmates' prison homosexual behavior was explained by their sexual experimental outside prison (Koscheski & Hensley, 2001).

In the past 30 years, few changes occurred in the description of women's prison homosexuality. In consensual relationships, the "femme" role and the "stud," or butch, role were usually defined. The femme was more likely to be a heterosexual outside prison and display traditionally feminine characteristics. The stud played the male sex role. "He" adopted male behaviors, dress, hairstyles and language (Giallombardo, 1966). African Americans and street lesbians were more likely to play the stud role (Alarid, 2000) and expected to pursue the femme (Ward & Kassebaum, 1965).

Sexual Coercion and Rape

Women's prison sex research focused on consensual same-sex behaviors and pseudo-families (Hensley, Tewksbury, & Koscheski, 2001). Recently researchers have begun to examine the coercive sexual behavior. Within the past 20 years researchers recognized the possibility of female-inmate sexual assault committed by female inmates

instead of staff members (Calhoun, & Coleman, 2002; Alarid, 2000). Decades of studies reported that inmates became “canteen punks,” or “box whores,” to avoid beatings and reap the economic benefits of homosexual behavior (Bowker, 1977). A clear distinction between consensual and coercive sex fades into ambiguity when a coerced inmate seems to consent in exchange for canteen goods or protection (Alarid, 2000).

Definitional Issues

In women’s prison research, sexual coercion, consent, and rape have not analyzed in the socio-cultural context of women’s prison. Research has not reported clear definitions of sexual assault and sexual coercion. If pressure tactics entered an interaction, such as verbal harassment or extortion, sexual relations were labeled coercion. Forceful physical-sexual assault was rape. However, the distinction between consent and coercion remains as blurry as the distinction between coercion and assault. For example, even if a woman did not at first want a sexual relationship, a desire for social belonging and companionship may ease a transition to homosexuality (Alarid, 2000). Situational definitions are more difficult to define in the context of a woman’s personal history. Researchers noted that incarcerated women are generally desensitized to sexual coercion. They may have been molested, sexual assaulted, or forced into inappropriate sexual relationships. Women inmates may not perceive a distinction between coercive and other forms of sex (Alarid, 2000).

Prison socialization: pseudo-family vs. the mix

Recent research suggested that women’s prison culture has changed and become less stable and familial than in the past (Greer, 2000). Owen’s 1998 study of “the mix,”

or female subculture at Central California Women's Facility, found inmate personal interactions have emotional, practical, material and sexual value. However, the mix was found to be an arena for sexual coercion and assault. Owen's study reported that pseudo-families keep women out of the mix.

Alarid's 2000 study examined one woman inmate's prison life over five years via correspondence. Her work found that a woman's social relations play a role in coercive sexual behavior. She found some examples of retaliatory sexual assault in cases where a sexual attack was a reprisal for a non-sexual wrong against a friend of the attacker.

Geer's 2000 study of 35 mid-western inmates found sexual relationships were based on economic manipulation. Owen's 1998 study also discussed the sale or trade of sexual favors for commissary. There are more femmes than studs in women's prisons. Aggressive studs manipulate femmes and may make significant economic gains in bartering canteen goods for sex. Unfortunately information on this subject remains limited.

Greer's 2000 study suggested that changes in popular culture influenced change in women inmates' sexual behavior. She argued that since women are not as strongly tied to their once traditional roles, women have social options in addition to mother or sister or daughter. Modern housing architecture structures in women's prisons, coupled with socio-sexual changes, led change in inter-personal role relationships. Researchers documented that family programs and furloughs strengthen outside bio-social family ties and decreased the significance of pseudo-families (Pollock, 2002). Owen's 1998 research found women still involved in play families and dyadic sexual relationships; the pervasiveness of these relationships are unknown.

Institutional Factors

Correctional institutions' architecture was cited as a possible correlate to sexual behavior. Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson's 2002 study found that female inmates were responsible for up to 80 percent of sexual coercion in the three women's housing units. In this case, dormitory housing predicted coercive sexual action. However, dorms were also cited for racial disharmony. Owen (1998) cites increases in prison population and an increase in drug offenders as characteristics likely to change the dynamics of sexual coercion. Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson (2002) found that larger barracks or dorm-style housing women inmates convicted of crimes against persons had higher rates of sexual coercion.

Research limitations

Women's prison sex research has been influenced by small sample size. Greer (2000) had 35 inmates. Alarid (2000) had one female inmate and five years of her letters. Struckman-Johnson, et al. (1996) had 42 female respondents-- three reported sexual pressure. Geographic locations were limited. Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson (2000) did research in several states in the Midwest. Owen (1998) studied one California institution.

Women prison research has a relatively short scholarly and a narrow focus. There are no large-scale studies of culture and women inmates' sexual behavior. Fishbein's 2000 research links masculine and feminine, lesbian social roles to interpersonal aggression (see Warren, 2002). Then, she links interpersonal aggression to anger and hostility. Studies such Fishbein's have been bypassed in favor of descriptive survey analysis and overlooked in scholarly analysis of women inmates' sexuality.

Final Comments

Since the 1930s prison research literature removed inmates' conscious motivations for their choices of sexual behavior and replaced individual, conscious deliberation with unconscious forces compelled by sexual deprivation. Deprivation has its origin in the early 20th century as a psychological theory of homosexuality (Gay, 2002, p. 66). This concept diffused into prison research on homosexuality in the 1930s (see Footnotes 1 and 2). Nevertheless, deprivation still accounts for variation in inmates' sexual behavior. Variation extends on a continuum from homosexuality to sexual violence to female surrogates ("queens"). If deprivation were removed from the calculus of prison homosexuality its absence would leave a hole in the theoretical landscape. The power of deprivation, researchers argue, imputes to prison culture power sufficient to cause straight inmates to become gay. However, without deprivation as a cause, what conditions compel men and women to homosexuality? What would cause straight inmates to become gay?

Researchers' dominant theory of prison homosexuality, since the 1930s, has been deprivation. However, inmate culture posits a 'native' theory whose origin derives exclusively from beliefs internal to the culture of prison homosexuality. Inmate culture's native theory of homosexuality and sexual violence appears later.

CHAPTER 2. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This research project was an objective analysis of inmates' subjective perceptions of prison sex and sexual violence. The methodological design allowed for the identification of concepts and meaning in prison inmate culture. Identifying and explaining inmates' vs. researchers' concepts and their meaning was this project's goal. This project was a cultural study that would yield prison inmates' worldview, or their ways of interpreting, of prison sexual behavior and sexual violence. This goal required a methodology that would yield a large body of interview data, also known as narratives. Narratives represent inmates' free-flowing speech unencumbered as much as possible by interviewers.

What This Research Did Not Do

First, this research did not gather rape prevalence or incidence data. Inmate interviews cannot be used to do a statistical analysis of rape prevalence and incidence. If inmates say, rape occurs occasionally, in the context of a cultural study, this statement does not denote prevalence. Inmates' comments in interviews are opinions, beliefs, or judgments, but they are not prevalence data.

Second, our goal was to understand prison rape as a cultural concept, a culture artifact, which inmates may know something about even if they'd never been raped or threatened or intimidated by a physical or sexual threat. Ethnographers have no way to verify such claims in the absence of records data, but the truth of the assertions aren't the key research issue in a cultural analysis such as this one. The cultural research issue focuses on process and contextual issues as inmates see them—for instance, was a sexual threat the result of a card game debt?

Third, prison rape represents a subjective reality for inmates. One inmate's subjective reality may be similar to or different from others subjective realities. Clemmer's theory argues that an inmate does not need to be a rapist or rape victim to understand rape. Inmates acquire subjective reality through language and witnessing and listening to others. In effect, an inmate's subjective reality was formed from those of others. They were likely to have formed their subjective reality from still others. Prison researchers who were never inmates are capable of writing insightful and objective analyses of prison life.

Influence of Clemmer's Theory of Culture on Methodology

A research design and methodology depends on its theoretical premises. In this study, those premises derived from Clemmer's theory of prison culture and differential prisonization. The outcome of this research was an analysis of prison sexual behavior and sexual violence as perceived within and interpreted by prison culture. Influenced by a newly emerged concept of culture in the late 19th century, Clemmer argued that inmate speech strongly influenced what inmates know and how they interpret their social world. Clemmer's was a cognitive vs. a behavioral theory prison culture. What inmates knew, he argued, was acquired primarily via inmate speech and secondarily by observation. He did not argue that inmates' knowledge of prison life was derived primarily from watching other inmates' behavior. In other words, Clemmer's theory argues that what inmates know about prison violence does not derive from seeing violence, but rather from hearing about it.

In this study, inmate interviewees were not asked to report what they saw during their imprisonment or what they believed other people saw or experienced. Rather,

inmates were asked for their interpretations of acts, events, and situations. Cultural questions take a form different from “how many” questions. Instead of asking inmates, “how many acts of sexual violence did you see in the past year?” a cultural study asks “what does sexual violence mean?”

Verbal descriptions and interpretations of behavior are filtered through language. A language-based cultural analysis, absent of observation data, comes with a strong caveat: what people say does not necessarily mirror what people do. Speech—the verbal representation of culture, does not necessarily mirror behavioral reality. This study analyzed the subjective perceptions of inmates’ on prison homosexuality and sexual violence. A key theoretical point in Clemmer’s argument posits that inmates are strongly influenced by the speech of other inmates. They—like other members of communities, learn about their social environment via speech. Thus, what inmates’ cultural knowledge derives largely from what they heard, not necessarily from what they participated in or observed.

This chapter focuses on the underlying theoretical premises of this research and on the technical mechanics of this nation-wide study of prison sexual behavior and sexual violence. Technical research issues, for instance, design of the inmate sample, and an explanation of how past prison research influenced the interview protocol

Primary Theoretical-Analytic Concepts

Prison Speech Community

A cultural study of prison sexual behavior and sexual violence relies on more than simple interview data. Required as a basis for a research design and methodology are theoretical concepts. These concepts influence interview

instrument design, mode of analysis of interview data, and interpretation of analyzed data. Data collection occurred in 30 prisons. However, these prisons were conceptualized as prison speech communities. Each speech community had a prison culture consistent with Clemmer's theory of supra-individual culture.

Social and physical isolation influence the nature of speech in an isolated community. The effect of physical and social isolation on members of a community leads to the creation and use of common vocabulary and modes of speech in a mutually acceptable manner. Such a community defines a speech community.¹⁰ In this research, a speech community represents a primary linguistic and cultural analytic unit. This analytic unit responds to internal and external influences. Inmate attributes brought into prison influence the community's culture and speech. A speech community reflects the sensitivity of prison culture to outside influences.

Clemmer's theory of culture included prison argot--the vocabulary derived within a narrowly defined speech community, such as prison argot. He proposed that language learning was a primary mechanism of cultural and social assimilation. Clemmer inferred that commonly held cultural beliefs, attitudes, and norms are a function of inmates' learning similar verbal modes of expression. The dynamic process of prisonization necessarily carries variability in verbal expression and cultural knowledge. In short, a speech community represents spoken culture. To learn forms of speech in prison means the acquisition of prison culture.

¹⁰ William Labov coined the term and expanded the concept of speech community in the 1960s. That physical and social isolation lead to shifts in vocabulary with the addition of new terms, redefinition of terms, elimination of terms, shifts in meanings of terms and so on rests on fundamental linguistic theory to explain the emergence of new languages and creation of dialects.

The terms, phrases, and expressions gathered in interviews formed a Lexicon of the Culture of Prison Sex (see Appendix A). This lexicon illustrates the uniqueness of prison inmate culture as expressed in denotative and connotative meanings of sex-related behavior. The lexicon was commonly understood with few exceptions among inmates across the United States.

Clemmer's Supra-Individual Theory of Culture

Clemmer's theory of culture, differential prisonization, and adaptive styles to prison culture are aimed at a broad understanding of the substantive nature of prison culture and the dynamics of its acquisition. The theoretical power of his argument centers on the supposition that cultural knowledge, therefore, its processes of transmission, are supra-individual. The effect of a supra-individual culture ensures that multiple generations of inmates, over possibly untold generations, will inherit knowledge of preceding generations. A supra-individual culture suggests that inmates of the 21st century learned via the prisonization process knowledge of prison culture and rules of behavior learned by inmates of preceding generations.

Clemmer's theory means that today's prison researchers, by virtue of research methodologies, such as interviews and surveys, have access to prison culture knowledge that has accumulated over decades of prison life. This means that prisons across the United States, like urban centers, will share a core body of prison culture knowledge and to it, add local variations of culture and behavior. A test of supra-individual culture comes through a comparison of research literature of the 1930s through the 1990s. If prison culture were consistent over generations, researchers would have identified the similarities. Researchers' theoretical interpretations notwithstanding, substantive facts

about prison sexuality and sexual violence have been consistent since the 1920s. If culture were not supra-individual, prison research findings should clearly indicate separation in fundamental core principles of prison culture. However, prison culture research over the past 70 years has shown consistency in social structure and organization, values, norms, and beliefs. By virtue of Clemmer's theory of supra-individual culture and transmission via prisonization the interpretation of data gathered in the 21st century yields insight into the history and future of prison culture.

Gathering Language and Culture Data

An experienced ethnographic interviewer could informally weave a path through interviewee responses to gather an enormous dataset on prison culture and prison rape. Now, at the conclusion of this study, the Principal Investigators would need one question—"tell me about prison rape." This question asked of knowledgeable inmates could elicit responses that fully explore and explain prison rape within the context of prison culture. Responses to queries may seem direct and straightforward, but ethnographic interviewing faces influences that come from domains well outside the standard prerequisites of interview design. Six key influences affect ethnographic-interview design and influence the scope and depth of ethnographic interpretation.

Ethnographic vs. Non-Ethnographic Queries

Nature of ethnographic questions

Specific types of interview questions gather culturally specific, or ethnographic, data. There are ethnographic and non-ethnographic queries. In the context of this study, ethnographic queries take the form, "Tell me about prison sex" and "Tell me about prison rape." Now, these two questions would be sufficient to elicit in extended open-ended

interviews of two or three months or longer an in-depth look at the culture of prison rape. More specifically, queries would include, “what is prison rape” and “what’s the difference between sex act A (descriptor) and sex act B.” These queries would be powerful for data collection, but ironically, they are most useful if interviewers have a thorough grasp of a range of responses.

An effective way to approach ethnographic queries would be to ask, “what would you ask if you were interviewing inmates about prison rape?” This question has a focal topic but won’t give inmates or former inmates hints at responses. This question elicits responses that define categories of culture knowledge. A prison sex culture category of knowledge would be, for instance, ways of knowing if another inmate shows interest? This type of interview also provides vocabulary terms. Wide-open questions are especially valuable to ethnographic research. “What defines prison rape?” “How many types of prison rape are there?” “How do inmates tell the difference between a turn-out and a rape?” These queries would be useful in an unstructured interview—one without pre-determined questions. Responses could determine categories of inquiry and questions for an unstructured and semi-structured interview.

Non-ethnographic questions are formed as: “have you been forced to touch someone’s genitals,” and if yes, “how many times have you been forced to do it.” The responses may be ‘yes’ and ‘five.’ These responses are affirmations and a frequency of an act. A cultural study focuses on what it ‘means to be forced to touch genitals. What does it mean to be ‘forced’? What distinguishes a ‘forced’ from a consensual context? How many types of forced and consensual contexts are there? How are they similar? How are they different?

Project Set-Up

Developing a methodology

This project's methodology slowly emerged over the spring and summer of 2003. The Principal Investigators collaborated with officials at the National Institute of Justice (NIJ). Initial discussions of methodology focused on a single state, multi-site study of sexual aggression in men's prisons. This idea expanded into a single geographic area, multi-state study of sexual aggression in multiple men's and women's prisons. Finally, the project expanded into a nation-wide study.

The Principal Investigators wrote a concept paper focused on a nation-wide socio-cultural study of inmate sexuality and aggression in men's and women's prison. Specific exclusions of research data were decided upon with NIJ. These included an omission of qualitative data, such as prison incident report logs, inmate grievances, and similar prison records. This study's analysis would be based solely on inmate interview data. Excluded were prison sexual coercion and rape prevalence and incidence questions asked of subjects in interviews; sexual violence and incident report data; and personal interviews with all institution staff. The project researchers were asked to study symbolic, linguistic, and functional issues in inmate culture in the context of prison sexual aggression. This project explicitly excluded a statistical research design and methodology. The study was to be conducted with an ethnographic methodology. Data would be inmate interviews analyzed by thematic analysis generated by cultural patterns discernable in inmate interviews. The interpretation was to emphasize inmates' worldview on sexuality and aggression.

NIJ and Principal Investigators agreed to generate a project Advisory Panel comprised of nationally recognized, multi-discipline prison scholars and practitioners. Advisory Panel scholar participants included: Dr. Neil Weiner (School of Public Policy, University of Pennsylvania); Dr. James Jacobs (New York University School of Law); Mr. William Thomas (inmate representative); Dr. Charles Lanier (SUNY Albany); Dr. Janet Warren (University of Virginia, Institute of Law, Psychiatry and Public Policy, School of Medicine and School of Law); Dr. Barbara Owen (California State University, Fresno); Co-Principal Investigator Dr. Jessie Krienert (Illinois State University); Dr. Allen J. Beck (Office of Justice Programs); Dr. Timothy A. Hughes (Office of Justice Programs); Mr. William Saylor (Director, Office of Research and Evaluation, Federal Bureau of Prisons); Dr. Gerry Gaes (contractor, NIJ); Mr. Andrew Goldberg (NIJ); and Dr. Christopher Inness (NIJ). Members of the correctional practitioner community were also included on the advisory panel.

Members of the Advisory Panel reviewed the project's concept paper and initial interview protocol. Dr. Fleisher presented the concept paper and protocol and took panelists questions and comments. Dr. Owen reviewed her research at a California women's prison. The core of the discussion focused on site selection and sampling and the protocol's preliminary interview questions. The panel discussed definitions of technical terms, such as rape and coercion, and their application in a cultural study.

Correctional institution site selection

Clemmer's theory of culture relies on differential experiences in a prison and led to the selection of high-security prisons instead of lower-security institutions (see Jones

and Schmid, 1989).¹¹ High-security inmates were chosen based on the following assumptions: they vs. lower-security inmates would have longer criminal histories; they would have more involvement in violence; they would have greater likelihood of physical, emotional, or sexual victimization at some time in their lives; they would have greater likelihood of drug use outside or inside prison or both; they would have more stints of different prisons; they would have more years of imprisonment; and the likelihood was greater that they witnessed or engaged in sexual assault, sexual coercion, prison rape, or one or several of these offenses.

The only selection variable was high security. Once satisfied, we then visited institutions made available by agency directors (Commissioner or Secretary of Corrections). Prison-site selection was consistent with a research assumption predicated on Clemmer's theory of culture. To refresh, his theory of culture assumes that prison culture has universal dimensions. Prison culture, all things being equal, would show greater cultural homogeneity than heterogeneity. In other words, prison culture in institutions anywhere would be more alike than different. Cultural variance would come in part from prison culture history and inmates' street experiences and their community socialization.

The National Institute of Justice and the Principal Investigators with advisory panel input agreed upon a target number of interviews. A sample of 400 male and 200 female inmates was set for the project's interview objective. Also agreed upon was the

¹¹ Various names substituted for the term high-security. Some institutions had multiple custody levels within a high-security prison, where, for instance, high custody and lesser custody inmates comprised a single general population. In this case, we sampled across custody levels. In other places, high and lower custody level inmates were divided physically into distinctly separate general populations. In this case, we sampled only in higher custody institutions. Often, however, medium-custody inmates had once been high-custody inmates and had their custody level reduced over time. We based our sampling design on a single method that was sampling high-security or high-custody general population. Efforts always confined sampled inmates to medium or higher security level.

number of prisons where interviews would occur. Thirty correctional institutions--23 male and 7 female, in 10 states was the target. With NIJ approval, the sample focused on regionally based geographic representation. This focus resulted in the division of the country into four regions with visits to several states each geographic region of the United States.

Given the sensitivity of research on prison rape, the Principal Investigators and NIJ knew that without explicit consent from the American Correctional Association (ACA), state corrections directors would not likely respond positively to requests to conduct prison rape interviews. Therefore, NIJ and the advisory panel determined at the outset that research would proceed with consent of the ACA and the Association of State Correctional Administrators (ASCA). An agreement of anonymity that applied to regions, states, institutions, and institution staff was achieved with input from both associations.

The initial contact procedure between state correctional agencies, Principal Investigators, and NIJ, was agreed upon at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Correctional Association. Afterward, the chairman of the Executive Committee of ACA sent an email letter to members of ASCA. The email explained the nature of the project and cordially requested cooperation. Correctional directors were asked to contact Dr. Fleisher at Case.

Dr. Fleisher and members of the NIJ staff then attended two meetings of the ASCA research committee. At these meetings, the research was discussed and questions answered. After the first meeting, a number of commissioners volunteered to participate. Three states withdrew citing a number of reasons, such as the extensive time staff would

have to invest in institution logistics. To maintain geographic diversity, six interview sites were initially selected.

The agreement with ACA and ASCA required complete anonymity. Therefore, although we are not permitted to list states or institutions that were visited, states within each region did give consent, resulting in a geographically diverse sample.

Based on input from NIJ and the advisory panel, in conjunction with past literature, high-security male and female institutions were targeted within each consenting state. We selected inmates who actively participated in the general prison population. All 23 men's institutions were the highest-security level men's prison available in each state. When women's institutions were multi-security level and housed minimum, medium, and high security women inmates, we selected inmates from the highest security level housing units within the institution. Therefore, all 30 institutions contained high-security level, general population inmates.

Research Team

The research team included: two Principal Investigators; an experienced social worker who was a graduate student at Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences (MSASS), Case Western Reserve University (Case); and a professional social worker with work experience in secure facilities for adult men with mental disorders. The Principal Investigators were experienced prison researchers. The Principal Investigators had done collaborative research for five years up to this time. Their numerous prison research projects included hundreds of inmate interviews and clocked thousands of hours. The professional social worker held an MSASS Master's in Social Service Administration. The social workers had experience interacting with difficult clients.

Prior to inmate interviews, both team members went through extensive training. Each read many dozens of prison sex research articles with an eye on interview technique, questions asked, and anything the author reported that influenced interviews. Members then joined the Principal Investigators on in-prison interviews, at first taking notes but not asking questions, then recording notes and asking questions as they arose in the interview. Members then conducted interviews in the company of one or both Principal Investigators. Afterward, Principal Investigators critiqued interview technique and interview notes. The interview process proceeded in this manner until the Principal Investigators felt members were capable of handling an interview with a male inmate on their own.

In the field: asking former inmates about prison sex

The research team¹² spent five days in a high-crime community in a mid-western city where Fleisher had conduct research over many years. There, he knew dozens of adult men and women whose ages ranged from late teens to sixties. These former inmates had been to prison at least once. Some had been imprisoned six to eight times. He knew adolescent males and females who had been jailed in juvenile detention. Older former inmates knew Fleisher well and discussed with the research team the dynamics of their own socio-sexual life in prison. For instance, a middle-aged man who had been imprisoned from his teenage years into his 50s over six different periods in several states called himself as a ‘bootie bandit’ Most adolescents had at least one natal or extended family member who had done prison time. Likewise, most adults had teenage or adult

¹² The project’s program officer accompanied the research team and sat in on unstructured interviews and on semi-structure interviews, done at the end of the week, to test possible questions asked of men and women former inmates.

children who had been or still were imprisoned. The topic of prison sex and prison rape didn't frighten them away. Unstructured interviews were conducted with one or several former inmates on the street or in house porches or living rooms. Rather, they were eager to talk about what they saw and heard in jails, juvenile institutions, and adult prisons.

To capture inmates' meaning of sexual aggression, former inmates were given a chance to create research questions. In this way, cultural information they thought was important would emerge. These former inmates were prompted with an ethnographic question: if you were studying prison rape what questions would you ask? What questions should we ask? What are the most important ideas to cover? How can we be sure we don't get bogus answers? Then exploratory queries shifted to more specific topics: "tell me about prison sex"; "tell me about prison rape"; and proceeded from there in many directions, to include coercive sex, turning out inmates, bartering sex for commissary items; and sexual violence. Old-timers gave a life-history account discussing their memories of life in penitentiaries 20 to 30 years ago vs. prison life 10 to 15 years ago vs. today.

Each day provided a series of interview topics (themes), such as bartering for sex, behavior of bootie bandits, rapists today versus rapists decades ago; debt repayment and sex; gangs, sex, and rape; religion, sex, and rape; institutional control of sex and sexual violence; and so on. Additionally, we took careful notes on sex-related vocabulary and anecdotes about sexual aggression and aggressors.

Interview data were organized into categories: rape, rape and debts, rape and retaliation, rape and gangs, rape and religious groups, prison control of sex and rape, and so on. Interview questions were constructed using this general structural framework of

categories. For example, the question “what’s the reputation of a rapist in the general population?” was based on comments made by middle-age former inmates who said that back in the day, bootie bandits were seen as comedians and were well liked by the general population. Today, however, bootie bandits have lost their humorous connotation. Today they are rapists.

Office interviews with former inmates

Former inmates were interviewed. Four men each with 10 to 15 years of prison experience volunteered for a group discussion on prison sex and prison rape. We asked them draft questions, got their opinion on whether they thought inmates who don’t know us would answer questions with a high degree of truthfulness, and used the questions to generate an unstructured interview about prison sex and prison rape. Finally we asked each former inmate to give us a typical answer to each question; that is, what would an inmate likely say in response to this question. We wanted to know if questions would elicit prison sex vocabulary in a natural way, if responses were long or short, if responses required a few or many follow-up questions, and if categories of questions had to be asked in a particular order: should management questions on prison rape appear before or after asking inmate-culture questions on rape? In the end, former inmates agreed that if we ask culturally sound questions inmates would be less likely to ‘game’ us than if we sounded like university professors. In short, the more inmates thought we knew, the better their responses would be.

Some of this project’s stakeholder organizations found that some questions were too sensitive to ask inmates. Sensitivity refers to risk level for a responding inmate in the

context of participating in general population. Risk also affected correctional institutions' reputations.

Testing the instrument in prison

By the time we field tested a draft instrument we were well steeped in inmates' perceptions and vocabulary of prison culture and prison rape. In the field we found that our first draft version, which tried to include all topics former inmates said were important and was too wordy and unwieldy, too complex, and took hours to complete. An example of a single question on version one follows below.

- Have you ever known an inmate who was killed behind sex? Explain.
 - Follow up question to inmate: Are there terms for this type of killing?
 - Follow up question to interviewer: Elicit term and mutually exclusive definitions. Identify synonyms and near synonyms. Ask inmate to give the correct use of each term.

A second draft version attempted to hone in on culturally important variables, such as inmates' attitudes toward rape inside and outside prison. Inmates said this version was redundant, and asked for the same information in too many ways. An example follows below.

- What do inmates think of a free man/woman who rapes a free man/woman outside?
- What do inmates think of a man/woman inmate who rapes a [man/woman inmate] inside?
- What do dudes think of a man/woman who rapes a [man/woman] inside?
- Are there terms for free men/women who rape free men/women outside?

- Follow up question to inmate: Are there terms for this type of rape?
- Follow up question to interviewer: Elicit term and mutually exclusive definitions. Identify synonyms and near synonyms. Ask inmate to give the correct use of each term.

The third version narrowed the questioning and shortened questions and made them less complex and tiresome. And, we put vocabulary in a separate section for two reasons. First, the same types of questions were in one place to maintain a single train of thought. Second, answers to some vocabulary questions stimulated thinking about other vocabulary. All in all, however, the most effective way to elicit vocabulary was in long responses wherein inmates used vocabulary in a natural way.

Questions from the second and third drafts were field tested at a men's and a women's prison. At first, some questions were ambiguous to some inmates in the sense they weren't sure how to respond or didn't understand what the question was asking for. Some questions were too terse and needed additional explanation or too wordy and let inmates lose concentration. Standard English vocabulary was sometimes too complex. Some questions exceeded inmates' education level to give answers. In such a case, "I'm not sure how to say it," or something similar was their response. However, the term rape was confused by inmates and seemed inconsistent with the ways they thought about rape. In other words, women inmates could respond to questions with the term rape. However, their answers didn't flow naturally in speech.

In women's prison culture, sexual violence was likened to the free-community's concept of domestic violence. However, prison rape was culturally associated with broken love affairs. Men inmates said that if prison rape were to occur, a common

context would be broken lover affairs. This conceptualization of prison sexual violence within a specific cultural context motivated a series of questions on violence and rape in prison domestic relationships.

Instrument Development: Influences from Previous Research

Fishman (1934), Clemmer (1940), and Sykes (1958) used unstructured interviews. Data were gathered with semi-structured and unstructured interviews. Unstructured interviews were used to explore concepts with former inmates. However, comparability of answers among hundreds of interviewees required a semi-structured open-ended instrument. Their findings were derived from active participation as prison employees and observation.

From the earliest to modern studies researchers reported data and posited interpretations about prison culture, inmate sexual behavior, and prison rape. Many of their ideas have been in the literature for five and six generations; however, citations here represent their first appearance in the literature.¹³ Each research finding illustrates a research, prison culture, or prison rape cultural theme. A theme refers to a persistent pattern in inmates' narrative responses.

A literature review shows conceptual theories and non-conceptual findings. Conceptual findings are abstract outcomes of inductive analysis. These result from the inductive process of interview-data analysis. Conceptual theories are often influenced by social theory outside the domain of prison culture research. For example, Bem's 1974

¹³ First appearance of concepts and interpretation has difficulties, especially when, for instance, early researchers, such as Fishman infers sexual deprivation but doesn't use the term deprivation.

gender-role socialization theory¹⁴ was not based on prison data but does nevertheless explain the emergence and nature of women inmates' pseudo-families. Non-conceptual findings are substantive. Interview questions based on substantive findings may or may not lead to broad conceptual findings. Below are findings from previous prison studies. They are divided into a conceptual and a non-conceptual category. Comparing the two types of findings illustrates how current research expands on earlier findings.

This project's interview instrument incorporated key concepts drawn from the history of prison culture research. Concepts are generalizations. These are listed below along with citations of their first appearance in the literature. Non-conceptual findings report behavioral facts. Behavioral facts are data used to support generalizations. Generally speaking, this research reconfirms the list of substantive findings.

Conceptual findings

- Men inmates' homosexual conduct results from situational pressure (Clemmer, 1940).
- As inmates do more time their pains of imprisonment diminish (Garabedian, 1963).
- Most prisoners don't require sex (Gagnon and Simon, 1968).
- Prison rape doesn't represent a 'devastating epidemic,' but homosexuality does represent an adaptation to prison life (Johnson, 1971).

¹⁴ Bem, S.L. (1974). The measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 42, 155-162.

- Heterosexuals outside may become prison homosexuals as an adaptation to prison life while others undergo this sexual transition out of weakness (Hensley and Tewksbury, 2002).

Substantive findings

- Correctional officers have a negative attitude toward homosexuals (Johnson, 1971).
- Estimates of prison rape are regularly higher than self-reported incidence (Tewksbury, 1989).
- Masturbation represent inmates' primary sexual outlet (Kirkham, 1971).
- Fifty percent of women have sex in prison (Kassebaum, 1972).
- Attributes of perpetrators and victims influence on sexual violence (Lockwood, 1980).
- Targets of sexual violence are likely to become egregiously violent (Lockwood, 1980; Wright, 1994).
- Prison rape occurs rarely (Lockwood, 1980).
- Inmates fear prison violence and prison rape and as a result put themselves in social positions of safety (McCorkle, 1993).

The final interview instrument was influenced by previous research and opened new approaches to prison culture and sexual violence.

Final Interview Instrument: Descriptive Categories

The final interview instrument divided interview questions into analytic categories. These are, for instance, rape and social process. The instrument also included questions that explore analytic categories (see Appendix B for the final interview

instrument). In its final form, the interview instrument accomplished two objectives. First, interview questions were derived from a preliminary analysis of data gathered from former inmates. Thus, the questions and concepts they represent are culturally valid lines of inquiry. Second, the interview sought data to find overlapping categories of cultural information. An example would be an association of inmates' religious affiliation with a social group, such as a gang, chosen for its protective value. Together, these two objectives provide insight into inmates' adaptive strategies to prison life (see Safe Zones, in this report).

Interview Instrument: Categorical Structure

Demographic Information. Basic personal demographics including, age, race, sexual orientation and marital status were used to gather baseline comparison data about the sample.

Prison History. An array of questions involving past and present incarceration and prison living arrangements provided contextual data for the social process of prison rape.

Mental Health. Recent research (Bauman, Catanese, & Wallace, 2002; Fishbein, 2000) shows that psychological and emotional disorders have a direct bearing on sexual and non-aggression. Questions about childhood physical and sexual abuse, as well as prison and community treatment for mental health issues, provided a sense of inmates' use of mental health facilities.

Rape. Specific questions were used to understand the social patterns of sexual interactions, cultural meanings of inmate sexual behavior, cultural knowledge of sexual behavior and sexual violence, and institutional climate responses to inmate sexuality, and

so on. Questions tested inter-relationships between sexual violence and economics, personal adaptive strategies, daily routines, and so on. For example, how does commissary or money work in relation to sex?

Social Dynamics/Social Process. Decades of prison research referred to inmate social structure and dynamics but few studies gained a micro-social understanding of the interactions. Social process questions elicited responses that captured data on the effect of religious groups, gangs, and race on sexual activity and sexual violence. This line of questioning had historical precedent in prison research (Moss, Hosford and Anderson 1979; Lockwood, 1980; cf. Chonco, 1989).

Free Lists. Freelisting has been a common technique in cognitive anthropology over decades and still finds uses in modern research. Freelisting permits systematic data collection on the cultural knowledge of a cognitive domain, such as sexual behavior. Fleisher (1972) and Fleisher and Harrington (1998) were first to use a free list methodology in prison research. They applied a free list methodology to create a socio-cultural model of organizational influences, such as emergence of communication channels, on the development of organizational culture and climate in new prisons. In this project, free list data collection asks subjects to respond as briefly as possible with single words or short expressions to focused questions, such as why do inmates have sex with other inmates?

Lexical elicitation. Clemmer's theory of culture and prisonization focus on learning specialized forms of communication (jargon). The instrument included an exhaustive list of lexical questions, which described social activity and sex roles from a number of approaches. However, the best lexical data come in natural conversations with

inmates in unstructured and semi-structured interviews. Therefore, at any point in the interview if an inmate's discourse included sex-role or activity-related terminology, terms were recorded and highlighted. Each term was defined, synonyms were collected, and terms were used in full sentences.

Inter-personal Relationships/Domestic Violence. Domestic violence refers to a subset of social relationships and dynamics. Research reported inmate conflict resulted as an outcome of couple dynamics (see, for instance, Kirkham 1971). Researchers didn't conceptualize such conflict within a theoretical paradigm of domestic violence. The instrument queries the relationship between physical conflict and affective fulfillment as a function of relationship length. Such an approach delves into an early research finding (see Ward and Kassebaum, 1964) that women inmates find emotional satisfaction in sexual relations. These data find limits on such satisfaction.

Staff. Research literature doesn't generally find positive relations between inmates and staff. Karpman's 1948 study noted that prison staff quelled sexual deviance with "violent intervention." Eigenberg (1989, 2000) found that correctional officers' responded negatively to inmates frightened by the anxiety of rape. The instrument sought to obtain inmates' perspectives on several topics: inmate/staff interactions; inmates' perceptions of staff attempts to control sexual violence; and on inmates' opinions about inmates who have sexual relations with male or female staff.

Institutional Factors. Institution-level questions exceed the boundary of managerial prevention and intervention of sexual violence. Institutional queries searched for inmates' thoughts on the general nature of a correctional bureaucracy. For example, the instrument asked: can an agency keep you safe? These types of questions sought to

differentiate line-level behavior of correctional officers from broader conceptual issues. In other words, correctional officers doing rounds can influence safety more directly than an institution's or agency's policies on protective custody and transfers as mechanisms of inmate protection.

Perception of Social Roles. Finally, inmates were asked to estimate the number of inmates who played socio-sexual roles. Inmates weren't asked for percentages. Testing found the concept of percentage was confusing to poorly educated inmates. Rather, inmates were asked to estimate the number of, say, straights in a group of 100 inmates.

Interview instrument: significance in the order of question categories

The interview had 12 sections. First were demographics and prison history. These were "public record" type of questions, which were less threatening than pointed questions about prison rape. Demographic questions eased the respondent into the interview and help build rapport. Mental health items continued rapport building and provided interviewers with information about interviewees that might assist in follow-up questions. Physical and sexual abuse and mental health treatment history would contextualize rape responses and offer on-the-spot insight into responses. Institution-based treatment outside prison explored inmates' treatment history but also explored their willingness to rely on organizational entities. Such responses may provide insight into why inmates' said institutions and staff could or could not protect or assist them.

At the interview's outset before fatigue or boredom occurred, rape questions were asked. These queries weren't personal. Interviews weren't permitted to ask inmates if they were rape victims or rapists, or if they were turn-out artists or had been turned out.

Next were objective, easy-to-answer free list questions. These were open-ended items that asked respondents to list terms and short expressions. Free list questions gave inmates a respite from concentrating on serious questions.

After free list questions, came social dynamics and domestic violence/relationship questions designed to query risk and resiliency factors. Once inmates discussed rape in general terms, they would be primed for discussions of the social process that may lead to sexual violence. Lexical elicitation in the middle of the interview provided another pause from serious previous sections and an introduction to the final sections.

Sections on staff and institutional factors influencing rape and informal and formal social control (again, risk and resiliency) were considered especially important, considering that research literature often reported negative line-staff conduct in response to sexual violence. By this stage of the interview, inmates were more relaxed and responsive. Perceptions of social roles concluded the interview. Inmates' perceptions on social roles by role frequency were important, especially in the context of mixed responses on sexual role frequencies in published literature. Advisory Panel members strongly advised against asking questions they deemed too politically sensitive. Several questions were dropped for this reason.

Inmate Sampling Design

Clemmer's theoretical model of differential scope and depth of prison cultural knowledge depends on controllable and non-controllable issues in prisonization, including housing and work assignments, social interactions, pre-prison experiences, and so on. This research did control for inmate security level but could not control for several variables. These included inmates' pre-prison and post-prison sexual and non-sexual

experiences; inmates' intellectual ability; inmates' verbal ability to express complex ideas¹⁵; effects of substance abuse and mental health on speech ability; and inmates' exposure to prison incidents of sexual aggression, prison rape, and sexual coercion. The last point demanded attention because it hit the heart of Clemmer's argument that differential prisonization influenced inmates' knowledge base of prison culture. Stated another way, inmates' prison-culture knowledge would be determined by personal experiences that cannot be shared equally among all inmates. In the end, inmates acquire different perspectives on prison culture and prison rape. Even though the research used a systematic random sample of 564 general population inmates in 30 prisons in 10 states equal exposure to and knowledge of prison rape and its causes and conditions could not be guaranteed.

This study's goal determined its sampling design. The goal was an objective analysis of inmates' subjective perspectives on sexuality and sexual violence. Given this goal, sampling did not require targeting interviews with alleged rapists and rape victims. Clemmer's theoretical premise would argue that the commission of rape does not necessarily infer a rapist, to the exclusion of other inmates, knows a lot about the culture of prison sexual behavior. Rather, this study sought general cultural knowledge and sought to gather a cross-section of cultural knowledge.

Limitations of sampling design

In consultation with the advisory panel and other correctional and prison experts, and in order to preserve human subjects' regulations, it was suggested that interviews with alleged rapists and rape victims would increase victimization risk to the rape victim

¹⁵ Hensley & Tewksbury (2002, 226-243) note 60 to 70 percent of inmates are illiterate.

and may increase risk to the rapist who would be under investigation. For the same reason, interviewees were not asked if they had raped someone or participated in a rape. Answers to such questions would require reports of alleged crime to the warden's office. Additionally, such questions might add political or legal risk to correctional operations and programs.

Discussions with NIJ, ACA, and ASCA ruled out several types of sampling. Non-probability designs, such as judgment, snow-ball, theoretical, and purposive sampling, often used in cultural studies were excluded. Given the theory guiding this research, a systematic sampling design fit the theory well.

Once a state director granted permission, a senior-level institution staff member was assigned as a research liaison. All logistical issues were handled via contact between Dr. Fleisher and an institution liaison. Specific instructions on interview procedures (see Appendix C) were emailed to the liaison and discussed by phone prior to institution visit. Consistent with ACA, ASCA, and NIJ recommendations, several limitations were placed on interview candidates. Specifically, interviewed inmates were to come from general prison population.

Sample procedures were based on classical population probability sampling. A systematic sample selected a random start and a fixed selection-interval number thereafter. Each institutional liaison provided researchers with an inmate general population roster. The number of general population inmates (restrictions cited above) on an institution's sample roster was divided by the number of subjects required by the projected number of interviews conducted in a week. Forty male inmates and 30 women inmates were the minimum number of weekly interviews. The general population count was divided by 40 or 30 to create an interval

number. A staff member was asked to pick a number from one to the interval number. This number was applied to the roster to find the first interviewee. To select the second inmate, the interval number was added to the number of the first inmate selected. This pattern continued until the minimum number of inmates was selected. Then, 15 to 20 inmates per institution were added, using the same procedure, to the interview roster. These inmates covered refusals, transfers, hospitalizations, and other unexpected circumstances.

If an institution has 1000 research-eligible inmates provided on a general population roster, researchers divided 1000 by 40, to get the interval number 25. If in the range of 1 to 25, a staff member selected the number 5, the fifth inmate on the roster would be the first inmate subject. The second subject would be the 30th inmate (5 + 25), followed by the 55th, 80th, and so on. Special inmate populations including inmates in administrative detention; disciplinary segregation; hospitalized inmates; inmates in residential substance abuse units; inmates in mental health residential units; protective custody; non-sentenced inmates; inmates in transit units; and INS detainees or deportees were not included.

Informed Consent Process

Case's social science IRB approved the Privacy Certificate and protocol. In addition, the Principal Investigators were asked on two occasions to submit the protocol for a state-level human subjects' review. When granted permission to interview, directors' were asked to sign an Institution Inmate-Interview Consent Form and return it to it to Dr. Fleisher.

Sampled inmates on call-out arrived at the interview location knowing they had been selected for a research project. Inmates refused to be interviewed about twice per

institution. They refused when they heard the interview was about prison rape. Either they said they had not raped anyone on the street or in prison, or knew nothing about rape in either place. In any case, refusals didn't want to be associated with the term rape. Some refused when they learned they wouldn't receive a letter of cooperation to place in their file to help at parole time.

Once inmate interviewees were settled in the interview room, interviewers identified themselves and began the informed consent procedure. The interviewer reviewed with and for each inmate the approved Institution Consent Document paragraph by paragraph. Interviewers stressed that interviews were voluntary, that inmates could refuse to answer any question or questions, that they could end the interview at any time, and that early termination of an interview would not lead to a penalty implemented by the institution.

The research team provided as much protection as possible for inmates and correctional agencies. We had to guarantee to corrections agencies, institutions, and inmates confidentiality for their participation. To achieve confidentiality we did not give interviewed inmates a copy of the informed consent form. Once an informed consent form was in inmates' possession we couldn't control what happened to it, who saw it, how it might be used against inmates or corrections agencies, or in legal proceedings when inmates allege they were co-opted or forced to participate or threatened by officials that non-cooperation would end up in their parole file or that they would be given an incident report for failure to program or something similar. Further we didn't want this study broadcast in the media, thus violating confidentiality, if an informed consent

statement ended up in a newsroom or courtroom in a lawsuit against a specific correctional agency as identified by a released inmate.

Unanticipated events

On three occasions there was what we considered deliberate attempts by institution staff to disrupt the interviews and frighten selected inmates. In one state, correctional officers would not permit interview room doors to be securely closed, no matter how many times they were asked to conform to interview procedure. Additionally, staff walked into the same interview rooms repeatedly even after they were asked not to. In one instance, a senior institution staff member told a group of inmate interviewees they didn't have to do interviews and that there was no rape at that institution. In another case, a senior staff member disregarded the inmate selection request and created an on-the-spot convenience sample. After returning from this state, a protocol violation was filed with the Case's IRB and an unanticipated events protocol was filed, accepted, and implemented (see Appendix D for the protocol modification). Difficulty was encountered in only two institutions in the same state. During this isolated incident, the research team realized staff interference could bias the narrative data, and these interviews were excluded from the analysis.

Interview guidelines

The research team arrived at an institution either before or after work call at eight or eight-thirty in the morning. Work call was busy with staff entering and exiting the institution. The team tried hard to avoid interfering with staff work. After the research team entered an institution, the team was first greeted by the (senior) warden and his or

her staff. They were told that the research team was not employed by the National Institute of Justice but were funded by NIJ to conduct prison rape research. They were told the types of questions being asked but were not permitted to read the protocol.¹⁶ They were told specifically that prison-rape interviews were not institution operational reviews or program evaluation interviews. They were repeatedly ensured of the confidentiality of interview information. They were told that institutions and interviewed inmates would not be known by anyone, including federal officials. They were told that the study's final report would be based on aggregate data with the purpose of searching out trends in inmates' responses to interview questions.

Inmate sampling procedures and the process of informed consent were reviewed by phone and in writing, and private, out-of-way interview rooms were arranged, before arriving at an institution. Although sampling procedures were reviewed, institution executive were assured that we were not "stacking the deck," as some institution staff referred to it, by pre-selecting a cohort of inmates who, in some way, had a grudge against prison staff. Staff were told that sampled inmates would be asked exactly the same questions; that personal information on anyone cited in an interview would not be collected; and that specific incidents of and participants in alleged prison rape incidents or other types of sexual assault would not be sought for interviews. Inmates were explicitly warned to withhold information on previous and future institution rule violations; and, that prior or future incidents of violence of any type mentioned in the interview would be reported to the warden's office.

¹⁶ The two states that required state-level IRB approval retained copies of the instrument. Otherwise institution officials did not ask for it.

The research team worked all day interviewing inmates. Selected inmates were on call-out and at an appointed time arrived at the interview area. In some instances, inmates were placed on call-out a day or two before we arrived. In those cases, the Principal Investigators gave a warden's representative explicit instructions on how to create the required sample. In other cases, a sample was determined once the research team arrived and then inmates were placed on call-out. Wardens often wanted to see the mechanics of drawing the sample. Samples taken before the research team arrived were reviewed to ensure the sample was done correctly and that indeed no one at an institution stacked the deck. The day ended at afternoon count around four in the afternoon. Staff were always pleasant then and didn't order us to leave, but it was obvious that continued interviewing would disrupt staffer's late-day operations. Interviews rolled from day to the next until at least the sample quota was achieved.

Analysis

Recurring "Pieces" of Prison-Rape Knowledge

Speech carries "pieces" of knowledge. These pieces stimulate the emergence of other pieces. These in turn stimulate other pieces to emerge. Pieces of knowledge aggregate to form comprehensive categories of cultural information. Clemmer's theory of culture and language predicts that inmates on the whole will share a body of knowledge but will also possess specialized information. By virtue of prisonization inmates will share similar categories of knowledge. However, inmates in different housing units or jobs, Clemmer wrote, will acquire different information. Barring mental illness or organic damage inmates should say similar things about similar topics. This would be analogous to free citizens on the east and west coast, people who've never

spoken to one another, sharing similar ideas on a variety of topics. An interview captures hundreds of pieces of knowledge. A greater number of interviews provided greater depth and scope of knowledge than fewer interviews.

Significance of cultural information

Similar pieces of knowledge might recur in 20 or 50 or 100 interviews. However, frequency of occurrence may indicate degree of shared knowledge but does not necessarily impute cultural significance. Simply put, some information will be more important than other information. How then can a cultural analysis assess significance of information when qualitative analysis doesn't normally use statistical measures of significance? First, cultural significance does not necessarily issue from frequency of identifiable pieces of knowledge. That a majority of inmates know recreation yard hours doesn't mean such information carries cultural significance. This instrumental information would be less significant than ways inmates learn to keep safe.

Cultural significance can be imputed to concepts, acts, attitudes, or perceptions of prison quality of life that has a central role in inmates' prison life. Such information may have survival significance on inmates' thinking about acts of behavior. Analysts can know if cultural information has a central role in cultural knowledge even if there are no statistical measures of a 'central role.' Stated another way, prison knowledge with the highest level of cultural significance generates rules of social behavior assessed as critical to prison survival by inmates themselves. Such knowledge would very likely be shared by a high percentage of inmates. Inmates would share a consensus of knowledge.¹⁷

¹⁷ We can determine level of consensus with a consensus analysis. Our research did not propose a consensus analysis; however, we could nevertheless derive a research design from the results of this research.

Clemmer's theory of culture does not provide a mechanism to determine the significance or value of cultural information. Do conversations have greater meaning than firsthand experiences? What types of firsthand experiences have the most or least cultural value? Does gossip about a prison rape have less impact on inmates than a verbal account of firsthand observation or victimization?

In the context of Clemmer's theory, inmates may know relatively little information about prison rape by virtue of where they are housed (a cell or dorm), their place of employment, or the criminal behavior of friends of their friends. On the other hand, possessing strong opinions, beliefs, and attitudes about prison rape has no necessary relationship to inmates' first-hand personal experiences.

Cultural information can be broken into bits and pieces, or themes. A theme refers to a redundant pattern, in this case, in interview data. The goal of thematic analysis finds cultural themes and then links them into cultural systems of thought. Themes possess the experience of inmates whether such experience refers to actual behavior or the act of listening to someone else talk (Ryan & Bernard, 2003:87)

Data collection

Interview data were collected in near-verbatim transcriptions of inmate interviews. Interviewers typed question responses as close to verbatim as possible into a Microsoft Word interview template. IRB restrictions and the sensitivity of the topic precluded tape recording. Anticipating the potential use of tape recordings in law suits filed by an interviewed inmate against an institution or agency, coupled with the fear that

inmates' voices could be identified in court, even if regions, states, and institutions were anonymous entered into this decision.

Computer aided qualitative analysis

Interviewers gathered 564 narratives. They were coded in the qualitative analysis program, Atlas/ti.¹⁸ A code refers to a short-hand or an abbreviation for a more comprehensive concept. This software does not identify codes. Rather it allows researchers a manageable way to handle large narrative datasets that need to be coded. The application has features built-in to house a code book and to add comments about specific narrative sections. In other words, researchers can add comments, questions, and notes anywhere they wish in the narrative and then easily retrieve them. Analysis of narratives requires the application of codes to narratives. The software allows users to create quotations linked to a specific code or codes. This software permits analysts to pull up all quotations marked by specific codes, which makes comparison of large blocks of narratives linked to codes easier to handle.

Narratives were cleaned, managed, and organized in a specific procedure. Initially, interviewers cleaned their own data. Cleaning began at the end of an interview or immediately after exiting an institution. Cleaned interviews were proofed by two members of the research team. If items were unclear or needed clarification, the original interviewer added needed clarification in brackets at the end of the section. Cleaned interviews were sanitized to remove any words, phrases, nicknames, cellblocks or dorm

¹⁸ ATLAS.ti, The Knowledge Workbench: version 4.1 for Windows 95 and Windows NT 1997. Thomas Muhr, Scientific Software Development. Germany: Berlin.

identifiers, cities, counties, or states that could identify an inmate, institution, state or region. Dr. Krienert, CO-PI, was ‘keeper of the codes.’ Customary in major projects, the keeper of the codes was the final authority on cleaning and sanitizing interviews, coding narratives, and entering them into Atlas/ti.

Transferring data to Atlas/ti

Entering data into Atlas/ti was not analogous to entering numeric data into software. Cleaned and sanitized primary documents – whole interviews, not variable values, were entered into the analytic software. The keeper of the codes converted cleaned and sanitized files into a plain text format and uploaded each individual interview into what Atlas/ti calls an Hermeneutic Unit (HU). Technically, a complete narrative dataset gathered on one project or on one research topic comprises one hermeneutic unit in Atlas/ti. Interviews are called primary documents. Codes, comments, quotations, concept relationships, and so on associated with a primary document comprise an HU, which eases handling of massive datasets.

Advantages of the Atlas/ti Method

Atlas/ti automates data handling, but in effect mirrors the way ethnographers handled data by hand with 3 x 5 cards and stacks of interview, observation, comments, queries, and future research directions in notebooks 30 years ago. Traditional ethnographers take hard copy interviews and break them into meaningful elements, add comments and questions about them, and cross-link them with other interviews and elements, forming a network of integrated ‘basic elements of meaning’ and related comments, questions, ideas for future interviews and analysis, and so on.

Atlas/ti automates this process on two levels. First, Atlas/ti allows for the segmentation of interview text into meaningful units, such as words, phrases, acts, and events. Atlas/ti does not analyze narrative data in the sense that it identifies behavior patterns and cultural themes in the absence of an analyst's specific queries about linkages. Atlas/ti yields whatever we enter. This program cannot do the simplest types of data analysis, such as cross-tabs or frequencies.

Atlas/ti's strength falls on data management, which requires a massive effort on a dataset as large as 564 interviews. Atlas/ti makes explicit all narrative data, code use, researcher comments on codes, quotations that are examples of codes, and coded distribution. Hand sorting of 3 x 5 note card that would take hours, takes seconds with Atlas/ti. Atlas/ti allows narratives to be quantified by allowing analysts to compare, in this case, 564 answers to the same questions.

Weaknesses of Atlas/ti

On the other side, Atlas/ti mechanics are difficult to master. Atlas/ti has its own technical vocabulary that must be mastered in order to achieve any type of analysis. Its menus are obtuse and its built-in instructions are incomplete and often confusing, especially to new users. Statements describing how to integrate analytic process are poorly written. Researchers must be prepared to invest a great deal of time and effort and staff training to use Atlas/ti.

Codes and Coding

Codes are short-hand versions of significant content in interview narratives. Applying a set of codes to interview narratives for the purpose of identifying code frequency, code-use patterns, code co-occurrences, and tracking ideas, attitudes, social processes, and interviewees' interpretations has been called text analysis. Text analysis 'discovers' and then applies codes. Codes are word labels for acts, events, processes, and their combinations. Codes enable us to identify and track in an interview text, acts, such as 'Coco ripped off T-Man's shoes'; social processes, such as debt: 'T-Bone owed Jimmy John \$200 and got beat up behind it'; attitudes, such as 'rapists are psychos'; beliefs, such as 'rapists are weak'; and, interpretations, such as 'Tim didn't get raped, he likes hard sex.'

Structural and Thematic Codes

Structural codes

Structural codes assign a distinctive identifier to each interview question. This permits analysts to generate a list of responses for each structurally coded question. For each structural code, we can output response locations among all interviews. For example, the interview question "Have you ever known a rape victim who was killed?" was denoted by the structural code "Rape_Victim_Kill". Atlas/ti not only allows researchers to easily find the question's corresponding narrative in each survey, it also allows researchers to query all responses to this question. Since structural codes are embedded into the text interview, Atlas/ti automates the coding process by searching for the embedded codes and coding the entire response.

Thematic codes

A code represents a heuristic form, or shorthand version, of a theme. Themes are products of inductive analysis and were identified by analyzing hundreds of interviews. In this project rape was a primary theme. Fourteen themes were inductively derived from the interview narratives. Each primary theme had sub-themes, which offered additional details about a theme. Sub-themes made coding narratives easier to code for details. If the code rape were used to code all incidents where inmates discussed sexual violence, analysis could not easily distinguish among the incidents. Sub-codes allowed for easier identification of detailed information. Codes were treated as nominal, or qualitative, variables (see Appendix E for the thematic codebook, and Appendix F for the SPSS codebook).

Enumerated below are examples taken directly from Atlas/ti illustrating thematic coding of narrative data. This illustrated code is: [T_Sex_Theory_Time]. This code refers to inmates' theories on how doing time influences inmate sexual behavior. This code was derived via induction. The label P92: PSF8-4.txt - 92:146 (460:462) was a reference number: P92 refers to the interview number in the HU; PSF8-4 refers to a specific interview (F=female prison); and (460-462) refers to the initial and end line number of the quotation. Data below are verbatim from Atlas/ti.

P20: PSM3-6.txt - 20:117 (475:480) (Super)

Codes: [T_Sex_Theory_Time]

“There really is no straight person, just someone who has never been touched yet, especially here, they might start off that way, but if they got 90 years it’s just a matter of time, so they’re just not touched yet.”

The next example illustrates multi-coded responses. Note that the single thematic code [T_Sex_Theory_Time] attaches to the structural code [SP_Groups_Other] (SP refers to social process section of instrument). A second thematic code attaches as well [T_Inmate_SR_Predator]. There are two thematic codes concatenated to a structural code.

P16: PSM3-2.txt - 16:73 (614:618) (Super)

Codes: [T_Inmate_SR_Predator] [T_Sex_Theory_Time]

SP_Groups_Other: It can go either way, time will rub off on some people , they been down 15 or 20 years they get into that mold and feel like they gotta rape people or take everything, that’s the way prison life is. Or at least was.

Text coding requires an intensive familiarity with thematic codes and their distinctive features. Coding text requires the ability to spot narratives that correspond to thematic codes and to spot narratives that express important concepts for which there are no thematic codes.

Coding process

Coders attended ATLAS/ti training workshops. Once the mechanics of Atlas/ti were mastered, coders practiced coding on interview narratives. Atlas/ti and code

training were conducted Dr. Gery Ryan, Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, CA. Coders practiced on narratives until their coding matched the CO-PI coding.

Coding doesn't refer to a procedure that, once done the first time, ends. Rather coding must be done repeatedly as the narrative base increases in size and complexity. As the interview narrative base increases so does the complexity of codes and inter-relationships among codes. Today's coding may have to revise coding done previously given shifting ideas and interpretations. Atlas/ti allows researchers to house a large set of codes and code definitions. An example of thematic code as it appears in Atlas/ti follows below.

T_Sex_SZ_Institution

Description: institutional social control from having sex;

Institutional safe zones, sex avoidance techniques

Inclusion Criteria: any mention of institutional safety and security used to stop rape or sex

Exclusion Criteria: officer specific activity (monitoring, write-ups)

Examples: single cell as a way to prevent rape or sex;

Periphery Examples: Prisney world (inmates term to refer to a safe, quiet penitentiary)

Code training helped to broaden inclusion and exclusion criteria in order to aid in code consistency. Additionally, after initial coding by a member of the research team, the CO-PI second coded all interviews to ensure consistent coding across team members. If coding errors were found, all team members were notified and the distinctive criteria

for ATLAS/ti was updated to highlight the problem. Two additional coding “in-service” type workshops were conducted during the coding process to ensure accurate coding throughout the duration of the project. The CO-PI made final decisions on coding.

Data Entry and Verification

Quantitative data were derived by hand from narrative responses and placed into SPSS. The CO-PI began this process by identifying which questions would likely yield quantifiable information. In order to verify the entered data, SPSS data entry builder was used. This program allows for easy entry and verification of SPSS datasets.

Atlas/ti counts terms, phrases, and expressions. However, the number of times particular terms, phrases, and expressions appear across narratives does not necessarily reflect cultural significance. Thematic code T_Inmate_SR_Punk {248-0} was applied 248 times in 564 interviews to questions about the social dynamics of family roles of punks. For Example:

“SD_Family_Roles: They [punks] do what the women do, a stay at home mom, take care of the cell, make guys food for him. Carry drugs and shanks if their dudes are in the business, like a mule in a sense, will do whatever to keep their man out of the hole. I've seen the homo stab someone just to go to the hole to be with their man, very loyal.”

Analysts are still left with the problem of determining cultural significance of punks and they fit into the broader scheme of socio-sexual activity.

Themes and cultural significance

The term code and theme are synonymous. Codes are concepts in a relativist cultural system that has ‘meaning’ to participants. The Atlas/ti dataset includes TQCOUNT="51266" [total codes used with quotations marked]. A code doesn’t represent a true or observed score in traditional quantitative analysis. To calculate mean code use per interview or code use per 100 interviews would have neither cultural nor statistical significance. Code prevalence provided no inference about cultural significance. Why? Speech cannot be controlled in open-ended interviews. Language can generate an infinite number of utterances. A prison speech community does not represent a finite number of utterances. Therefore, “new” data—new ways to talk about rape and explain it, are continuously generated. A prison speech community has infinite creative expression. Terms, expressions, phrases cannot be controlled frequency. Codes are not scores, do not have numeric value, and cannot be manipulated statistically since they have no numeric value.

Themes

Cultural themes represent categories of prison culture knowledge. Noted below are themes isolated in a national cross-section of interview discourse.¹⁹ These themes are inmates’ facts, beliefs, opinions, and attitudes. This list was compiled by reading and re-reading 564 interviews and tracking occurrences of similar ideas and variations among similar ideas.²⁰ While theme frequency by itself does not necessarily denote cultural significance, theme frequency does help sort idiosyncratic occurrences from broadly

¹⁹ Our interview data will be accessible to the public. If one were to read 100 interviews focusing on answers to the questions in the Rape Section, these themes would occur and recur repeatedly.

²⁰ The model of code derives from linguistic analysis. The point here refers to, for instance, a verb paradigm where variations are created on a base form. Rape would be a base form; types of rape are variations.

shared themes. If only 10 inmates said that, for instance, inmate debts never lead to physical or sexual violence but 500 said otherwise an analyst would be inclined to stress that latter over the former.

Substantive and Conceptual Themes

This analysis identified substantive and conceptual themes. These complement and expand those reported in prison literature. Substantive themes refer directly or indirectly to inmate behavior. Reading and rereading inmate interviews looking for similarities and differences in answers to the same questions would eventually result in the recurrence of themes. A list of substantive themes derived from these narratives follows below.

Substantive themes

- Most rapes occur at night in cells.
- Inmates with debts may or may be raped for a refusal to repay debts.
- White inmates generally know few inmates inside and are therefore vulnerable.
- New inmates are vulnerable to rape.
- Inmates convicted of sexual offenses against children may be raped.
- Physically small inmates are more likely to be raped than large inmates.
- Some inmates worry about rape while others don't.
- Consent to same-sex relations works as an adaptation to prison life for some inmates.
- Strategies such as 'riding' with a gang, joining a religious group, hanging out with experienced inmates, are types of social adaptation to prison life that provide safety and social contact-friendships.

Conceptual themes

This research generated highly abstract themes, such as inner homosexual. Such highly abstract themes are interpretable within the context of prison culture. They represent a short-hand for a complex set of cultural values and norms. Within the category of conceptual themes some are simple, others are highly abstract.

Simple conceptual themes

- Mentally weak inmates are raped more easily than mentally tough inmates.
- Degree of toughness refers to an inmate's decision to stand up and be a man and be beaten up instead of raped.
- White inmates cannot fight as well as black inmates.
- White inmates are weak.
- Inmates who were homosexuals in the community command more respect from general population than weak inmates who are 'turned out,' engage in homosexual acts out of fear.
- Heterosexual women who had families in the community may pursue a homosexual prison lifestyle as a personal choice, absent of sexual coercion.
- New women inmates decide to get involved in the homosexual scene soon after entering prison.

Abstract cultural themes

- If a man believes he can be raped he's already been raped.
- A man cannot be raped unless he wants to be.
- Men and women inmates may choose to remain outside the homosexual scene.

In the analysis of the culture of prison rape substantive and conceptual themes are integrated to form prison culture's worldview of inmate sexual behavior. Future prison culture studies may find these themes useful as *a priori* themes, or themes brought to the analysis of data by researchers.

Validity

Ethnographic method doesn't consider power, type I and type II error, or effect size. Instead, measures of validity would be best achieved by asking interviewees culturally relevant questions. An ethnographic analysis uses cultural data (that is, what people know about a subject) and has internal validity if the analysis yields a description that accurately captures a way of life in a community. Ethnographic validity limited to interview data would be expressed through a consistency of cultural descriptions. Do data from 30 research sites share lexical and cultural similarities? Or do the data show a wide disparity in cultural variance? If single institution data show overlapping themes there are grounds to argue for cultural internal validity. If multiple institutions' themes overlap there are grounds for external validity.

Clemmer's theory of prison culture as a shared body of prison knowledge included substantive and conceptual themes. The validity of a cultural study can be tested by using it as a set of instructions for living inside prison. If new inmates knew nothing about prison life, a cultural analysis should provide them with information to allow him to behavior in culturally appropriate ways. A culturally valid analysis represents a book of instructions on how to behavior like an inmate. The dynamic process to acquire those instructions would be prisonization.

CHAPTER 3. SOCIO-CULTURAL AND VERBAL DYNAMICS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

“Man, rape! You see it everywhere, TV and movies, newspapers.”

Clemmer wrote that “culture may be defined as those artificial objects, institutions, modes of life or thought which are not peculiarly individual, but which characterize a group and have both special and temporal contiguity. . . . that complex whole . . . includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.” Culture, wrote Clemmer, was supra-individual: culture had the ability to transmit knowledge and rules of behavior, attitudes, and beliefs maintaining homogeneity between generations. Today’s inmates, according to Clemmer’s construct of culture, would share to a large degree the culture of knowledge and rules of behavior of earlier generations of inmates.

Clemmer’s theory of supra-individual culture²¹ offers insight into how prison scholarship may resolve interpretations of different findings on prison sexual violence. Lockwood (1994) found homosexual rape was a "rare event." He noted that writers and inmates "have been perpetuating certain ideas about prison sexual violence that are not supported by systematic research on the topic." He also disputed unsupported inferences that sexual-assault victims are "low status" offenders, like child molesters (cf. Bowers, 1982). Tewksbury (1989) found that inmates repeatedly said they heard occasional rumors about but didn’t witness sex violence. Nevertheless:

²¹ DiMaggio (1997) wrote: “Cognitive research confirms views of culture as fragmented . . . and illuminates supra-individual aspects of culture. Individuals experience culture as disparate bits of information and as schematic structures that organize that information” (DiMaggio, 1997, 263-287).

Inmates reported rates of homosexual activity at or below general [societal] population. The estimations of these [coerced sexual] activities in the institution are much higher than self-reported incidence. About 7% report attempts at coercion, but no one reported being raped. However, inmates estimated that 14% or inmates had been sexually assaulted or raped while in prison (pp. 34-39).

Clemmer's theory of cultural prisonization would account for ostensibly contradictory findings, such as Lockwood (1994), Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson (2002) and Tewksbury (1989). Clemmer's theory argues that prison culture has both consistency in a core body of knowledge and consistency in variation of knowledge. The dynamic of prisonization requires multiple modes of knowledge acquisition. Watching, listening, and trial-and-error behavior are the basis of prisonization. Prisonization by definition includes a range of knowledge. Thus, as inmates are prisonized they acquire different perspectives. Inmates possess bits and pieces of the total aggregate of knowledge of prison culture. Therefore, research data on sexual violence gathered by interviewing inmates would, by definition, indicate variance in inmates' attitudes, beliefs, and opinions on prison life. Thus, variance and consensus are expected in interview research data.

Clemmer's supra-individual culture theory would argue that variance measured in a cross-section of a prison population or many institutions would be repeated in a consistent way over generations of inmates. Clemmer's argument that culture has a supra-individual nature accounts for the transmission of both a core body of and variability within prison knowledge. Cultural agreement and variance are normalized and constitute the body of knowledge known collectively as prison culture. Struckman-

Johnson and Struckman-Johnson's 2002 and Tewksbury's 1989 data are an example of this phenomenon: obtained at different times in prisons with different missions (women vs. men) these researchers' inmates estimated similar prevalence rates of prison rape.

Seventy-years of prison scholarship has shown consistent patterns of inmate thought about prison sexual behavior, sexual violence, and the interpretation of these complex topics. Terminology cited 50 to 60 years, such as wolves and punks, have remained within inmate vernacular. Abstract concepts such as inmate 'weakness' and 'strength,' patterns of women's pseudo-families, men inmates' talk of daddies, boys, and sons are the patterns of thought and speech symbolized by the term culture.

Prisonization creates a dynamic social-learning and speech acquisition model that functions to transmit knowledge about prison life. Speech messages impute information about the general context of prison and specific contexts of prison life. Lockwood's inmates reported no rape; Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson's and Tewksbury's reported otherwise, but their findings are not contradictory as cultural statements. Rather their findings and others like them should be anticipated and expected when inmates' knowledge of prison life was acquired outside and inside prison and over different periods of time and circumstance within prison.

The implications of differential prisonization are significant. Qualitative and quantitative analysis tease variance out of data but neither approach can explain the origin of the variance without the concept of supra-individual culture. If inmates consistently report both sexual violence and the lack of sexual violence how can analysts account for both options in such a way that these findings are useful to public-policy makers hoping to improve prison conditions? Clemmer's theory would argue that

ostensibly contradictory findings are indeed mutually compatible within, and the very nature of, a system of prison cultural knowledge.

Differential Prisonization: Importation of Diversity of Prison Culture Knowledge

Inmate Socio-Demographics

Undoubtedly a reasonable assessment, every inmate knows something about sex. Physical, emotional, and sexual characteristics of inmates brought into prison. The importation of sexual preferences and the use of sexual behavior as an adaptation to prison social life sexualizes prison culture. Inmates' knowledge of prison rape and their range of subjective interpretations of prison rape likely depend on their experience inside and outside prison. Based on this premise, a managerial response to inmate sexuality would be facilitated by interpretation of inmate demographics. A prison population may shift its acceptability of sexual violence in a manner analogous to shifting correctional officers' attitudes toward inmates' sexual behavior.

Clemmer's theory of differential prisonization and its influences by pre-imprisonment behavior suggested a finite list of variables, which would provide a general sense of sampled inmates' socio-cultural and socio-sexual experiences. We assumed the universality of prison culture, that is, prison culture has significant common features; that inmates passed through prisonization processes in similar ways; and that inmates share a language base of prison lexicon learned within the context of prison culture. A lexicon refers to a dictionary and to an inventory of terminology unique to a specialized subject or profession; argot refers to a dialect—criminal or inmate argot refers to vocabulary, expressions, and speech styles definitive of criminals or inmates.

Knowledge refers to the psychological or cognitive results of perceptions, reasoning, and learning. Table 1 variables would influence inmates' imported knowledge and experience of sex, which would then influence prisonization issues, such as housing and employment assignments and inmate classification. The content of interview data would depend to some degree on measures of inmates' sexual importation. These measures include inmates' sex, history and levels of violence, time spent in prison on current sentence, number of periods of incarceration, and total life-time in prison. However, it would be difficult to determine what inmates learned before and after periods of imprisonment.

Table 1 measures conviction offense and prison history. Men inmates' mean time served on current sentence was 69.3 months for men and for women, 70.9 months. Long years in prison culture likely suggest a high degree of consensus of categories of knowledge of prison culture, especially physical and sexual violence as rape or coercive or consensual sex. Clemmer's theory of culture posits that prisonization would lead to a relatively high degree of shared knowledge. The degree of shared knowledge would be discernable in bivariate analysis.

Prison-experienced inmates may have, given limitations posited by Clemmer's theory of prisonization, exposure to prison rape and other types of sexual violence. Several variables infer an adolescent derivation of a common basis of prison knowledge among interviewed inmates. While 67.5 percent of men and 81.3 percent of women inmates had no juvenile detention imprisonment, among those who did, the mean age at incarceration for men was 13.6 and women was 14.2 years. Men served a mean time of

17.2 months, while women served 12.6 months. By age of majority, 32.5 percent of men and 28.7 percent of women of the interview sample were prison-experienced inmates.

The best interview data come from the most knowledgeable ‘natives’ in the culture. Table 1 data show that 66.3 percent of men and 46.3 percent of women served more than 60 months; 63.1 percent of men and 35.1 percent of women had already served more than 120 months, or 10 plus years, at the time of their interview. Interviewing inmates with more than 10 years in prison has a benefit of gaining a longitudinal sense of what prison rape circumstances are like today vs. 10 plus years. Inmates with long sentences comment on today’s prison management vs. prison management and prison rape of 10 to 15 years ago. Inmates’ comments occur later in the report.

Table 1 Demographics and Offense Statistics

	Total		Men		Women	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
*Current Conviction						
Violent	358	64.7	288	71.3	70	47.0
Non-Violent	107	19.3	69	17.1	38	25.5
Drug	88	15.9	47	11.6	41	27.5
*Violent Offense by Type						
Homicide	157	43.7	121	42.0	36	50.7
Sex Offense	64	17.8	61	21.2	3	4.2
Robbery	82	22.8	67	23.3	15	21.1
Other	55	15.3	38	13.2	17	23.9

*

Current Sentence in Months						
1-60	180	31.9	110	21.7	70	47.3
61-120	66	11.7	40	9.9	26	17.6
121 – 300	103	18.3	82	20.2	21	14.2
301 or more	205	36.3	174	42.9	31	20.9
Months Served	69.30		75.30		53.22	
Prior Incarcerations						
0	302	53.5	205	50.1	97	62.6
1	131	23.2	103	25.2	28	18.1
2	65	11.5	49	12.0	16	10.3
3 or more	66	11.7	52	12.7	14	9.0
Total Months in State Prison	106.73		120.27		70.99	
Ever in Federal Prison						
No	551	97.7	397	97.1	154	99.4
Yes	13	2.3	12	2.9	1	0.6
Mean age at first incarceration	25.59		24.32		28.93	
Juvenile Detention?						
No	402	71.3	276	67.5	126	81.3
Yes	162	28.7	133	32.5	29	18.7
Mean age at first admission	13.74		13.64		14.21	
Mean months incarcerated	16.46		17.28		12.69	

Number times disciplinary segregation						
0	276	49.6	183	45.4	93	60.4
1-4	168	30.2	132	32.8	36	23.4
5+	113	20.3	88	21.8	25	16.2

* $p < .001$

Table 2 data show a similar cross-gender racial composition of the sample. Data show men's mean age at incarceration was 24.3 years; women's mean age was 28.9 years. Their average age at the time of interviews was 36.6 and 36.8 for men and women, respectively. Sampled men and women inmates had many years in the community to develop family lives and have a variety of sexual experiences. Pre-imprisonment sexual experiences receive more attention later in the report.

Table 2 Sampled Inmates' Marriage History and Pre-imprisonment Sexual Preferences

	Total		Men		Women	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Race						
Black	264	46.8	202	49.4	62	40.0
White	227	40.2	154	37.7	73	47.1
Hispanic	56	9.9	42	10.3	14	9.0
Other	17	3.0	11	2.7	6	1.1
Mean Age	36.69		36.64		36.8	

Sexual Preference						
Straight	438	83.6	342	83.6	96	61.9
Gay	64	11.4	36	8.8	28	18.1
Bisexual	62	11.0	31	7.6	31	20.0
# Marriages						
0	300	53.5	231	56.8	69	44.8
1	197	35.1	136	33.4	61	39.6
2	46	8.2	28	6.9	18	11.7
3+	18	3.3	12	2.2	6	3.8
Currently Married?						
No	471	83.5	344	84.1	127	81.9
Yes	93	16.5	65	15.9	28	18.1
Married Prior to Incarceration?						
No	4	4.3	4	6.2	0	0
Yes	89	95.7	61	93.8	28	100.0
Mean length of current marriage	138.23		129.24		157.97	
Children						
None	161	31.4	122	33.0	39	27.5
1	108	21.1	83	22.4	25	17.6
2	113	22.1	82	22.2	31	21.8
3+	130	25.4	83	22.4	47	33.1

Table 2 shows data on current marriages and marriages prior to incarceration: 15.9 of men and 18.1 percent of women reported being married at the time of the interview (are you currently married?), leaving 84.1 percent of men and 81.9 percent of women unmarried at the time of the interview. One-hundred percent of women of currently married women reported their marriage occurred before their imprisonment; 93.8 of men reported a pre-imprisonment marriage. This leaves 6.2 percent who were married while imprisoned on their current sentence. Even though 63.1 percent of men and 35.1 percent of women inmates had been imprisoned more than 10 years at the time of the interview, their marriages were stable, if length of marriage measures marital stability. Currently married men and women had been married on average for more than 10 years at the time of the interview. A study of married inmates' in-prison lives was well outside the scope of this research.

Verbal Exposure to Sexual Victimization

Clemmer's theory posits that inmates are influenced by what they hear in different contexts of prison life. Exposure to multiple types of personal experiences in prison would give inmates similar experiences on some issues but different experiences on others. Interview data would show variance on what, and how much inmates know. They would also have different exposure to, and interpretations of verbal messages. As a speech community prisons are widely diverse in speech topics and ways of speaking. What's more, information brought into prison about sexual violence may influence inmates' initial perception of the dangerousness of prison life. Even before inmates enter prison they may possess knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes about prison sex and sexual

violence. These may be opposite from or exaggerated forms of prison reality (Lockwood, 1980).

Prison research findings suggested five data-collection dimensions. First, sources of information about prison sexual violence come via direct observations or participation as a perpetrator or victim should be sources of information distinguished from indirectly acquired knowledge. Second, inmates' perceptions of their environment would be influenced by information they acquired via verbal messages. Third, if prison sexual violence were a serious problem it would threaten inmates' personal safety or at very least causes them to worry. Fourth, images of prison rape appear in movies and are aired on television. In a situation analogous to violence visual imagery influencing children, inmates may be strongly influenced seeing egregious acts of sexual violence. Fifth, at the extreme of hearing about sexual violence, inmates are likely to be exposed to inflated, exaggerated, twisted, and obscured tales of sexual violence analogous to urban myths, or a type of folklore, about, for instance, gang initiation. Such exposure may influence how they perceive the prison environment and their perception of safety.

To measure these dimensions five questions were asked: 1) Do you know for sure of a rape in this institution or any other prison you've been in? (2) If you haven't seen a rape firsthand, have you heard about an inmate being raped? (3) Are people worried about rape? Is it a big threat? (4) Have you ever seen a rape, like in the movies? (5) Is there rape folklore like stories about notorious rapists of long ago?

In brief these questions had five outcomes. These are cultural themes that appear regularly in interview data and are corroborated by previous modern and historical research. First, the percentage of inmates who report 'for sure' knowledge of rape falls

below reports of hearing about prison rape (Tewksbury, 1989). Second, relatively high levels of hearing about rape do not necessarily influence inmates' perceptions of prison safety. Third, verbal messages of prison rape are not reinforced by visual experiences witnessing egregious prison rape. Fourth, despite verbal exposure to prison rape incidents and rapists, inmates express little fear of or worry about prison rape. Fifth, inmates recognize exaggerated tales of prison rape and rapists distinguishing them from more realistic verbal messages; the exaggerated tales have no necessary influence on inmates' perceptions of prison safety.

“For-sure” knowledge of prison rape

Table 3 and Table 4 analysis shows women inmates report a lower level of for-sure knowledge of prison rape than men. However, the women's reports of for-sure rape decline over time served, especially after 10 years. However, men's agreement on for-sure rape increases to 29.7 from 12.3 percent and to 34.8 from 12.6 percent after 5 and 10 years served, respectively. Tewksbury (1989) reported 14 percent of inmates had been sexually assaulted or raped while in prison” (pp. 34-39). Men and women inmates who served less than 5 and 10 years report high levels of no for-sure rape.

Table 3 Inmates' Perceptions of For-Sure Knowledge of Prison Rape by Gender and Time Served-5yrs.

	Total		5 or less Years		> 5 Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	132	95.0	90	96.8	42	91.3
Yes	7	5.0	3	3.2	4	2.9
*Men						
No	290	78.0	143	87.7	147	70.3
Yes	82	22.0	20	12.3	62	29.7

*p<.001

Table 4 Inmates' Perceptions of For-Sure Knowledge of Prison Rape by Gender and Time Served-10yrs.

	Total		< 10 Years		10 + Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	132	95.0	103	96.3	29	90.6
Yes	7	5.0	4	3.7	3	9.4
*Men						
No	290	78.0	187	87.4	103	65.2
Yes	82	22.0	27	12.6	55	34.8

*p<.001

Inmate comments:

“I’m not aware that any [rape] of it’s going on. I hear stories that they caught so and so spooning in a bed or in the showers. I’ve never witnessed this going on. The worst I’ve ever had was a guy in the bunk above me masturbating in the middle on the night. I’ve heard about yada yada, being caught bent over a table while somebody else is butt-fucking them. I’ve only got my two eyes and ears to do all this. Narrow range in who you come into contact with. See black guys who wear their hair in curls, Kool-Aid lipstick, we chide them, but we don’t approve of it. He’s going to chide them a little bit; he’s got his own stupid issues, like holy crap. Every once in awhile I joke, “I wish I was gay; I’m in a men’s prison, what better place to be gay,” but no thank you.”

“I believe she lied to her other girlfriend [about being raped]. When she got caught [cheating] she decided that it was rape. It is really hard to test to decide if they were raped.”

“Heard about” prison rape

Table 13 and Table 6 shows men and women inmates report significantly higher levels of hearing about rape than knowing for-sure about rape. Hearing about rape over time among women inmates does not increase at a significantly high rate. The percentage of men who hear about rape with less than five years more than doubles when men have served more than five years to 70.4 from 29.6 percent. Men inmates who have served less than 10 years and women who have served less than five years have heard about rape at a similar level even though both reported low levels of for-sure rape. For-

sure knowledge of rape and hearing about rape, controlling for gender and time served, show that inmates are exposed to a high level of verbal versus visual messages about prison rape. Such a high level of verbal exposure in the context of a low level of visual exposure seems consistent with Clemmer's theory of supra-individual culture and cultural transmission of prison rape knowledge, independent of first-hand exposure to prison rape. Saum, et. al.'s 1995 finding that 59.9 percent of men inmates felt attempted rapes may occur at least once a month seem influenced more by what inmates heard than by first-hand observation.

Table 5 Inmates' Perceptions of Hearing about Prison Rape by Gender and Time Served-5yrs.

	Total		5 or less Years		> 5 Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	83	60.1	58	63.0	25	54.3
Yes	55	39.9	34	37.0	21	45.7
*Men						
No	150	42.1	91	59.9	59	28.9
Yes	206	57.9	61	40.1	145	71.1

*p<.001

Table 6 Inmates' Perceptions of Hearing about Prison Rape by Gender and Time Served-
10yrs.

	Total		< 10 Years		10 + Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	131	91.0	99	88.4	32	100.0
Yes	13	9.0	13	11.6	0	0.0
*Men						
No	295	78.7	174	54.7	121	25.8
Yes	80	21.3	42	45.3	38	74.2

*p<.001

Inmates commented:

"[Rape] probably happens, but I haven't heard of any."

"It was like three Mexicans, it was in a unit, they ran in on some young White kid, and that's just what I heard. It happened seven years ago. They ran into the cell. It was like two years later that I heard about it through another individual."

"Yeah, many times, they raped this dude, 10 or 15 of them raped him, he was messed up, his insides were messed up, they shoved bottles up there, I heard that many times."

Threats of and worry about prison rape

Table 7 and

Table 8 show inmates' estimate of the level of threat and worry engendered by sexual violence. Even though 39.9 and 57.9 percent of women and men inmates, respectively, have heard about rape, inmates report low levels of feeling threatened by and worried about rape. The level of for-sure knowledge of prison rape for men, 22.0 percent, closely approximates their level of threat and worry over more than five and 10 years.

Table 7 Inmates' Perceptions of Threats and Worry about Prison Rape by Gender and Time Served-5yrs

	Total		5 or less Years		> 5 Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	131	91.0	88	89.8	43	93.5
Yes	13	9.0	10	10.2	3	6.5
Men						
No	295	78.7	130	79.8	165	77.8
Yes	80	21.3	33	20.2	47	22.2

Table 8 Inmates' Perceptions of Threats and Worry about Prison Rape by Gender and Time Served-10yrs

	Total		< 10 Years		10 + Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	131	91.0	99	88.4	32	100.0
Yes	13	9.0	13	11.6	0	0.0
Men						
No	295	78.7	174	80.6	121	76.1
Yes	80	21.3	42	19.4	38	23.9

Inmates commented:

“Worry about rape, if you're weak, yeah. But if you're not that weak and can pay attention to your surroundings it's not that bad. We're mainly worried about people cutting each other up, not rape.”

“No, because it doesn't happen much or if it does it's with lovers.”

“From what I am seeing it has changed a lot you get free world time and charges. There are some units where I am sure it happens everyday. This unit is not bad.”

“Until you've done maybe two or three months maybe. The younger generation is worried, with all the rap and gangsta movies, they watch; all they see are criminology and gangsta movies on TV, they're dumb-asses, they get here and for

the first six months, you come through [UNIT NAME] and you're in an enclosed atmosphere, there's a guard on your ass the whole time, it is impossible for something to happen. Then all of a sudden you're in a unit, now you start to worry."

Exposure to Media-like Portrayals of Prison Rape

"Movie gang rapes don't happen in here. They are pretty strict about checking the showers & things, I can't say it has never happened, but I've never heard of it and inmate gossip goes really fast."

This question tried to remove ambiguity from inmates' perceptions of what may or may not be considered rape by comparing a prison rape to sensationalized media-like images of prison rape. Table 99 and Table 10 show that women inmates, independent of time served, reported few if any cases of media-like rape. Men inmates with less than five year served perceived similar level of media-like rape cases. As time served increases, so does inmates' perception of sensationalized rape.

Table 9 Inmates' Perceptions of Media-like Portrayals of Prison Rape by Gender and Time Served-5yrs.

	Total		5 or less Years		> 5 Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	140	98.6	95	99.0	45	97.8
Yes	2	1.4	1	1.0	1	2.2
*Men						
No	332	88.1	156	94.0	176	83.4
Yes	45	11.9	10	6.0	35	16.6

*p < .001

Table 10 Inmates' Perceptions of Media-like Portrayals of Prison Rape by Gender and Time Served-10yrs.

	Total		< 10 Years		10 + Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	140	98.6	109	99.1	31	96.9
Yes	2	1.4	1	0.9	1	3.1
*Men						
No	332	88.1	208	94.1	124	79.5
Yes	45	11.9	13	5.9	32	20.5

*p < .001

Inmates commented:

“I heard about it, caught a dude in the shower, in old [OTHER PRISON], the carwash, ain't no lights in the shower in old [OTHER PRISON], I done heard too many stories, one dude walk up in there the first day goes all the way in the back and fifteen dudes come in and rape him and stuff.”

“Not in sixteen years.”

“[I] never witnessed a rape. I've talked to people after they were raped. Have a friend who was gay so not really rape, they put a broomstick up in him cause he owed them money or something. I have another friend who was raped by her own boyfriend and now she's saying she's not gay anymore. She wanted to break up but he didn't want to so she stopped having sex. They opened all the doors for chow and he walked down the run and pushed her in the cell and they had sex but she didn't want to have sex, but she cried to us about it. She can't write home, the family don't care.”

“No—no sticking knife in bootie or cut open a bootie like American Me.”

Urban mythology

Urban myths are a type of modern folklore. These myths may be grounded in distant reality or truly fictional. They are distorted, twisted, and exaggerated, and told as if they were true. Boxing Betty and Brutus (see below) may well have their origin on prison compounds of 10, 20 or 50 years ago, but nevertheless the cultural messages these

tales carry ring true for today's inmates. Fleisher's 1989 study of maximum-security penitentiary discussed the social functions of inmate and staff urban myths. Topics were behaviors of penitentiary life, such as homicide and severe physical assaults. But the tales themselves were judged by staff and inmates as fantastical but fun stories to share.

Table 11 shows that women and men inmates reported hearing prison rape urban myths (folklore). Women and men who served less than five years reported hearing tales, 34.5 and 56.1 percent, respectively. Women who served more than 10 years jumped to 56.4 percent, and men to 67.7 percent.

Table 11 Exposure to Prison Rape Urban Myths by Gender and Time Served, 5yrs.

	Total		5 or less Years		> 5 Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	72	58.5	55	65.5	17	43.6
Yes	51	41.5	29	34.5	22	56.4
Men						
No	131	37.4	68	43.9	63	32.3
Yes	219	62.6	87	56.1	132	67.7

Table 12 shows that exposure to rape folklore among men inmates who served more than 10 years jumped to 71.5 percent while percentages for other inmates remained relatively constant compared to less and more than five-year sentences.

Clemmer's theory of supra-individual culture would argue that prison rape folklore influences the perception and categorization of violent acts. Inmates' categorization of violent sex acts as consensual or coercive or rape may be determined by

verbal analogies. Characteristics definitive of consensual vs. coercive vs. rape may be learned in sex stories. A greater exposure to sex lore may lead to greater discrimination among such sex acts. If, for example, inmates hear a preponderance of sex folklore that defines violent sex as rape, they may perceive more violent sex as rape. This theoretical perspective falls in line with, albeit the mirror image of, Alarid's 2000 finding that sexually abused women inmates, because of their visual and verbal experiences, redefine sexual violence and may not perceive violent sex acts as rape.

Table 12 Exposure to Prison Rape Folklore Urban Myths by Gender and Time Served, 10yrs.

	Total		< 10 Years		10 + Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	72	58.5	59	62.1	13	46.4
Yes	51	41.5	36	37.9	15	53.6
Men						
No	131	37.4	90	43.7	41	28.5
Yes	219	62.6	116	56.3	103	71.5

Narratives illustrate a thematically rich men inmate's verbal history about prison rape. Men's folklore has a broad geographic focus and seems more culturally significant than in women's prisons. In men's prisons cultural figures such as Boxing Betty, Purple Passion, Lick'em Lenny, and Brutus, are identified either by name or activity across the country. These are not reported or interpreted as scary, foreboding characters. Rather

they are tales men laugh about. Women's prison culture has no sexually violent stereotypical, named characters analogous to men's characters. Unlike men's humorous reports of the antics of folkloric characters, women don't laugh and joke about sexual violence.

Boxing Betty appears across the United States. Below are excerpts about Boxing Betty and Lick'em Lenny and Brutus.

"Boxing Betty was a regular old dude, four dudes raped him in the shower at old [OTHER STATE PRISON] before they tore it down so he worked out and started lifting weights and came back five years later and raped and beat them up every single one of them, he got his get back, I was nine when this happened. He's gay now, but he made them suck his dick; he's considered a legend, he's a cool person you would never know."

Other versions of rape lore combine physical strength, fighting ability, and homosexuality. Folklore figures exemplify this combination of traits and illustrate the strength of homosexuals.

"Got a big old dude down there who called Fort Knox, got real old been on state 28 or 29 years, real big dude, was a professional weightlifter or something, the thing is, he the girl, he'll beat somebody up that he might like and while you laying there knocked out he going to get what he want. He's pressing 300lbs but he like to suck your dick. If you don't let him, he knock you out and suck you. You wake up and your pants on down around your knees and you got a big old knot on your head."

“We used to have this one legend that this guy called Boxing Betty, a homo well-known. He used to box when they had the boxing program. He liked taking it both ways, and if he seen someone he liked that he wanted sex with, he’d beat them up and force them to fuck him in the ass.”

“There’s this guy named Brutus; he’s a really big guy supposed to be gay. He walked around with a weight belt on and told people “hey, you let me suck you off or I’m going to knock you out, and then he’d do it.” I met Bruce in 1990. He was a big guy.”

“There’s this guy they call Lick‘em Lenny; he’s what they call a goop gobbler. He’ll knock them out and then take them [have sex with them]. I don’t know the guy’s name, that’s his nickname, but apparently he’s a known homosexual who likes young boys and will suck dick on these young guys. He’s some weirdo; he pays for cups of semen and will drink them.”

Women’s sexual abuse experience may in part account for women’s prisons paucity of sexually violent folkloric characters. However, there are recurrent tales of sexual assault. A rapist who assaulted victims with a hot curling iron was commonly cited; however, women who told the tale could not identify either the rape victim or rapist or where and when it occurred. The assault may have been grounded in reality but was reported, as urban myths are, as a “did you hear about” or a “friend of a friend” tale.

More than 50 percent of men inmates had been exposed to folklore about sexual violence, regardless of time served. Exposure to sexual folklore remains constant for men under 10 years but jumps to over 70 percent for men with more than 10 years. We cannot tease apart inmates' exposure to prison rape via different channels of rape message communication. Nevertheless first-hand exposure to prison rape occurs far less often than exposure to symbolic messages.

Prisonization: Verbal Lessons of Socialization

Rape reports that may or may not have actually happened and stories about characters most inmates know are fictitious create subjective imagery inmates express via gossip, conversations, jokes, lore, secrets, and so on. Clemmer's theory of culture argues that verbal messages are the dominant form of socialization to prison life. These verbal messages carry information on practical issues and complex social dynamics. Verbal messages pass between generations. When they are, culture's supra-individual quality passes cultural information between generations. Messages about prison rape that actually occurred and stories like those described above, pass between generations of inmates. Eventually, acts of rape and urban myths about rape are not easily distinguished as speakers' twist and exaggerate tales with each telling.

Inmates have heard stories about rape and rapists. However, few have baseline, firsthand knowledge of rape as a witness or victim or rapist or companion of a rape victim. Given inmates' wide range of experiences inside prison some stories are more realistic than others. Without certain knowledge of an actual rape, a safe strategy would be to believe these stories until proven otherwise.

No matter if rape messages are believed or are descriptions of actual events, verbal accounts of prison violence and prison rape convey lessons about prison culture and social life. Lessons are conveyed via prisonization. Verbal messages are the single-most important dynamic in the transmission of cultural knowledge inside and outside prison. Prison rape messages impart motivations for violence and nuances in the meaning of prison behavior. From a broader social science perspective actual inmate behavior and sexual behavior options captured by verbal messages indicate adaptive strategies available to men and women in a restricted environment. Verbal messages with sexual content convey a practical lesson: men and women inmates need not stop sexual relations, but rather sexual relations should fit the culture and context of the environment.

Prisonization via verbal messages about sexual behavior and sexual violence are clearly recognized by inmates. These messages convey to inmates simple but critical lessons about prison sex and social life. Learn how to behave, but learn quickly. Don't get too comfortable with people; they could be deceptive and cunning and want to exploit you. Avoid behaviors that won't be tolerated, such as debts and theft. Protect yourself physically and mentally. Stay strong. Handle your own battles. Be confident and decisive. Finally, sexual temptation increases with time; if you try it, you might enjoy it.

Differential Prisonization: Integration of Verbal Sources of Knowledge

Clemmer's theory posits that cultural construction of sexual characters and sexual behavior are learned and reinforced by verbal messages. Figure 1 illustrates a relationship between men inmates' exposure to three types of verbal messages about rape and their level of worry about or fear of rape. Data show that among men who have

served less than five years, 56.1 percent reported hearing rape stories and 40.1 percent reported hearing of a rape. However, 12.3 percent reported knowing a rape occurred ‘for sure.’ Their level of reported worry or fear about rape was 20.2 percent. Among men who served more than five years, their reported level of hearing rape stories and hearing of a rape jumped to 67.7 and 71.1 percent, respectively. Their knowledge of a for-sure rape increased to 29.7 percent, but their level of fear and worry increased to 22.2 percent.

Figure 1 Men Inmates’ Exposure to Verbal Messages about Prison Rape

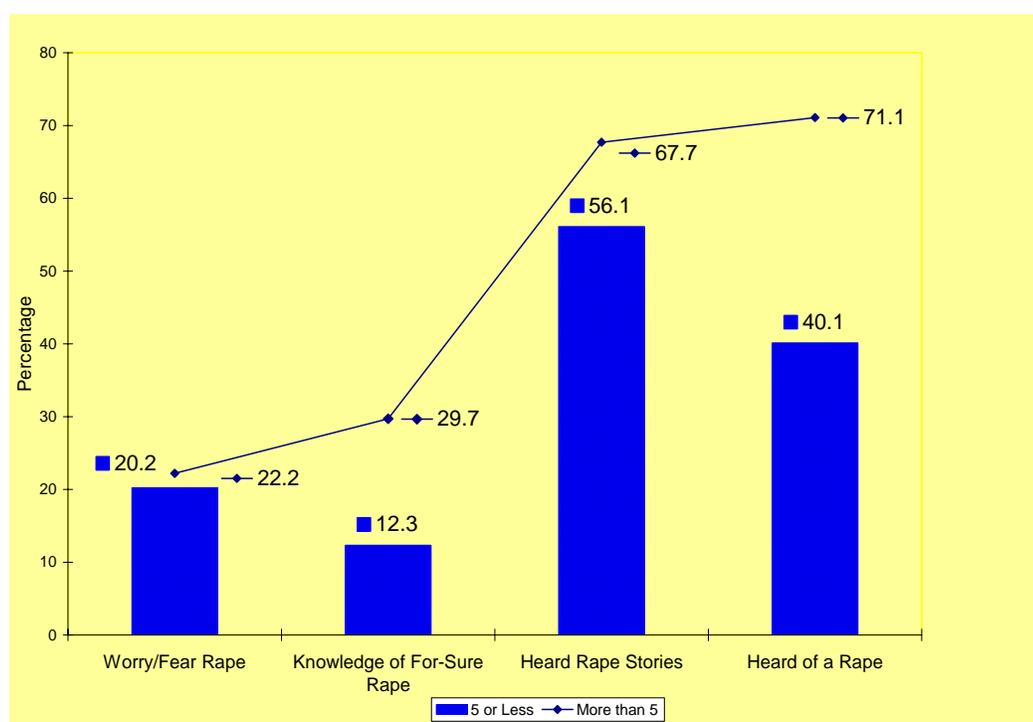
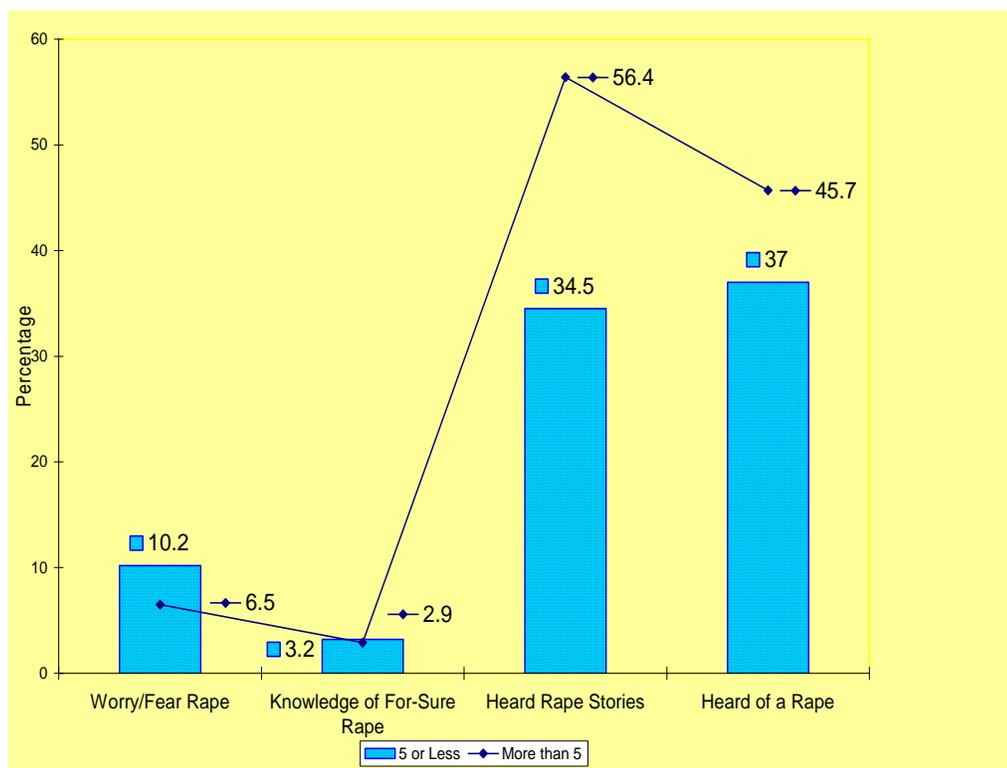


Figure 2 illustrates a relationship between women inmates’ exposure to three types of verbal rape messages. Data show that among women who have served less than five years, 34.5 percent reported hearing rape stories and 37.0 percent reported hearing of a rape. However, 3.2 percent reported knowing a rape occurred ‘for sure’ with a level of worry or fear at 10.2 percent. Among women who served more than five years, their reported level of hearing rape stories and hearing of a rape increased to 56.4 and 45.7

percent, respectively. Women's knowledge of a for-sure rape was 2.9 percent and their level of worry and fear dropped to 6.5 percent.

Figure 2 Women Inmates' Exposure to Verbal Messages about Prison Rape



Cultural Construction of Sexual Assailants

The cultural dialogue of prison sexual aggression across the country included a variety of players on the sex scene. Some were vulnerable, the punks, sissies, and girls; some violence, the rapists and bootie bandits; others con men, the turn-out artists. Rapists, bootie bandits, and turn-out artists are discernable social categories. Their ubiquitous cultural nature does not necessarily denote their actual existence on prison compounds nor does it imply that sexual assault occurs on compounds where inmates recognize these figures.

Rapist

Regularly reported over many decades in prison research literature was the belief that prison inmates despised street rapists and child molesters. The cultural interpretation of prison rape, a prison rapist, and a prison rape victim have broad cultural connotations. Always, inmates said they abhor rape and rapists. Rapists are negatively stigmatized and may be targets of violent or non-violent aggression. A rapist or rough turn-out artist may move into a dorm. If he then pressures inmates, inmates said, he'll find himself with a choice: find another residence unit or deal with the violent consequences. There are no narrative examples of a rapist being killed as a result of committing rape. However, inmates reported the cultural feasibility of killing a rapist who refuses to abide inmates' informal social rules. Table 13 and Table 14 show that women inmates rarely report knowledge of rapist killed as the result of sexual assault. Men inmates who served more than 5 and 10 years, 22.9 and 25.3 percent, respectively, reported knowing a rapist who was killed.

Table 13 Inmates' Reports of Knowing a Rapist Killed in Prison-5yrs.

	Total		5 or less Years		> 5 Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
*Women						
No	114	98.3	78	98.7	36	97.3
Yes	2	1.7	1	1.3	1	2.7
*Men						
No	305	83.3	147	91.3	158	77.1
Yes	61	16.7	14	8.7	47	22.9

*p < .001

Table 14 Inmates' Reports of Knowing a Rapist who was Killed in Prison-10yrs

	Total		< 10 Years		10 + Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	114	98.3	90	98.9	24	96.0
Yes	2	1.7	1	1.1	1	4.0
*Men						
No	305	83.3	190	89.6	115	74.7
Yes	61	16.7	22	10.4	39	25.3

*p < .001

Inmate culture conceives of rapists as weaklings and cowards. Their weakness expresses itself even in their inability to have sexual affairs absent of a surprise violent

attack. Rapists are repellent; they cannot find willing sexual partners.²² Alone, without companions, they fall to the margin of inmate society. In inmate parlance, rapists “*work outside the program.*”

Social marginality, if for no other reason, casts suspicion on rapists and makes them potentially dangerous. First, no one knows them, and this in itself makes mainstream inmates suspicious. Second, if they are unknown, mainstream inmates don’t know what they do, who they may plot against, who they may snitch on. However, marginality diminishes their protective affiliations with individual inmates and inmate groups. If, marginal inmates—rapists and others, have companions, they are likely to be other marginal inmates. Rapists have few if any affiliations. If they have social ties, they are linked to other marginal inmates. Thus, rapists found themselves in a network of marginal and weak inmates. As a consequence, narratives noted, rapists do not have allies who will help protect them. Well-connected, mainstream inmates won’t risk their reputation and their affiliations with their allies to support marginal inmates. Without allies, rapists are open to violent retaliation by victims and their affiliation. By socio-cultural definition rapists are weak and cannot retaliate if they are assaulted.

A rapist may try to create a strong social image. Men may hang out with a known rapist, and even back him up if there’s an assault, but such behavior are attempts to curry his favor out of fear. Hangers-on ‘run a game.’ They stay close to a dangerous man, hoping he doesn’t rape them. However, social proximity won’t prevent rape or physical assault on a hanger-on. Rapists cannot be trusted. Inmates say sexual predators cannot be picked out of a crowd.

²² While inmates’ narratives characterize rapists as socially marginal and therefore ‘weak,’ there are no studies on the social network structure of inmate society that demonstrate rapists are socially marginal, have few companions, and have no or few social ties to mainstream inmates.

Rapists on the compound are well known. They don't have safe zones. They can't ask other inmates for protection; no one will come forward to protect them. And they can be victims of a violent retaliation. Rapists don't retaliate if they were assaulted. Victims are expected to "do to them what they did to you and more if you can." A rapist's smartest move would be to 'check' into protective custody.

"It is like a circle, get him [rapist] out of the circle. Nobody wants them [rapists] in the group. They are pushed away."

"It depends on the seriousness of the rape, it would probably be a beating, maybe in close joint dude might get stabbed or beat up to the point where he has to go to the hospital, maybe in the close joint he would get a lock to the head."

"Street rapists and chomos are pieces of shit, in everybody eyes. Rapist is no better than a rapo outside."²³

"Cowards, he gots to get up outta here, person gets caught, it gets around the yard, he gots to go or he's going to get killed."

"An inmate who raped this one inmate turned around and waited until the dude was on the weight pile lifting and picked up a pillowcase with a

²³ *Chomo* and *rapo* refers to a child molester and rapist, respectively.

weight and took part of his head off. Blood shot everywhere, he was dead after the first blow, he [the offender] was crying and shit and then told everybody. That was ok, he was wrong [the victim] he shouldn't have did what he did.

“A guy was trying to take a young man's butt; he thought he was going to get it and that was it. Young man retaliated and one day when rapist was watching TV, victim chopped his head off. Back in those days we had metal trays, pitcher and cups. Metal tray was pressed metal, no lip. Hit dude a few times and his head rolled. 1987. It happened when I was there in the day room, [UNIT NAME]. “

“Yes, guy hit him in the back of the head with a 10 pound weight. The guy that got raped killed the guy who raped him.”

Inmate culture allows a wide berth of sexual freedom; however, rape seems on the margin of what otherwise would be culturally permissible sexual behavior, even of extreme types. Prison culture sees rape as a pointless act of violence and irrational given the opportunities male inmates have to engage in sex with men or women staff, and women inmates have to engage in sex with women and male staff. A rapist has no power, no respect, and no influence. In the end, rapists lose respect and companionship—no one wants to be associated with a weak-minded coward.

Turn-out artist

A turn-out artist has smooth social and talking skill and coaxes, often in a matter of days, his prey into a sexually compromising situation; a new inmates who accepts a chocolate bar or stamps or joins a friendly card game has enjoined a debt that must be repaid. A rough turnout artist whose harsh coercion and threats are obviously on public display distinguished from rapists and bootie bandits. A rough turn-out artist escapes a rapist label if he's well liked and doesn't bully or stalk his victims and doesn't show physical or mental signs of weakness. A turn-out artist qua rapist freely moves about general population; he has companions and doesn't avoid social interactions. Although known as a turn-out artist, his behavior carries no negative stigma.

Table 15 and Table 16 show inmates' perceptions on whether a rape and a turn-out are similar sexual acts. Men's and women's perceptions are consistent within gender but quantitatively different across gender. A much higher percent of men perceive rape and turn-out to be similar acts over time, 39.8 and 45.0 percent, respectively, compared to women, 16.1 and 22.2 percent, respectively.

Table 15 Inmates' Perceptions of Turn-out vs. Rape by Gender and Time Served, 5yrs.

	Total		5 or less Years		> 5 Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	113	81.9	78	83.9	35	77.8
Yes	25	18.1	15	16.1	10	22.2

Men						
No	207	57.3	97	60.2	110	55.0
Yes	154	42.7	64	39.8	90	45.0

Table 16 Inmates' Perceptions of Turn-out vs. Rape by Gender and Time Served, 5yrs.

	Total		< 10 Years		10 + Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	113	81.9	88	83.0	25	78.1
Yes	25	18.1	18	17.0	7	21.9
Men						
No	207	57.3	135	63.7	72	48.3
Yes	154	42.7	77	36.3	77	51.7

Inmate comments:

“Probably because they tried to turn out and the person wouldn’t convert so they got fed up with trying and they just took it.”

“Ok, see I’m going to break it down to you. Turning out is when a person gonna come in and if you want to have it, you do it by choice, rape is when a person don’t want to get turned out and a dude forces himself on him, if you won’t give it voluntarily I’m going to take it, to rape it.”

“No, raping is force, turning out is where you kind of like use charisma to get them to like you and then they start liking you and when they do you turn them out.”

“Yes, it’s the same. ‘Cause they still taking advantage of you.”

“Can be; just depends on what that persons objective is with the rape. If the goal is to have the person want to have sex, if that’s the objective then it’s the same.”

“Yes. One used finesse, another can use strength but the result is the same.”

Prison worldview finds that all turnouts aren’t rape. However, someone raped can become a turnout. Skilled turnout artists are not rapists, inmates said. Turnout artists do not carry a rapist’s negative stigma. A rapist and a bootie bandit ‘steal’ sex but a turn-out artist initiates an exchange situation. Inmates said “fair exchange is no robbery” and “commissary is necessary.” These comments convey the meaning that an exchange of sex for property or protection can be a fair transaction.

Rapist vs. bootie bandit

A socially determined distinction between a rapist and a turn-out artist becomes clearer in the comparison of a rapist and a bootie bandit. Old-school inmates, those who have served decades inside prison, distinguish bootie bandits from rapists. They said rapists stalk their prey and do not fight for sex if a victim resists. This point supports

prison rape worldview's assertion that a man cannot be raped unless he wants to be (see Nacci & Kane, 1982, p. 16) and that a man doesn't have sex unless he wants to. Confronting force, inmates said rapists merely move on until they find a less resistant target. By contrast, a bootie bandit thrives on resistance to his sexual advances and does not back off if victims fight back. However, a bootie bandit sees the interaction as a game. He has polished skills in "talking people out of it." A bootie bandit doesn't fear apprehension or exposure to a general population.

Old-school inmates distinguished a rapist from a bootie bandit, but younger inmates may use the terms synonymously. Old-school inmates characterize rapists as dark, foreboding, and violent characters; however, a bootie bandit, by contrast, displays a cavalier attitude. Even though a rapist and a bootie bandit may have committed similarly violent sexual assaults, the behavior of a bootie bandit was interpreted by old schools as comedic, a sexual clown figure of prison culture. Old schools said bootie bandits "hop" from one boy to another, finding sexual pleasure often. Although narrative data are ambiguous on this point, a bootie bandit seems to have traits of both an aggressive turn-out artists and a rapist. This combination of traits makes a bootie bandit a significant cultural figure.

Stories about bootie bandits do not necessarily mean they existed as real-life people. They are, however, embodiments of cultural traits. They are figures in the dark shadows of prison culture. While old-school inmates distinguish rapists from bootie bandits, the bootie bandit seems to better fit a colloquial vision of the prison rapist. Inmates reported that rapists avoid confrontation and find easy targets. Stripping away a bootie bandits' preference toward sexual violence leaves the bandit with personal traits

desired by street hustlers: verbally adept; socially clever; friendly; manipulative; and always on the prowl for profitable hustle.²⁴

Prison Culture's Sexual Worldview

A Cautionary Note to Readers

Prison culture's sexual worldview conceptualizes homosexuality, sexual affairs, and sexual violence as a symbolically complex interplay of unconscious forces emerging in a social reality. Prison worldview uses symbols of sexual violence contrary to and radically different from concepts of sexual violence in free society. Prison culture's worldview assumptions are predicated on physical and mental weakness, a "blame the victim" sexual victimization philosophy, and antipathy toward victims' pain and suffering. Paradoxically, however, as noted above, prison culture worldview also abhors prison rapists and prison rape.

This section summarizes cultural themes induced from inmates' narratives on the causes and conditions of sexual violence. Cultural themes are not inmates' justifications and rationalizations for sexual violence. Thus far, analyzed data as well as the history of prison culture and sex research have shown sexual violence to be an infrequent occurrence. Nevertheless, prison culture has evolved an elaborate constellation of cultural sex symbols and cultural sex dynamics. The complexity of prison culture's characterization of sexual violence should not be taken as indicative of inmate apathy toward sexual violence nor abnormally high levels of rape as suggested, for instance, by Davis's 1968 study of the Philadelphia jail system. The literature review showed that in

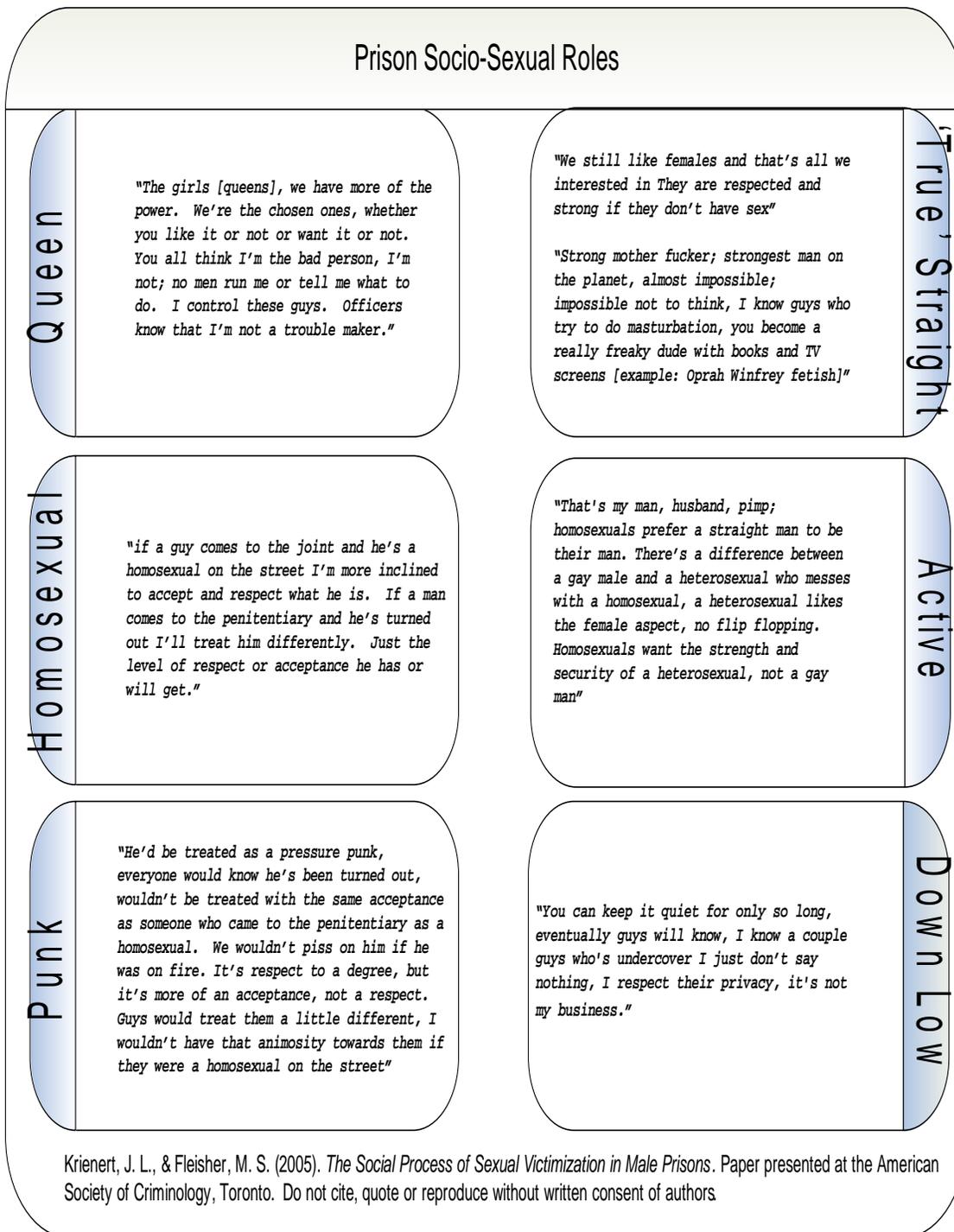
²⁴ One of the former inmates who assisted in the conceptualization of this project called himself a bootie bandit but didn't refer to himself as a rapist. Now in his 60s he had been imprisoned six times since his adolescence. Released from prison the final time in 1993, he claimed bootie bandits didn't exist in today's prisons.

more than 60 years of prison culture studies Davis's study was the only one to posit egregious levels of prison sexual violence.

Culture of Prison Homosexuality and Sexual Violence

Inmates' narratives about prison rape and prison rapists are imbued with culturally symbolic interpretations of homosexual behavior. Pathways that drew men and women into same-sex behavior are complex as well. Prison culture has a broad culturally defined social category known as homosexual, but all inmates who engage in same-sex behavior are not culturally defined homosexuals. Prison culture refines the category homosexual into specific social roles known as homosexuals, gays, and queens. A male inmate homosexual expresses a sexual preference but does not necessarily exhibit 'female' tendencies. Homosexual behavior focuses on sex acts. A gay has 'female' tendencies. Gays prefer same-sex relations and express publicly symbolic indications of homosexuality, such as arched eyebrows and a 'gay' walk. Queens (also known as all-out queens) are "women" and homosexuals, but all homosexuals are not queens. Straights aren't involved in the public sex scene but may nevertheless engage in same-sex behavior on the down low, trying to conceal their behavior from public view. Figure 3 describes inmates' distinctions among sexual roles.

Figure 3 Inmates' Distinctions among Six Socio-Sexual Roles



Prison worldview has a culturally unique rationale to account for same-sex behavior and for sexual assault and its interpretation. To grasp a prison worldview on

homosexuality requires stepping outside of a conventional, free society mode of interpretation of homosexual behavior and inside a culturally relativistic form of explanation.

Inmates' Subjective Perception of Prison Sexuality

Inner Homosexual

"It's [homosexuality] something in that individual. I don't take the credit for that.

They are probably not facing whatever's inside of them. I believe there is something over time that wears away that already exists. You have something in you. Eventually, if you never got locked up, you would have experimented."

"Eventually they'll let themselves come out of the closet. They try to hide it to prevent others from knowing what they really are instead of coming out with it from the beginning. They hide it and it makes it look badder on the person when they do find out. They'd be more respected if they just let others know."

This study provides an objective analysis of inmates' subjective perception of social and sexual life. Subjective perceptions are part and parcel of inmate interview narratives. An analysis of sex-related narratives led to abstract and often intuitively peculiar findings. The concept of an inner homosexual articulates the single-most significant conceptual process in inmate culture's worldview of consensual and coercive sex and prison rape. The inner homosexual concept does not mean that inmates believe everyone has a homosexual nature or that sexual coercion or rape does the victim a favor by raising his or her sexual consciousness. Inmates do not believe they have to be raped

in order to accept their sexual identity. The inner homosexual exists only as an abstract symbolic expression²⁵ of inmates' dual sexual nature expressed in prison sexual culture.

Men and women inmates' narratives repeatedly refer to an "inner homosexual" or to one's "true homosexual nature." However, all inmates do not talk about an inner homosexual. Some didn't know of the concept. Some thought it strange. Cultural familiarity with an abstract concept would not be shared equally by all members of culture. Interviewers did not pointedly ask about an inner homosexual. Were inmates asked "do you have an inner homosexual?" they would likely stare blankly and what such a question meant. Context determines cultural meaning especially for abstract concepts like an inner homosexual. This concept outside of its cultural context carries no culturally appropriate meaning.

In inmate culture the inner homosexual bears on a wide scope of homosexual behavior. This concept emerged from inmate narratives in different guises. Commonly the inner homosexual concept functioned to differentiate (what social scientists label) consensual sex, coercive sex, and rape.

"Every man is a homosexual. Every man has sexual fantasies about a man."

"Everyone is willing to do something, it's whether he's willing to hold it deep inside him."

²⁵ A late 19th century theory of homosexuality posited a third sex, with a man inside a woman body, and a woman inside a man's. Thus homosexual behavior derived from an inner cross-sex identity (Gay, 2002, p. 66).

Cultural interpretation of sexual identity

Prison culture explains sexual behavior with a belief in an inherent homosexual nature. This homosexual nature may emerge on its own in specific cultural contexts.

When asked the difference between a turn-out and a rape, an inmate said:

“No, [there’s no difference]—turn out is being romanced and already have the propensity for it and given the opportunity. Being turned out is evidence of propensity and then sex is voluntary.”

Context refers to particular settings where the inner homosexual emerges. Prison provides such a context. Inmates’ expression ‘*time will get you*’ refers to inmates’ eventual incapability to stave off the inner homosexual. Long prison terms--10 or more years, weaken one’s resistance to the inner homosexual.

“I believe the guys who are most open anti-gay the more I’m convinced [they] got something in [them] that’s gay. If you never got locked you’d have done it out there, maybe it would take alcohol or drugs but you’d do it. There is a sexual being in you that you didn’t explore until you came to prison.”

Looking from the outside in, the inner homosexual concept seems to help neutralize and rationalize, and make more personally acceptable, inmates’ homosexual behavior. Perhaps for straight inmates the concept of inner homosexual enables reconciliation between sexual behavior and self-concepts. On the premise of an inner homosexual, straight inmates are homosexuals who have not yet come out.

The inner homosexual helps explain women inmates’ attitude toward sexual assault victims. Victims, inmates said, have not accepted their inner homosexual. They are more vulnerable to ridicule and social attack than women who joined the sex scene

and have friends and lovers “watching her back.” In the logic of the culture, rejection of the inner homosexual means weakness. By virtue of their own physical or mental weakness, weak inmates can be victimized in a culturally justifiable act of sexual assault. Important to note, however, that sexual assault would be unlikely. Women want to fit in with the in-crowd (Alarid, 2000), so they participate in social life and make friends.

Men and women inmates who enter prison and admit they were homosexual outside are better regarded by fellow inmates than those who are turned out. Open acceptance of homosexuality means in inmate culture that these inmates were “true to themselves,” and did not hide or deny their inner homosexual. Inmate worldview declares that prison does not force homosexuality on anyone. Rather, narratives said, a prison’s sexual scene offers opportunities to ‘become who you are as a sexual being’ in relative safety, if sexual emergence proceeds along culturally acceptable pathways.

“Here homosexuality is accepted. I like to know who is around me, snitch, gay, straight. If you are an undercover fag you may have AIDS. Out n out is more accepted because you know your surroundings with them. There’s more respect if you are out and out. You’re less of a man if you are in denial.”

Accepting one’s sexual identity inside prison may be an arduous, perhaps violent, process. ‘Becoming who you are’ as a sexual being requires accepting one’s inner homosexuality. A homosexual or gay who doesn’t conceal his or her identity upon admission to prison openly admits to the general population his or her acceptance of one’s inner, homosexual nature. Prison sex worldview accepts inmates who recognize their inner sexual identity but balks when inmates try to hide it. *“I respect someone who*

is who they are, if they were homosexual on the street I respect that more, stay consistent with who you are.”

Cultural symbolism of the inner homosexual

Inmates’ subjective perceptions of homosexuality focus on the inner homosexual concept. This concept has a powerful symbolic impact in inmate culture. Often, inmates’ perceptions of homosexuality include strong, often brutal interpretations of inmates’ encounter with their own sexual identity. To disregard one’s own nature signifies one’s weak-mindedness. Physical weakness, the inability to physically protect oneself, or mental weakness, the inability to withstand external forces to engage in sex or resist threats, represent cultural anathema. Weakness can be met only with contempt.

When these elements are symbolically integrated – no one comes to prison naïve; inmates are by nature homosexual; and resistance to accepting one’s nature symbolizes weak-mindedness--conditions exist to create a sexual cultural continuum of social respect. At the extreme positive end are all-out queens; at the extreme negative end are men who must be forced by their own weakness to face and accept their own sexual nature. In order for these weak men to find their true inner identity, narratives said, these men must be raped. In this situation, a literalist interpretation of rape gives way to a merger of prison sexual culture’s principle metaphors--the inner homosexuality and rape. In this metaphoric merger of symbolic images the rapist disappears and the focus turns to an inmate with a clearer recognition of sexual identity.

The ‘inherent energy’ of the inner homosexual pushes through the resistance of inmates. When resistance to accepting one’s inner sexual nature combines with the idea that ‘no one comes to prison naïve’ there emerges a complex gender system. Embedded

in the gender system dynamics are metaphors of personal weakness and strength. A complex paradigm of social and sexual forces plays itself out among inmates. Inner and public socio-sexual identity combines with personal strength and weakness, along with female tendencies and acceptance of an innate homosexual nature, to create a gender system with sexual role relationships identified more than 50 years ago.

Within the context of these beliefs and social dynamics, inmates assess the distinctions among consensual and coercive sex vs. rape using culturally determined criteria. These are criteria mutually exclusive from those in a free-society worldview. Inmate culture does not have a standardized set of criteria to distinguish among types of sex acts. There are cultural issues to be resolved. Who consents to sex and why; who needed coaxing and why; who needed coaxing but later slide into a new sexual role; and who resisted coaxing but consented anyway as a means to find protection or commissary products are questions needing resolution in the calculus of a prison sex worldview. Interview data show that rape vs. coercion vs. consensual sex are culturally defined but are not mutually exclusive categories. These are cultural classifications whose defining criteria shift as context shifts.

When inmates are asked if a sex act was consensual, coercive or rape, a common response was “it depends.” Such a response does not mean inmates avoided “the” answer or had something to hide or cover up. Rather, culturally complex social categories have fuzzy boundaries. There are analogous cultural socio-sexual categories. Examples include: gay vs. homosexual; homosexual vs. heterosexual who has sex with same-sex inmates; homosexual vs. heterosexual vs. down-low inmates who have same-sex relations but say they are not homosexuals; homosexuals vs. gays vs. closet queens who have

same-sex relations but say they aren't queens or homosexuals. These are the grey areas of cultural classification out of which emerge ambiguous interpretations of inmate behavior.

“Rape is a turn out; a rapist is helping a guy come to terms with who he is.”

“A man can't be raped because he is gay but hasn't realized it—being gay is already in him.”

Prison sex worldview interprets an unwillingness to accept one's own sexual nature as a cause of potential greater harm than a hard turnout. In the logic of prison rape worldview, an inmate cannot be coerced into oral sex but may 'need' to be 'pushed' into the process of sexual awakening. Inmate sex worldview does not interpret such a push as coercion. Rather it represents an act of a person enabling someone to accept the inner homosexual. And soon as an inmate comes to terms with the inner homosexual, the sooner personal tumult and social anxiety diminish.

Inmate Culture's Worldview on Sexual Violence

A prison worldview holds a 'real' man incapable of sexual victimization unless he "wants" to be raped. A real man embodies attitudes about men's defensive strength and gender identity. Real men aren't weak-minded. A real man stands up and fights. A man who gives up and gives in to physical force carries a damning label forever. The following excerpt illustrates a man's weakness in the context of a turn-out. The speaker explains a turn-out vs. a rape from a sexual aggressor's perspective:

“Most definitely you turned them out no matter what. You violated the rules. You have no choice but to continue what you are doing. All it takes is one time and you [victim] will be labeled the rest of your life. You will be a dick sucker.”

Prison culture interprets sexual violence by its context. An act of sexual violence in one context may be interpreted as rape, but in another context, the same act may be interpreted as a turn-out, and in still another it may be an act of coming out of the closet. Inmates see sexual violence. However, their subjective perception of sexual violence dominates their interpretation of the violent act. When inmates identified contexts of sexual violence, some said an act was rape; others said the same act was not rape.²⁶ Excepts below are commonly occurring subjective reinterpretations of sexual violence as they occur in narrative data:

1. Some men enjoy being beaten up while engaging in sex.

Man: “They just tell them how they like it, I want you to hit on me, to squeeze my arm or my neck, hit me in the sack, hit me in the chest.”

Women: “Rough sex is very common, no one is gentle in cell block.

Pulling hair, biting, punching each other out, using strap-ons.”

2. A sex victim may be running a con on his assaulter. An ostensible sexual victim may allow an assailant to believe he has the upper hand when in fact the act was instigated and controlled by the perceived victim for the pleasure of the victim or

²⁶ This point becomes explicit when inmates differentiated a turn-out vs. a rape and coercive vs. consensual sex.

to achieve an instrumental outcome. A sexual victim may receive protection. A punk will be protected and receive goods in exchange for sexual services.

“They put their well being in your hands all you got to do is sit there and keep your mouth shut and they help you, if you’re weak, you will meet them half way, you feel protected and your property isn’t stolen, so you’ll have sex with them, it’s compensation.”

“He was protecting me, he knew my first year was hard and told me he’d make sure no one would bother me anymore. We were friends, he was so nice and kind, and I really thought we were just friends. Then one day he came in my cell and said, Jackie, I have needs and you need to satisfy them. I’ve given you all this stuff, protected you. I told him I’d given him stuff to and that I thought of him like an older brother, he said I could either do it or he’d take it. So I bent over and let him do it to me...Now I just find my own protection. Look for the downest, baddest motherfucker.”

“It’s better to not be a pin cushion, one pin is better. It’s out of convenience.”

3. Victims are homosexuals ashamed to come out of the closet. These men were afraid or ashamed to be homosexual on the street and have carried that fear inside. Inside however, they can come to terms with their inner homosexual.

“Most common and easiest is you got people who it’s already in ‘em to be gay and haven’t run across the right person, you pull up on them and talk to him, and put him around another homo to turn him out and show him how to do it, then they start shaving their face and arching their eyebrows and all that other crap, changing their voice, they want someone to bring it out of them.”

“One you’re basically manipulating a desire that’s already in someone and getting them to do something they already want to do.”

4. A potential rape victim has multiple options to prevent or intervene on his own rape. If he allows it, then the act cannot be defined as rape.

“The way I see it, he raped him but the dude he must have had it in his mind before, you just can’t do that to someone who don’t want it.”

“I look at it if a person do get raped he wanted it or he would have said something, just like in a man and woman relationship.”

5. Childhood sexual abuse precludes claims of rape victimization in adulthood. A rape worldview asserts that early-life experience with sexual abuse acquaints an object with same-sex relations and therefore cannot be raped again. Prison worldview asserts early-life abuse experiences should have provided knowledge and foresight sufficient to prevent rape. Inmate culture holds that an inmate

should be strong enough to control his or her own destiny. If rape happens, it occurs only because a victim wanted it to occur.

“Not really. Homosexuals put yourself at high risk; laws claim he has no evidence and because homosexual he likes it.”

Female: “the person has low self esteem and is mentally weak. They just let it happen. If you can trick a person out of their pants you can easily trick them out of their money.”

A theoretical point must be reiterated. The complex differentiation among acts of sexual violence, sexual consent, and sexual coercion occur as a function of inmate culture’s symbolic reinterpretation of socio-sexual behavior. The cultural meaning of a sexual act finds its derivation in social context. In the way inmates use their culture, if an act of sexual violence remains constant in intensity and physical expression, inmates’ subjective perception—the meaning, of this act varies by context. Thus, the primary mechanism used to determine an act’s meaning focuses on contextualization. Since prison social contexts are open to others in addition to an aggressor and victim, they have a voice in the determination of the culture meaning of sexual violence. In prison culture, the cultural decision—rape or not rape, about an act of sexual violence includes on-lookers. Thus, when inmates were asked if a sex act was rape or not, their common response was “it depends.”

CHAPTER 4. THE CULTURE OF SEXUAL VICTIMIZATION

“It’s like [victims] wear a sign on their head that says ‘we’re a victim.’ There’s something about them that’s different. Every pedophile will say they look for children who are vulnerable. Rapists too. They just know who to get. It’s like victims wear a mask rapists see.” [woman inmate]

The prison sex scene may be avoided, inmates said, by telling a potential suitor that they are already hooked up or not interested in sexual relations. A popular retort to sexual invitations, inmates said, was “Just Say No.” There are, however, cultural cues of sexual desire or interest in experimentation, despite an outward rejection of or sluggishness in interest in homosexual behavior. Inmates’ sexual desire can be indicated by their companions, especially if they hang around with homosexuals; where they hang around, especially if they hang in spots where gays customarily hang out; how they carry themselves, that is, whether they walk with their head straight up and look into the eyes of other inmates, stand by themselves away from others on the recreation yard, or walk with slumped shoulders, giving an appearance of physical and mental weakness. Public speech gives a clear indication. Talk about sexual topics, sexual jokes; inmates who stand together joking and talking and touching one another; inmates who play “grab ass” as they tell stories and jokes, and so on are taken by inmates as a cultural indication of becoming interested in sexual activity.

Our data measures sexual paradigm shifts from outside to inside prison and inside prison over time. Sex-role shift possibilities have a wide range.

(1) Men’s outside-to-inside paradigm has these options: outside straight to inside straight; outside straight to inside gay; outside gay to inside gay; and, outside gay to

inside queen. (2) Men's inside-to-inside paradigm has these options: inside straight to inside straight; inside straight to inside down low; inside straight to inside gay; inside gay to inside gay.

(3) Women's outside-to-inside paradigm has these options: outside gay to inside stud broad; outside gay to inside femme; outside straight to inside stud broad; outside straight to inside femme; outside straight to inside straight. (4) Women's inside-to-inside paradigm has these options: inside straight to inside straight; inside straight to inside femme or stud broad; inside gay to inside femme or stud broad; and inside straight to inside down low.

Prison Sexual Culture

Sexualizing prison culture

Clemmer's theory of culture and prisonization posited that inmates undergo prisonization and learn the rules of prison life. Prisonization would by definition include socialization into sexual sub-cultures of prison life. Our term sexualization refers to the process of inmates acquiring cultural knowledge and rules of behavior that enable them to participate in the sexual sub-culture of prison. Participation does not necessarily mean inmates' personal involvement in sexual activity. Rather, participation refers to awareness of sexual culture sufficient to choose participation or avoidance of a prison's sexual scene. In either case, inmates' must know cultural rules of behavior to engage in sexual activity or remain outside the sexual scene.

Clemmer postulated that inmates bring with them into prison personal traits and behavior and that these influence the nature of prison culture. The history of prison culture research, as far back as Fishman's 1934 study, described aggressive responses of

an inmate population to homosexuals. Sykes's deprivation argument strongly suggested that prison life was devoid of sexual and social pleasures and that prison culture itself forced inmates into homosexual behavior. The importation of inmates by definition includes their sexual preferences. Clemmer's theory of culture argues that (1) sexual importation would affect sexual preferences of new inmates and (2) the dynamics between homo- and heterosexuals would influence future generations of prison culture. Theory of prison sex and sexual violence must abide the concept that prison general populations are not asexual. Any theory of sexual violence must, by virtue of the composition of general population, account for inmate sexual behavior.

Table 17 shows data on pre-imprisonment sexual preferences and sexual experiences. Gay and bisexual preferences were reported by 38.1 percent of women vs. 16.4 percent of men inmates. Same-sex experiences were reported by 41.4 percent of women and 19.6 percent of men inmates.

Table 17 Pre-Imprisonment Sexual Preference and Sexual Experience by Gender

	Total		Men		Women	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Sexual Preference						
Straight	438	83.6	342	83.6	96	61.9
Gay	64	11.4	36	8.8	28	18.1
Bisexual	62	11.0	31	7.6	31	20.0

*Same-Sex Experience on Street						
No	365	74.2	283	80.4	82	58.6
Yes	127	25.8	69	19.6	58	41.4

* p < .001

Table 18 shows sexual preference and pre-imprisonment sexual experience by time served. Women's data show that: (1) 37.3 percent of women inmates with less than five years of prison experience and 39.6 with more than five years self-reported gay or bisexual preferences; and (2) 46.2 percent of women with less than five years of incarceration and 31.9 percent of women with more than five years reported same-sex street experiences. Overall, independent of time served, 41.4 percent of women inmates reported same-sex street experiences; 38.1 percentage of women reported pre-imprisonment a gay or bisexual preference. Men's data show that: (1) 11.4 percent of men inmates with less than five years served and 19.7 percent with more than five years self-reported gay and bisexual preferences; and (2) 13.3 percent of men inmates with less than five years and 24.7 percent of inmates with more than five years self-reported same-sex street experiences. Independent of time serve, 19.6 percent of men inmates self-reported same-sex street experiences; 16.2 percent self-reported a gay or bisexual preference.

Table 18 Pre-Imprisonment Sexual Preference and Experience by Length of Time

Served-5yrs

	Total		5yrs or Less		More than 5yrs	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Male Sexual Preference						
Straight	342	83.6	155	88.6	187	79.9
Gay	36	8.8	14	8.0	22	9.4
Bisexual	31	7.6	6	3.4	25	10.7
Female Sexual Preference						
Straight	96	61.9	64	62.7	32	60.4
Gay	28	18.1	16	15.7	12	22.6
Bisexual	31	20.0	22	21.6	9	17.0
Male Same-Sex Experience on						
Street						
No	283	80.4	137	86.7	146	75.3
Yes	69	19.6	21	13.3	48	24.7
Female Same-Sex Experience on						
Street						
No	82	58.6	50	53.8	32	68.1
Yes	58	41.4	43	46.2	15	31.9

Table 19 data show that (1) 13.2 percent of men inmates with less than ten years, and 20.1 percent of inmates with more than ten years served, self-reported gay and

bisexual preferences; and (2) 14.2 percent of men with less than ten years served and 27.7 percent of men with more than ten years self-reported same-sex street experiences.

Independent of time served, 19.6 percent of men inmates self-reported same-sex street experiences, and 16.4 percent self-reported a gay or bisexual preference.

Table 19 Male Inmates by Time Served, More and Less than 10 years

	Total		Less than 10yrs		10+	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Sexual Preference						
Straight	342	83.6	203	86.4	139	79.9
Gay	36	8.8	18	7.6	18	10.3
Bisexual	31	7.6	14	6.0	17	9.8
Same-Sex Experience on Street						
No	283	80.4	181	85.8	102	72.3
Yes	69	19.6	30	14.2	39	27.7

Clemmer's theory of culture, differential prisonization, and institutional adaptation suggests importation's effects on prison culture. These data indicate that women's prison culture might accept gay behavior with less resistance than men's prison culture. Data show that 38.1 percent of women reported a gay or bisexual preference, and 41.4 percent reported same-sex experience on the street, a culture of homosexuality may serve as a culturally acceptable mode of institutional adaptation. By contrast, 16.4 percent of men reported a gay or bisexual preference and 19.6 percent had same-sex experiences on the street. Men's prison culture may not easily accept a homosexual

adaptation, except on the fringes of prison society. Men's prison homosexuality would be rejected²⁷ as a central cultural theme and socio-sexual lifestyle.

These data show that men and women inmates have experiences in a homosexual lifestyle prior to imprisonment. To be sure, new and experienced inmates are not naïve consumers of prison homosexual culture, albeit their involvement differs by personal preference. Upon entry into prison men and women inmates brought a sexual identity and experiences. A cultural theory of prison rape and sexual coercion must abide the fact that (new or experienced) inmates are experienced in homosexual culture. This fact suggests women and men inmates possess a level of cultural awareness to cope with and respond to sexual pressure.

In-Prison Sexual Role Transformation

Inmate self-reports provided baseline data on sex-role shift. Role shifts were measured over time served on current sentence. Inmates estimated the number of straight, down low and all-out gays in a representative cross-section of 100 inmates on their yard. Inmates could identify with a group size of 100.²⁸ Men inmates estimated more men were straight and not down low than women inmates. The median number of straight men was 68 compared to 30 among women inmates.

Table 20 shows the mean estimate of women on the down low was more than 50 percent lower than the men's estimates; men's median estimate for down lows was five

²⁷ Psychological anthropological theory argues that culture has ideal psychological prototypes for positions in social structure. That is, in modern society, a person who has particular attributes and psychological traits are the best teachers. As a biological analogy, a culture, like an animal population, accepts some types of behavior traits but not others. The latter are eventually pushed out of the population or occupy a marginal adaptation to social life.

²⁸ Among all interviewed inmates, 37.8 percent resided in dorms: 48.7 percent of women inmates resided in dorms with a median count of 120; 33.7 percent of men inmates resided in dorms with a median count of 75.

times higher than women's. Men inmates estimate that 14.83 percent of 100 men are openly gay. Men inmates self-reported pre-imprisonment sex roles as gay, bisexual, and transgender at 15.4 percent. However, women estimate that 59.75 percent are openly gay inside (cf. Gagnon & Simon, 1968) but only 38.1 percent self-reported gay and bisexual roles outside. This distinction fits the self-reported narrative pattern that self-identified straight women participate in homosexual relationships inside.

Table 20 Estimated Sexual Preference for 100 General Population Inmates

	Total		Men		Women	
	Mean	Median	Mean	Median	Mean	Median
Estimated Sexual Preference						
Straight	53.51	60	61.32	68	34.42	30
Gay	26.48	13	14.83	10	59.75	60
Down low	22.80	20	27.54	20	11	4

Table 21 data show estimated sexual preferences by more or less than five years among women. The percentage of straight and down-low women remains relatively constant. A majority of women are not straight and an overwhelming percentage of women are not on the down low. The mean estimate of women on the down low was more than 50 percent lower than men's estimate.

The percentage of straight men by more or less than five year served was significantly lower than the percentage of inmates who self-reported a straight lifestyle prior to imprisonment (83.6 percent). The sum of the percentage difference between

estimates of straight inmates and estimates of down-low inmates approximates the inmates' self-reported straight, street sexual orientation (88.86 percent). With an increase in time served, estimates of straight inmates drop and down lows increase. This fact supports the narrative theme that "time will get you," meaning the longer a man remains inside the more likely he'll engage in same-sex relations. Interestingly, however, the mean number of open homosexuals doesn't show significant increases. This suggests that if men become open with their sexuality, they do so early in their imprisonment otherwise they have the option of going down low.

Table 21 Estimates of Sexual Orientation by Time Served-5yrs

	Total		5 or less Years		> 5 Years	
	Mean	Median	Mean	Median	Mean	Median
Female Estimates	32.42	30	33.64	30	29.71	25
Straight	59.75	60	57.81	60	63.85	75
Gay	11.00	4	11.67	2.5	9.4	4
Down low	61.32	68	66.08	75	56.9	60
Male Estimates						
Straight	61.32	68	66.08	75	56.9	60
Gay	14.83	10	13.5	7	16.03	10
Down low	27.54	20	23.53	20	30.81	25

Table 22 show an analysis for women and men who've served more or less than 10 years approximates the analysis for more or less than five years analysis. Estimates do not significantly differ. Table 21 and Table 22 show estimates of the percentage of

straight women decrease, and down-low women increase however slightly. The estimate of women who become gay over time increases. Men inmates' estimates show that over time the percentage of straight men decreases and gay and down low inmates increase.

Table 22 Estimates of Sexual Orientation by Time Served-10yrs

	Total		< 10 Years		10 + Years	
	Mean	Median	Mean	Median	Mean	Median
Female Estimates						
Straight	32.42	30	33.17	30	29.21	25
Gay	59.75	60	58.46	60	64.76	75
Down low	11.00	4	11.39	1.5	9.33	5
Male Estimates						
Straight	61.32	68	64.13	70	56.77	60
Gay	14.83	10	13.61	7.5	16.75	10
Down low	27.54	20	26.56	20	29.0	20

Interview data show that inmates aren't ascribed to a sexual role, because of physical size, hair length, and race or ethnicity; nor are they forced to accept a socio-sexual role. Interview data show that sex roles shift from outside to inside indicated by the expression. "Gay for the stay," an expression heard across the country in women's prisons,

"I think over half this prison would try to say they're with so and so. People come in who are straight and the next day they are with someone. The next day a person is a wife. It's real childish. They do it to get attention. Couples hook up

quickly, out of instability, to create a unit for protection immediately on entry to the prison. You get the feeling when you know someone's looking at you. They play that and it goes further. Sex is feeling good."

Women inmates report the common occurrence of sexual exploration.

"When they come here they look forward to a sexual experience. You don't get women who believe stereotypes on TV and in movies. It's as if women look forward to that behavior [same sex relations] and welcome it. If I weren't already a lesbian, I wouldn't be one in here. They lose all respect for themselves, no sense of self. Some women who have girlfriends in here and have husbands."

Men and women inmates reported the cultural acceptability of living a celibate lifestyle; however, they said, lengthy imprisonment, commonly cited as more than five and approaching 10 years, the more likely inmates will slowly enmesh in the homosexual scene.

Sexual Assault: Judgment of an Inmate Jury

"You hear rape like that [movie-like rape]. I don't know, I'm not saying it happens so frequently. I can't remember, but I can't put a number on it. I don't think it happens every day. Within here it's like with anything else, there's a culture of inmates that participate in that type of stuff. You have people who can do 10 or 12 years and the thought of being with a man never come about but you have those who give into those desires and do whatever it take to get pleasure, they're wolves or bandits. You have people that guys go to who are able to talk others into doing sexual acts and those who forcibly can, it depends on the strength and fortitude of the individual. If four guys rape you it doesn't make you

a punk. You could have just been overpowered. It's what you do after it happens, if it happens to you."

Witnessed or not, prison rape communicates a 'public' message to the prison community. No matter how an institution assesses a sexual assault, inmate culture has its own cultural criteria to determine if a sexual assault was rape. For a sexual aggressor and victim this determination has immediate and long-term consequences.

No, reputation don't care in here. [They] don't care who you was in the world, you can be anything with a pistol, but if you don't fight, you're weak. If they retaliate [after sexual assault] they're viewed a little different, might just be a weak person that's just studding up, they're still weak. Your personality and character tells all of it. Everybody sees you as something weak, can't turn yourself around, once you get a [weak] jacket, it sticks with you.

Inmates who know 'for sure' or hear about sexual aggression decide if an act of sexual violence was justified. This justification comes as a social judgment made by an inmate "jury" and rests on a jury's decision about a sexual assailant's motivations, a victim's culpability in the sexual assault, and a victim's response to a sexual assault. Inmate jurors ask if an assailant was "entitled" to act out a sexual assault. Was an assailant an impatient turn-out artist who pushed a victim into a quick turnout with his inner homosexual, knowing the victim would have been turned out anyway?

Entitlement to Sexual Violence

“Entitled, yeah. People think that, yeah, to be a bully.”

Sexual pressure and assaults are not arbitrary acts. They are not chance encounters between an aggressor and a victim. The processes of sexual aggression are distinct from, for instance, an anonymous, opportunistic street mugging or a rapists’ assault on someone who happened to walk in an unlighted park. A women inmate commented:

“She feels entitled to power. Because a victim owes the rapist, victim has debts, so the rapist can take what she wants.”

The following excerpt combines the concepts of sexual entitlement, sexual empowerment, and race relations. This statement suggests that aggressive sex leads to more aggressive sex.

“I think they feel empowered by it, maybe not entitled. By taking it they feel empowered, like I say, I’m not getting on the blacks for it but it’s more prevalent with them. They seem to have this thing that gives them a sense of empowerment over the whitey to take that from him. I’ve seen a few homosexual black men but they’re always willing to go with blacks and whites. It’s definitely an empowerment thing. It’s just like on the streets when you see a black male with a white girl. It’s to let the white boys know [they] can get your girls. I’ve talked to black guys about that in here. They say it’s true.”

The next excerpt highlights that some inmates’ need for sex extends beyond entitlement and into a sexually violent compulsion.

“In prison, [sex] . . . is a drug to them. Sex is something they have to have, not something they want. It’s a release, have to have it. [Taking sex] is no different than taking somebody’s TV.”

The next inmate excerpt has an interpretation of entitlement coupled with hustling someone. “They” refers to sexual aggressors.

“Umm, you see a lot of, umm, setting them up to where they doing favors for them, protection of them, financial support to them. That would give a false sense of entitlement. They buy into it.”

Baumeister, Catanese, and Wallace (2002, p. 119) found that sexually coercive men, such as date rapists, use exploitive techniques, such as gift giving with an expectation of sex as compensation.

In the next excerpt, a male inmate said that a rapist recognizes that he does not have a sense of entitlement to commit rape. However, in this instance, an opportunity for sexual assault occurred.

“No, he’s knows he’s not entitled to it. He’s doing it just because he can. If a man rapes [someone] I can’t tell. That’s snitches, I can’t get in their business. But if I was raped, I’m going to the staff. I’ll get a snitch jacket and have to watch my back. [Rape victim] takes it because he knows no one going to do something.”

Table 23 and Table 24 show that men and women inmates may perceive a sexual assailant as entitled to commit sexual violence. Entitlement to commit a sexual assault either in fact or as a cultural option seems a persistent and especially violent theme in women’s and men’s attitude about, for instance,

personal debt, and sexual violence. Entitlement to commit sexual assault emerges in more than a fringe percentage of both men and women inmates. Inmates' perceptions of sexual assault as a form of entitlement are instigated by a victim's physical or mental weakness or by a victim's violation of inmate behavior protocols.

Table 23 Inmates' Perceptions of Rapists' Entitlement to Commit Sexual Assault by Gender and Time Served, 5yrs.

	Total		5 or less Years		> 5 Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	77	77.0	47	72.3	30	85.7
Yes	23	23.0	18	27.7	5	14.3
Men						
No	217	71.4	100	74.1	117	69.2
Yes	87	28.6	35	25.9	52	30.8

Men inmates who've served more than 5 and 10 years share a similar level of perception of sexual violence as an entitlement, 30.8 and 29.0 percent, respectively.

Women inmates with more than 5 and 10 years, however, express overwhelming agreement, 85.7 and 84.6 percent, respectively, that predators are not entitled to commit sexual violence.

Table 24 Inmates' Perceptions of Rapists' Entitlement to Commit Sexual Assault by Gender and Time Served, 10yrs.

	Total		< 10 Years		10 + Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	77	77.0	55	74.3	22	84.6
Yes	23	23.0	19	25.7	4	15.4
Men						
No	217	71.4	129	71.7	88	71.0
Yes	87	28.6	51	28.3	36	29.0

Inmate comments:

“Yes, just because, basically you are showing a weakness and then everything else counts. It all fall on showing weakness.”

“Yes. He’s weak and if you’re weak you can take anything he’s has.”

“Yes, it’s her duty to prove you can’t punk me for that; usually fights.”

“Probably. It’s one of the first things he feeds on; this guy is weak, I can have him.”

“I would say that would depend on the reason behind it, if the person is in here for a sex crime then yeah, they think they’re entitled to take it, to make the person experience it themselves.”

“If I see someone just come into the system. I offer him a shot of coffee. I give him some shoes, if he accepts all this I would expect to get a paycheck.”

“Dude might have a life sentence and he rapes somebody and they’ll say oh well I don’t blame him if I had that much time I’d be raping someone too.”

Personal Debts

“A lot of people who use the word rape to administration, but it usually doesn’t happen that way. They consent to sex to get out of debt.”

Debts are likely to bring a debtor trouble. A debt could be overlooked by a creditor. However, overlooking a debt indicates a creditor’s weakness and potential for additional economic exploitation. As a result, commissary, drug, or gambling debts, or property theft, leaves a debtor vulnerable to acts of sexual and non-sexual victimization.

”Back in the day [1987] when I first came to prison, rape was rampant on the yard behind drug debts. Now they tell you not to borrow or accept anything.”

A violation of social protocol incurs if debts are unpaid. However, if a creditor interprets a debt as a public insult the likelihood of violent retribution increases. Stealing away with someone’s lover, cheating on one’s own lover, and

public disrespect for one's lover--with the exchange of sexual favors for drugs or property, or verbally disobeying him or her in a public setting, can affect culturally sanctioned violent recrimination. These socially proscribed behaviors could be construed as symbolic forms of 'property' theft and thus, an incursion of debt.

Today it's more violent than back then. The yard is fighting all the time over girlfriends—you talked to my girlfriend or wife and they fight."

There are examples of inmates who disagree with debts as the cause of physical or sexual violence. In the next excerpts male inmates said a fight over unpaid debts would be far more likely than sexual violence, if the fight's motivation was not tied to sex.

"Never heard of anyone raped for owing money. Say if I owe someone money, they'll say 'when am I going to get my money,' we might fight for it, but unless it was all about sex to start with, that's not an issue."

"Sex, that's more voluntary, you have homosexuals and people that's closet and people on the DL, so that's a little less forceful than being turned out. You could have a person that's curious, which happens a lot. Gambling and debt is just Hollywood TV. Same sex in the penitentiary is mostly voluntarily or loneliness that's basically what it is. Half the people who you send here are young and they're sexually active. You have masturbation and gay, that's why. That's more common than rape."

Weakness

Weak inmates' physical or mental inability to protect themselves, to some degree, justifies their victimization and eliminates an assailant's full culpability in the act. If a victim strenuously resisted a sexual or non-sexual attack, and even if a victim retaliated against an assailant, an inmate jury might acquit a victim of some culpability, and to some degree lift a shroud cast by weakness and its incumbent negative social stigma. Nevertheless, the social consequences of the label weak and effects of sexual victimization will never be fully escaped.

Social Consequences of Victimization

"In here if you were raped, they'll think it could have been your fault."

Prison worldview judged by free society standards rests on a blame-the-victim form explanation. Prison cultural logic begins with a blame-the-victim philosophy and infuses it with complex forms of cultural explanations of homosexuality, homosexual violence, and sexual identity. Violent men and women inmates are not strangers to prisons. Their presence influences how social dynamics occur and are interpreted. Violence inside prison doesn't raise eyebrows or cause panic but it does usually require some type of explanation. An explanation comes from the core premises that have emerged in American culture. While these premises are radically different from free-society standards, and while inmates do indeed blame victims for their sexual assault, inmates recognize sexual violence as abhorrent, unjustifiable acts. On one hand, inmates said victims shouldn't have gambling debts but did and therefore their sexual victimization was justified. On the other hand, inmates said sexual assault

shouldn't occur and when it does, such violence influences everyone's quality of life. Interview data show that inmates are not brutish and indifferent to others' suffering. However, there are few inmate-initiated remedies for pain but there are many informal types of intervention and prevention.

"No Reason for Rape"

Men's and women's prison culture share common perceptions of the consequences of sexual victimization. Inmate culture presumes that no one needs to be raped; rape can be prevented; and that if rape occurs, fault lies with the victim. Inmate culture condemns sexual victims as manipulators or liars and largely responsible for their own victimization. These cultural presumptions can be adduced from inmates' statements about a victims' role in sexual assault. There are several cultural reasons accounting for sexual victimization. First, victims may have staged their own sexual victimization to garner attention from inmates or staff. Second, they may have staged assault to falsely blame an inmate or staff member. Third, they may have owed canteen or drug debts and thus set the stage for sexual assault. Fourth, they may have sexually enticed a woman by flirting and then failed to fulfill a silent promise of a sexual affair. The reasons for sexual victimization matter not: sexual victims are always social outcasts.

"Everybody just stops talking to them in fear of talking to officers or Internal Affairs."

Johnson (1971, pp. 83-97) wrote there was no protection for a rape victim. Indeed, today's inmates, especially women, can be merciless on the condemnation of and disgust for a rape victim.

“Really they just get made fun of because they’re so naïve. I understand it could happen, but a lot of people say ‘how you gonna get raped by a bitch?’ We have inmates who cheat on girlfriends and when they find out say they were forced. You not raped, you just got caught. They asked for it, or that they did something wrong.”

Victims have few “positive” cultural options. Women inmates who’ve been raped and don’t retaliate ‘learn to accept’ the physical victimization move ahead as best they can or may move into the homosexual social scene. There, they may adopt a culturally acceptable role within the gay subculture and regain some type of ‘normal’ social life; however, bumps and bruises along the way are inevitable as victims’ weakness continues to be tested.

If sexual victims don’t report assault to staff they find themselves trapped among inmates by negative social stigma. Women inmates said: “she’s [rape victim] a whore if she stays on yard and doesn’t tell staff. Other women will say she asked for it or she wanted it. It’s pretty ugly.” However, reporting a rapist may lead to further victimization from a rapist’s girlfriends. Eigenberg (1989) studied whether officers would believe inmates’ reports of victimization. She wrote:

This study suggests that correctional officers blame victims for their victimization and that officers stigmatize inmates by their failure to believe victims.

Furthermore, certain types of victims, those that fit stereotypical definitions are more frequently believed than are other types of victims. Thus, it is possible that inmates who do not fit the typical victim profile will refuse to report victimization. And if atypical victims fail to report victimization, there is always

the danger that officers' perceptions of victims will not be challenged and that they will continue to doubt victims who do not conform to their definitions of typical victims. (p. 52)

Staying on the compound may show resilience and strength but nevertheless carry negative stigma and consequences. Victims may withdraw from compound social life, preferring to avoid unnecessary social contact, which ironically may publicly support the contention that a victim wasn't raped. Victims may remain in their cell or close to it, take 'sink' baths, thus avoiding a shower area, and eat commissary goods instead of venturing to a dining hall. Social withdrawal may seem like a reasonable option. However, unless an inmate chose a solitary lifestyle and exhibited mental and physical strength to support such a social decision, withdrawal can increase a victim's risk of physical, sexual, and economic victimization. Victims stand alone unless they have partners or relatives, and even then companions' assistance is certainly not guaranteed.

Smith and Batiuk (1989) wrote that a threat of sexual violence was the "dominant metaphor" used to interpret almost every other aspect of prison reality (p. 30). Inmate culture expresses a harsh interpretation of sexual victims. However, details of rape and mistreatment of victims do not infer epidemic levels of sexual assault in prison dorms and cellblocks, as Davis suggested (1968). Nor must inmates submit to rape or face severe beatings or killing. Inmates' reports of few sexual assaults and dedicated pursuit of institution social control are not contradicted by cultural statements about sexual violence. That latter are what inmates say; the former refers to what inmates do. Prison reality combines interpretations of inmate behavior cast into a mold created over generations of prison inmate culture history.

Table 25 and Table 26 show inmates' perceptions of the likelihood of sexual victims' support by companions to retaliate against an assailant. These are cultural responses but not necessarily acted out. Such statements take the form of this hypothetical statement: "it can happen but [never, sometimes, often] does." Sexual-violence retaliation functions as a cultural option. These data shouldn't be taken to indicate the prevalence of actual retaliation. Fighting against sexual aggression has long standing in prison culture. The metaphor "fuck, fight or hit the fence" (Eigenberg, 2002) captures the idea of self-protection against aggression. "In the prison vernacular, [correctional officers] told them to 'fight or fuck.' At the same time, [correctional officers] would caution them that fighting was a rule violation and that they would be punished – possibly losing good time or parole dates as a sanction for 'their' violence" (p. 49). The statement indicates the inner check-and-balance inherent in prison culture, as suggested by Messinger and Sykes, (1960). In the following excerpt an inmate talks about retaliation in a broader context of prison justice.

"[Retaliation] depends on the crime. There is an odd sense of justice here. If [victim] didn't have that coming then there would be retaliation. If he did have it coming, like if he were a child molester or something, he would have to retaliate himself."

Table 25 data indicate a strong perceived agreement over time served by men and women inmates that a rape victim's companions will assist the victim in retaliation. Agreement on retaliation among women inmates decreases to 48.6 percent from 57.9 percent with an increase in time served. Men inmates' agreement on retaliation increases

to 63.2 percent from 50.6 percent with time served. Levels of agreement remain consistent by gender over time served.

Table 25 Inmates' Perceptions of Rape Victim's Companions' Retaliation by Gender and Time Served, 5 Years

	Total		5 or less Years		> 5 Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	51	45.1	32	42.1	19	51.4
Yes	62	54.9	44	57.9	18	48.6
Men						
No	154	42.1	76	49.4	78	36.8
Yes	212	57.9	78	50.6	134	63.2

Table 26 data show women inmates' decreased perception of retaliation from less than to more than 10 years served to 42.3 percent from 58.6 percent, respectively. Men inmates perceived an increase in retaliation to 61.9 percent from 54.9 percent from less to more than 10 years served, respectively.

Table 26 Inmates' Perceptions of Rape Victim's Companions' Retaliation by Gender and Time Served, 10 Years

	Total		< 10 Years		10 + Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	51	45.1	36	41.4	15	57.7
Yes	62	54.9	51	58.6	11	42.3
Men						
No	154	42.1	93	45.1	61	38.1
Yes	212	57.9	113	54.9	99	61.9

Inmate comments:

“No, friends don’t retaliate, person doesn’t have friends, they’re loners & that’s the big issue, doesn’t have anyone that’s going to bat for them

“Yeah, it depends on what the guy raped does, if he accepts it, it won’t be an issue but if he retaliate his friends for real will ride with him. Someone who is raped is still looked at ok as long as he does something, they’ll go with him. Only if he is involved in the retaliation, friends would never retaliate for a rape victim without him there.”

“No, because if they don’t defend themselves they’re seen as a person who is not worth defending.”

Retaliation accompanied by companions may be “culturally” dangerous for victims’ supporters. Victimization reveals mental and physical weakness. In prison culture weakness can be contagious and spread to otherwise non-weak inmates who are publicly too supportive of weak inmates. Contagion may apply to straight men hanging with gays if gays conceal their preference. Concealment causes problems. Openness doesn’t.

“The dudes that’s undercover can mix with everyone, they may be lifting weights or good athletes; the known fags mix with their own crowd. Some straights associate with fags, but mostly not. Say you have 1000 inmates in open population after 30 days everyone knows who’s who, open out homos running around, they can socialize and all that, don’t nobody isolate, they talk to them and stuff. As long as there’s respect involved everything’s cool, I can know you’re under cover and it’s ok.”

Too much support for a sexual assault victim connotes supporters’ weakness. A sexual victim’s plight only continues even if sexual assault was reported. Once assaulted, a sexual victim’s withdrawn from compound social life or release from protective custody would be met by cultural isolation. Victims are cultural cast off to marginal social positions. Finding alliances of any type would be highly doubtful.

Victim’s Interpretation of Sexual Assault

The next self-reported narrative led an inmate into gay subculture. This self-report highlights the cultural interpretation of his sexual victimization.²⁹ This narrative

²⁹ The term ‘rationalization’ was avoided for a specific reason. The victim’s characterization of the rape and rapist, and his response to them, expressed in uniformly throughout interview narratives. One might interpret uniform similarity as a set of rationalizations, but when inmates’ self-reports are highly structured

reveals the complex dynamic of a sexual assault and mixed emotions and interpretations of its victim. The narrative expresses the victim's characterization of the rapist. The victim said his rape was not "aggressive" and made him "feel comfortable." Here can be found the conceptual grey area between prison rape and prison sex as interpreted within prison worldview. In the eyes of an inmate jury, a non-aggressive sexual act, wherein a victim reported that he felt comfortable, would not be judged by an inmate jury as rape.

An inmate reported:

"It was after the riot. My experience with the rape came when we came off the yard, and they put me in a cell with ten inmates who were naked. They left us in there for twenty-four hours with no clothing. They came and after about seven days with being in a cell with ten guys they moved everyone out and left two inmates in a cell with one bed.

I was in there with a big older dude and he was trying to explain to me that he wanted to have sex with me. I told him I wasn't feeling it and he came at me and tried to choke me, put his hands around my neck. I got him off of me and we started wrestling. I started punching him and we fought until we couldn't fight anymore. He called me [PERSONAL NAME], and said [PERSONAL NAME] I'm not going to hurt you, over and over again. I was so tired, I was just like "fuck, ok."

He went over to a little corner of the cell and got a piece of soap and washed himself and me off. He inserted his penis in my butt; he

and uniform in content, independent of prison and geographic location, a strong argument can be made for cultural patterns rather than idiosyncratic interpretation.

was so gentle, he didn't aggressively take me. He was older and knew what he was doing. After he got finished he sat down and talked to me and stuff like that. I was so angry and couldn't do nothing about it; emotionally it really messed me up. It's still a rape, there's nothing I can do about it. When I got out in general population I was turned out. There wasn't no beating, he choked me at first to get me, but after I submitted the rape itself wasn't aggressive he didn't continue to choke me while penetrating or nothing like that, he made me feel comfortable."

Safe Zones

"They can't really protect you in here from rape. They got their hands full. When you got 64 guys in one dorm and we're all moving around, ones in the shower, ones in the bathroom, ones' talking to the free man, you know, by the time he'd know it's [rape] done. They do a good job at it, but there's always times they not around certain spots if someone's determined to do something like that."

Prison security and inmate safety depend on formal and informal processes of social control. Inmates interviewed in this research perceived themselves to be the major stakeholder in institution peace and order. This finding supports Sykes and Messinger's 1960 research. Previous research supports our finding that inmates consent to their own management. Inmates don't relinquish control over their own protection by believing that institutional systems can offer protection. Inmates invoke an analogy to free-society crime prevention. In the free society, they reported, citizens buy home burglar alarms;

however, buying such alarms does not free the police from their responsibility to maintain social order. Inmates said they must create their own 'rape' detection and physical protection systems; however, institutional formal social control mechanisms and informal staff awareness and action must also operate. Inmates are keenly aware of self-protection systems.

Cultural forms of vulnerability

Vulnerability to inmate sexual assault focuses on cultural metaphors of physical and mental weakness. Thus far, narrative data analysis has exposed definitions of strength and weakness. Inmates vulnerable to physical and sexual assault have the following traits. Weak inmates avoid social contact. They avert their eyes when walking the compound. They limit social interaction. They may confine themselves to the area near their cell. They may do 'sink baths' rather than use an open shower. These criteria alone signal weakness to some degree, but the single-most important criterion of weakness rests on the absence of social support. Old-school inmates have companions or relatives waiting for them. By contrast, inmates new to prison life may not know anyone when they arrive. They are by cultural definition weak. How these inmates negotiate prison social life determines in large measure how well they will do time.

Prison life embodies social interactions. The formation of social groups, such as those noted below, organize social interactions and create inmate social structure.³⁰ Inmates on the margin of groups have few options to connect to inmates in groups. Such a connection requires a link between them and the group. A new inmate needs a single social tie to slide into the mainstream social culture. Social jostling symbolizes shifts in

³⁰ This usage refers to regular patterns of interactions.

social ties. Some ties are made through sex. An affiliation with other inmates or inmate group happens in a variety of ways. These are noted below.

Cultural Forms of Self-Protection

Inmates said they share a live-and-let-live approach to prison social life. Social distance between inmates and staff creates social space. Operating in that social space are social arrangements that afford inmates safety. These are called safe zones; they are ways in which inmates take protection and safety into their hands. Some inmates deliberately create safe zones (solitude; closeness to staff; violence; avoidance; physical strength). Other safe zones emerge from organic social forms that would be seen even without a potential for rape. These include families, gangs, and religious groups. Finally, some safe zones are created by establishing same-sex relationships.

Social Isolation: Avoiding the Sex Scene

Trouble can be avoided if, said inmates, they do not put themselves in risky situations.

“Just don’t get involved in the conversation. They have what they call games. They call them come-on games. They might grab the guy on the butt or say something sexual. You throw something at them to see how they react. Don’t play the homosexual games, once it starts it gets out of hand. If a person is not like that then a fight will erupt. Main thing is how you carry yourself, if I go up to a man and tell him I’m gay, the next thing you know he’s going to want me to do stuff for him, as long as I don’t tell

him, they'll leave me alone. If you feel they are trying to get you just stay away from that person."

"Tell them that you don't mess around, and that you're not interested in it. If you isolate and do what you have to do for yourself, stay out of the way, you won't be involved. It's easy to stay to yourself. Read books, don't bother anybody, but I don't go out in the day room and socialize, I'm just doing my time and getting out. I see a lot of that."

"Stay to yourself. Get you a book, get under your radio, get off into your own world. Here half the people I see stand to theirselves. They [predators] pay that person respect, he don't want to be bothered."

"Or thing, you got to keep to yourself. Don't get into the homosexual game. Easy to stay out of it if you don't want to, I've never had any problem. I think with women it's different than with men. With women if you get into the homosexuality game there's definitely a flirty kind of courtship dance that goes on. Kind of like flirting, a lot of the girls you see, they flirt."

Sexual involvement leads to bitter jealousy and squabbles and fights, and their consequences--rejection and social isolation.

“I think often times they come out of relationships where there was a lot of abuse and that’s all they really know and they’re attracted to aggressive females. They beat the shit out of each other all the time that’s where all the fighting in prison is pretty much. The least little thing will set them off, jealousy, whether they got their store.”

A straight inmate has a better chance to avoid sexual assault and involvement in others’ problems, which could bring nothing but trouble. Closeness to friends, relatives, and street partners offers social and emotional support.

Aggressive Postures

Violence

“Victim [of violence] is a pussy; couldn’t take care of himself. Lot of people who can look into someone’s eyes and tell if someone’s afraid. I don’t look into people’s eyes. I make up for it by trying to act like someone big.”

There are reported incidents of altruistic protection of young inmates, and many examples of institutional mechanisms of safety. Social network relationships may function as rape and violence protection. Inmates insist that an optimum form of safety requires skilled self-protection. Some do this with violence or the image of being violent. Narratives report that new inmates, especially whites, are ‘tested’ soon after going on the compound. The excerpt below presents an example of being tested. The context shows that a correctional officer watches but doesn’t intervene. Allowing the situation to continue indicates the white inmate’s strength.

“Imagine a guy coming to penitentiary. The first time, child molester or middle-age guys. They look at this place and say, where am I. They shrivel up and they jump when somebody’s says Boo. You don’t have what it takes to be here. Everybody should come to maximum penitentiary first no matter what crime it is. Max prison will make men change; smack a dude in the mouth; make him stand up at chow; or make him wash your dirty draws because you think you’re a piece of shit. January’ 99 came into [UNIT NAME]. First dude said something I smacked him in my mouth and got beat up. First time I put a shank in somebody, dudes say, wow, he’s bad. Word and respect are only things you have in here.”

“When I first took a shower here three black guys surrounded me. One had a broom; he told me ‘what you going to do white boy’? There’s an officer standing right there just watching it. I was scared but I kept making eye contact, said I’m not going to swing first. I have no clue what to do, especially since the officer is right there, I just didn’t back down.”

“I first came in to [THIS PRISON], an older guy seen the freshness in me and he didn’t know I sensed that [he sensed the older guy’s desire]. He was talking sexual to me and I had to have a confrontation with him. I had to pull a knife out on him. When you go through that, they know from now on. After that I had no problem.”

“If I was a small guy I’d get me a big knife and I would do something terrible to the first person who tried, to make an example. No one wants to take a chance or work for it [to fight for sex or get hurt trying to have sex]. If they thought their target might gut them, they won’t do it. Choices are get a knife and run it up through the guy, you’ll do a couple years in lock up but when you get out you’ll be left alone, people will know.”

“I was 19, I turned 20 in [OTHER STATE PRISON], I already assumed I was going to have to kill everybody there, and I went there and all my friends I grew up with was already there. I had an attitude to survive, I jugged dudes up and did what I had to do, no one tried to turn me out.”

Even though inmates do not feel threatened by the potential for being raped, they do report that an actual rape and a thought of rape have an effect. Inmates may think about rape more often, feel badly, get angry, and become more cautious and feel more agitated; these reactions (or non-reactions through denial) influence the climate in a prison or more specifically in the immediate area of a rape, such as a cell block or shower.

Inmates may shower wearing their underwear, inmates said, or choose to shower when no one else would likely to enter a car wash (an open shower area with many shower heads). Another technique finds that some inmates shower wearing work boots to conceal a shank. Violence and rape protection are topics found in verbal communication, such as conversations or urban myths.

Physical Strength

A body builder's physique may offer protection. His size and strength send a powerful message, but physical strength does not preclude a desire for sex activity of many types.

Back in the day young victims were targets of sexual aggression, but now the game has changed. You got big muscle-bound dudes wearing panties. Who is going to tell this big 6'5" guy he's not gay.

Protective Value of Partners and Companions

"What does the fag give a straight in return for protection? Sometimes there's just cool guys in here [straights] that don't like to see people get taken advantage of it, just felt like I wanted to, don't need nothing in return."

The most common mechanism necessary to create a safe zone requires social ties to partners. Partners may be crime partners, former cellmates, former street companions, and relatives--cousins and siblings or parents. If a young inmate can quickly establish social affiliations, others do not perceive him to be weak. Thus, his vulnerability decreases.

"There's no safe zone if a guy's got no partners. In a high-security prison if a guy wants you, you gonna be had. Max joint dudes [when they] first come in they look for someone they know. If they don't, they in trouble."

The next excerpt shows that recidivists have ready-made social network.

Guy comes in and goes to reception. That's where they link up with other groups. He knows where he fits if he's a repeat offender."

The next excerpt illustrates that an absence of social relationships increases an inmate's risk of sexual violence.

“If a friend of mine was raped, I’d help him, but I’ve never seen it. I’m sure some do. The problem is that most victims don’t have any friends that would, that’s why they were a victim in the first place.”

Generally, physical safety cannot be guaranteed on a prison compound, but the acquisition of companions can afford inmates a sense of safety. Overall, an individual's safety depends on personal network size. However, other factors influence the potential effect network size has on safety. Direct social ties to groups, such as joining a religious group, may provide rape protection, but protection depends on the nature of the group and on the reputation of an inmate. Partnerships signal an inmate's sociability and strength, but no one wants to affiliate with a weak inmate.

“[Rape is] trying to make a person do something they normally wouldn’t do, mentally physically, whatever. If he’s not gay but is weak minded he will go for anything to be welcomed into the utopia in [THIS PRISON]. Weak minded guy will be gay or do sexual favors if they don’t have extra money or commissary. [They’ll do] anything so they’ll be liked by a dude who’s liked by a lot of dudes, but it don’t ever really work like that. They’re still seen as weak.”

As this quotation illustrates, inmates' subjective perception of others' strength or weakness influences the nature of inmates' social relationships. A culturally determined level of weakness and strength has direct effects on inmates' reputation. Social

reputation influences social network formation, which in turn increases or decreases the risk of sexual violence.

Schooling

Coming under someone's wing puts a weak inmate "under" the protection of an older veteran inmate who 'schools' them in the ways of the prison. A protector does not necessarily ask a young inmate to repay his protection debt with sex, commissary, cash, or stamps. Protectors said that a young inmate's fear reminds them of their own anxiety and fear upon entering prison so they reach out to offer protection.

"I'll give you an example of how [safe zones] works. After I got to [prison], they brought this kid down there. When I come here I was an 18 year old young white kid. The older guys took me under their wing and schooled me."

"They gave this kid [youngster new in prison] forever. The kid looked like he was 14 years old, was about 5'5", 120 pounds soaking wet, short hair no facial hair, kid couldn't read or write. I took him up under my wing and tried to school him and told him this is what you got to do. Always talk back if you get pressed, fight, stab, kill, tell them 'you have my word'—this means I'm protecting you."

Closeness to Staff

New inmates move physically close to staff and cultivate relationships to encourage protection. This can be beneficial, but in prison, something good comes with a cost. Closeness to staff can set up an inmate as a snitch and weaken his ties to peers as

they wonder why he spends so much time talking to ‘the man.’ Narratives report too that, despite the efforts of inmates to get close, some line staff don’t care about responding to inmates. Inmates say they “do their eight and go home.”

“He could buddy up with a correctional officer and make sure he’ll be close by you, or buddy up with a lion to protect you.”

“To prevent being raped, some inmates get associated with staff early on, hang out in the chapels and officers lounges, volunteer for duties that will put them in contact with staff during the day, gardening and yard.”

Family, Friends, and Lovers: Social and Intimate Relations

Friends and family

There are a variety of reasons for establishing friendship ties. Close friendships may be labeled with kinship terms. Sex and protection are may be associated with such ties. However, kin terms may initially create an emotion tie but that’s no guarantee it’ll prevent sexual aggression.

Over decades of prison research, from Ward and Kassebaum’s 1962 to Pollock’s 2002 study, analyzes women inmates’ pseudo-families, which are created by the application of family kin terms to non-family members; thus, fictive kinship units are formed. Men’s studies reported fictive kin, such as daddies and boys, but research has overlooked their socio-emotional and protection functions.

Table 27 shows usage data on women’s kin term. For sentences of less and more than five years served, fictive kin terms slightly decrease in use to 93.8

from 95.8 percent. Over the same sentence length, men's kin term usage increases to 56.2 from 36.4 percent.

“[Street] women leave when men come to the institutions and get locked up. The man caused problems to make her leave so when he comes to the joint, the women leave, and here's the homo coming in for [his] companionship. Homo is his mother, wife, queen, his everything and he is to her too. Dude is the father, big brother, and best friend to the girl.”

Table 27 Inmates' Perception of the Use of Kinship Terms by Gender and Time Served, 5yrs.

	Total		5 or less Years		> 5 Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	7	4.9	4	4.2	3	6.3
Yes	136	95.1	91	95.8	45	93.8
Men						
No	178	53.9	89	63.6	89	46.8
Yes	152	46.1	51	36.4	101	53.2

Table 28 shows among women and men that kinship term usage increases to 96.9 from 94.6 percent and to 53.9 from 40.2 percent, respectively, after 10 years served.

Table 28 Inmates' Perception of the Use of Kinship Terms by Gender and Time Served, 10yrs.

	Total		< 10 Years		10 + Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	7	4.9	6	5.4	1	3.1
Yes	136	95.1	105	94.6	31	96.9
Men						
No	178	53.9	113	59.8	65	46.1
Yes	152	46.1	76	40.2	76	53.9

Domestic relations

Men's family relations include daddy/boy, daddy/son, and husband/homosexual (wife). A boy and a son are under daddy's wing. This arrangement has economic implications. A daddy-wife relation permits sex. They are known to "set-up house." Some men use the term family, some don't. Man/boy or daddy/boy relationships are not necessarily sexual although personal ties can lead to sex.

Daddy/Son, Daddy/Boy. A daddy schools his boy and son in the ways of prison life and protects them. A daddy's protection requires compensation in the form of goods sent by a boy's and son's street family. The next excerpt shows that the speaker refers to the daddy/son relation as a hustle; the daddy and son have a sexual relationship; and the daddy controls all property. Sometimes, the terms son and boy are synonyms; boy and kid are often interchangeable. Customarily, however, a son and his daddy have a non-

sexual relation. This arrangement has an analogue in the mother/daughter relation in women's prison.

“Family units do exist here. An older guy befriends a younger guy it's called a son; he'll be a guy that doesn't have much, is easily influenced. It's not a good title to have in the pen for someone to call you son. Don't have a mom though. [You] wouldn't hear the guy say 'that's my dad.'”

“You don't have sex with your son, extort money though. The young guy is like a gopher and the older guy just uses him. Sometimes it's sexual; then you'd hear the older dude say 'my boy.' Majority of time it's not sex; but an older guy wouldn't call a kid his son.”

“No one will hurt you if you're someone's son, respecting another man's hand, you got to respect what he's doing. It's [having a boy] another man's hustle. Women [queens] find weaker inmates and protect them; some mothers [queen playing mother to a boy] go for that. They'll [boy's family] send stuff from the outside to keep their son safe.”

“It's more or less like, a gay dude might have some dude but it's not a mom and dad role, in a sense it is, it's either one. You do have people say that's my son; they take care of him and take him under their wing.”

“Everywhere, it happens more than gang membership. Dudes are weak, the son can’t own nothing; everything he get has to go to dad. He give you what he think you need to have. We got a lot of old gramps on our block and a lot of weak cats too. I see this all the time. Dude will say that’s my son.”

“Out of 50 people, 20 or 25 could be in a family, they’d be sons. The sons are not considered gay, they just considered weak. It’s not a sexual relationship. They are worried about getting beat up, you can have all my groceries just don’t punch me in my face.”

The next excerpt expands a daddy/son relation. Daddy takes a wife (fag) and additional sons who are then brothers.

“Lot of guys have family that is dead or disowned him so they get involved in a group and have [fictive] brothers and will have a fag and say this is my broad; the fag is the sister to his brothers. Most guys in here have compassion to kids and young people. There is no sex [among] brothers.”

“A man and punk [fag] can adopt a son; he may be an older guy or younger guy. It’s not a good title to have in the pen for someone to call you son. A man can turn him out [or adopt him] and have more sons and more wives depending on the initial situation. Some women can’t stand

their men going out with women. Some punks will allow their man to have other relationships but some won't."

Family members are *"less likely to be raped [by others], [be]cause they got a little family now, others will leave them alone."* Such ties don't, however, preclude intra-family violence or in extreme cases intra-family rape.

Daddy/Fag or Daddy/Wife. These are known as domestic relations with complex internal dynamics; if serious family violence occurs, it would most likely be in a daddy/fag relation. A man's wife would be his fag. The terms ho' and bitch, in the second excerpt below, inmates said are not derogative reference terms when used in this context.

"A fag do what the women do; they like a stay at home mom. She take care of the cell, make a guys food for him. Carry drugs and shanks if their dudes are in the business, like a mule in a sense, will do whatever to keep their man out of the hole. I've seen the homo stab someone just to go to the hole to be with their man, very loyal."

"Daddy will call his wife "my ho" or "my mommie." I've seen some pretty tough fellas, football players and wrestlers, have ho's and they [females] are [now] safe bitches."

Husband/wife relations may evolve into a long-term relationship and last many years. In the initial dating stages, violence would be unlikely. But as a couple stays together longer, violence may likely occur as their emotional closeness transforms into an

emotional entanglement of jealousy and anger. The longer a couple remains together the more likely a man considers his wife his ‘property.’

I seen a bunch of it; couple having they problems like you would [on the street]. It's strange, weird stuff. You got a homosexual who acts looks and talks like a female; he's [husband] calling her baby this and baby that and [she's] jealous about him talking to another female. They [husband] get the shit; she might throw a pot at him or something. I've seen weird domestic fighting. I seen a stabbing before. They [husband/wife] really fall in love. It's a heck of a thing.

Domestic violence

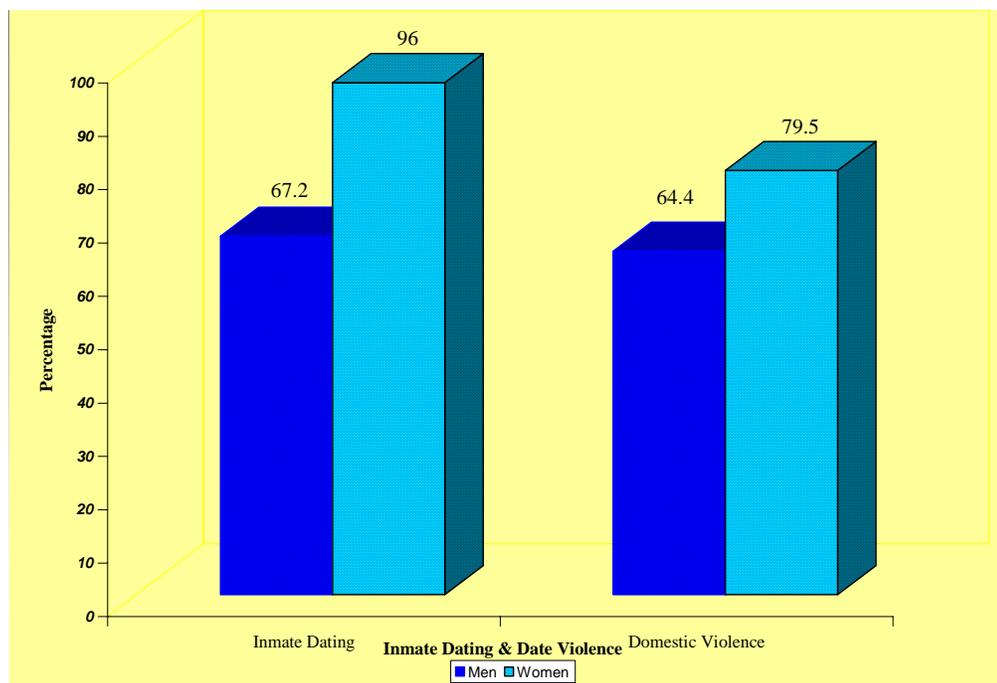
Fictive kinship denotes inmates involved in domestic relationships. Domestic relationships³¹ are short- and long-term. Short-term unions usually don't end in violence or rape. Relationships begin with a “feeling out” period, inmates said. During this time, inmates decide if want a long-term relationship. A break up may occur within 30 or 60 days with no consequences. Such relations are considered short dating episodes like those on the street. Long-term relationships—a year or more--can turn sour. When they do, domestic violence or even rape can erupt. Sexual violence may be a cultural possibility, albeit rare, said inmates.

Figure 4 illustrates a comparison of inmates' perceived estimate of domestic violence among dating inmates. These data show that 96 percent of women inmates

³¹ In prison speech community, the term partner has a range of meanings. For example, partner refers to inmates who regularly walk the yard and to crime partner and other applications. Partner does not include lovers. Inmates do not refer to domestic partners. Partners and those involved in amorous relations are distinctive.

reported the process of inmate dating. Among those women, 79.5 percent result in violence. Men inmates reported that 67.2 percent date. Among those men, 64.4 percent result in violence.

Figure 4 Domestic Violence among Dating Inmates



Gangs

Prison gangs, like religious groups, afford a modicum of protection. However, protection depends on the behavior of the person seeking it. Owing debts would not likely motivate gang or religious group companions to risk their safety and ‘freedom’ inside for someone’s self-created problems. Interview data show that religious group affiliation, particularly membership in the Black Muslims, affords stronger protection than gangs. Inmates ‘ride’ in a gang, inmates said, or are protected ‘under a gang umbrella. *“He’ll say that dude there belongs to the Crips or the Folks or they’ll even say well the Aryan Nation is protecting him for financial reasons. They ain’t messing with*

him, but they protect him anyway.” Protection under a gang’s umbrella, inmates said, has a street analogy but may have insidious motivations and horrible consequences for naïve inmates who seek gang affiliation for protection. Finding safety under a gang’s umbrella depends on how well other members like an inmate, how he ‘carries himself,’ and his fighting ability.

“A lot of gang members tend to put umbrellas on homosexuals and friends; same if on the street and I knew you, and because I know you if you had a problem and knew me, nothing could happen because you knew me. You’d tell me and I’d take care of it. They do that in here.”

Assessing the benefits of gang affiliation can be deceptive. Group affiliation also brings exposure to sexual and economic risks. A weak inmate may look like he’s riding. In fact, he’s actually someone’s fag, or gang members are exploiting him for his commissary, cigarettes, soup, or money he receives from his family.

Gang-member rape. Overall, inmates said gang members are less likely to be raped. If they are, the attacker most likely comes from the same gang.

Race and gang rape. Intra-gang rape indicates, in most cases, intra-race rape. Inter-racial gang rape (or inter-racial rape, in general, inmates said, may start a race war. Inter-racial rape connotes racial disrespect. Gang rape was cited once as retaliation.

“The only type of rapes gangs would be ordering would be for retaliatory purposes, it’s not a sexual act. It’s the same reason on the outside, [when in retaliation] you’d cut a guy’s dog up and put it on [someone’s] porch.

[Gangs] play a minor role. Most gangs forbid [gang-group rape]. If you are found out they would banish you or kick the shit out of you.”

“I never seen actual gang rape; don’t see whole clique of guys doing that, you got laws about that; if you rape someone that’s real bad. I’m the head man of my organization, if a dude rapes a homosexual or rapes a female it’s a physical punishment. I’ll put skull cap over the face and he’ll take 30 shots to the head. It feels like you bashing that person’s soul in by raping them.”

Religious group affiliation

Religious-group affiliation has a range of functions. The following excerpt shows that, in some sense, a tough public image and religious-group membership are mutually exclusive.

“Some dudes put up that I’m tough image, some guys go to religion, got the Muslims, the Christians, and there’s a lot of them, been in the system a lot time, not going to let nothing happen to another Christian.”

Inmates may interpret religious affiliation as either a hustle for protection and easy access to the chapel or, more likely in women’s than men’s prisons, a true emergence of religious spirituality. Chapels are commonly cited places where homosexual relationships occur. Chapels have little supervision, thus easy access to sexual relations. What’s more, inmates said, staff can’t prevent inmates from attending chapel services.

Interview data indicated that in order to publicly demonstrate a true religious calling, inmates must attend all services and bible study groups, behave in religiously appropriate ways (accepting dietary restrictions), carry a bible, and wear religious clothing even outside public view. The devote inmate will behave this way over many years. No one confronts an inmate's religious hustle, inmates said, but these inmates acquire a hustler's reputation. They are now 'fakers.'

"A lot of people coming through the gate with the holy bible in their hand thinking that's going to stop it, within a week you find out they're not Christians and they're not going to church they're using that to duck and they're going to flock on them. If you come in here and you're a religious person they'll leave you alone."

"I'm a very religious person now, I wasn't until 1997, but I have a past. God removes the desire [to have sex], he does not remove the ability. I tell youngsters that when they get in my face, if something happens you will have to do something and it's something that you and God will settle afterwards."

"If a person is serious about religion they're not going to be messed with sex. Have you met [PERSONAL NAME]. He will tell you that he brought god into the penitentiary, but he did not change this penitentiary, [PERSONAL NAME] changed this place. [PERSONAL NAME] allowed

more Christian people to come in as visitors and organizations, but he didn't change the penitentiary."

The misrepresentation of a religious life may be transparent to rapists.

"Well, I heard a lot of times that most of them using the religion for protection from the rest of the guys. The predator can just about see through it, see who's really down with Christian life or using that Bible to protect them. If they are real Christians they are not bothered period, religion gets respect from them all."

A religious group may be a safety zone if the group has earned respect—"true" Christians, for instance, and has membership sufficient to impose their power. Religion may provide a spiritual foundation.

"If they see that you are going to church they will give you that respect, they will treat you with respect. They'll test you, ask you something about the bible. You got some running with bibles and still in homosexual activity. But they got old school convicts that can spot a faker a mile away so you got to be careful. Trying to remain strong and not succumb to gay behavior is a challenge. Some inmates use spirituality to strengthen them."

"Religion works, man; you need some type of spiritual foundation to remain solid. You need God in your life. Some things are just not allowed

in your circle, you won't allow yourself to be gay if you feel like God won't love you if you're gay."

Gays and weak men in religious groups won't be openly bullied, mocked or picked on. Respect comes to inmates deemed religious. *"The only group that would protect even a gay or weak dude is the Muslims. They don't care what's wrong with their brother, you better not do nothing to them. They deep; there's repercussions behind that. You have white and black Muslims; they was behind the riots [at some prison]."*

If a man decides to leave a gang he may find sanctuary in a respected religious group.

"Religion helps for anything if you have any type of problems. Like a gang member wants to get out of a gang, if you choose religion they don't mess with you, I guess religion is the powerfuller thing in the pen if you walk the walk."

Cultural Distinctiveness among Acts of Prison Sex

The cultural synthesis of prison homosexuality derives from inmates' subjective perceptions of inmate sexual violence. Clemmer's theory of culture argues that verbal communication represents inmates' primary channel for the acquisition of cultural knowledge. Inmates assimilate cultural knowledge of sexual behavior independent of actual occurrences of sexual violence. A social analysis of consensual sex, coercive sex, and prison rape does not necessarily infer the occurrence of these behaviors.

Mutual sex, coercive sex, and rape are acts on a continuum. Each act symbolizes a bundle of social traits. These distinctive social traits uniquely define the acts. This

does not imply progressive aggression. Inmates who engage in mutual sex do not necessarily move on to be aggressors or victims in incidents of sexual pressure. A rapist and rape victim do not necessarily pass through incidents of mild and strong coercive sex. Criteria overlap between types of sexual acts and mask their distinctions.

The cultural synthesis below represents mid-points in a descriptive range of criteria attendant to sexual behavior. These summaries highlight distinctive pre-sex and post-sex social dynamics of sexual consent vs. sexual coercion vs. prison rape.

Mutual sex

The simplest form of sexual unions focuses on economic exchange and mutual agreement on sexual participation. Canteen goods or physical protection or socio-emotional support are exchanged for sex acts. Mutual sex represents non-aggressive seduction, a situation when both parties are fully aware of the exchange. Inmates said “fair exchange is no robbery.” Mutual sex occurs without violence and further social responsibility imposed mutually or unilaterally by a masculine and feminine role player. However, there are no restrictions on a continued mutual relationship. In this sexual union, masculine and feminine role players’ allies do not display social interest.

Degrees of sexual pressure

Sexual coercion occurs on a continuum. General aggression signals a critical transformation from consensual to non-consensual relations. At the simple end of the continuum, the union excludes a mutual exchange of goods or services. Mutuality gives way to unidirectional exchange—an aggressor dominates a passive actor. Inmate culture may still consider this sexual union seduction but seduction leans toward a more

aggressive stance. In this type of pressured seduction, a passive role player may decide to walk away without violent consequences. The aggressive and passive players have culturally prescribed social options open to other inmates. An aggressor would not be interpreted as a rapist. A passive player would not necessarily garner a weak reputation.

A consensual union becomes coercive when an inmate jury judges the relationship has become aggressive. In the absence of open aggression, a passively aggressive actor may heighten the intensity of the relationship and put added pressure on a passive actor to engage in sex. The passive player now feels trapped and vulnerable to physical violence even if an aggressor does not strike out. Committed to engage in sex a passive player obtains a negative reputation and loses the freedoms available prior to the pressured sex act. A pressured inmate cannot easily abandon the reputation accorded him by on-lookers to the aggressive act. Allies of a pressured inmate respond to the aggressive seduction and alienate the seduced inmate by denying their social and physical support. An aggressive seduction leads a pressured inmate to a narrow set of social role choices. He can try to fight his way out of a bad reputation by fighting the aggressor, or pay off the aggressor to leave him alone, or ask for institutional protection. Unless a pressured inmate can somehow recover a strong reputation and regain allies he remains socially weak and physically vulnerable. Now a pressured inmate subject falls open to the whims of stronger aggressive inmates. A pressured inmate now has no culturally prescribed positive social options unavailable. His own economic resources fall under restricted access by others' desires.

Sexual violence

A sexual aggressor's violent attack would be necessary but not necessarily sufficient to interpret a sexual attack as rape. Other rape criteria must co-occur. Pressured sexual unions become strongly coercive sex when a number of changes occur to female role players and his allies. When a victim fills the low status of punk or boy he symbolically transforms into a 'woman.' Culturally prescriptive behavior restricts sexual relations only to a man who governs him. He can be beaten or killed as an act culturally justifiable within inmate society's cultural rules on sex. There are additional consequences as well. Sexual violence inflicted on a victim defines him as weak. However, when a victim's weakness transfers to his allies, they consider their companion's victimization an affront to their reputation. At this point, cultural regulations on retaliation come into play. To regain his and his allies' reputation a victim may now attack his assailant. He may attack alone—the best case since it shows his strength and anger over the assault. He may attack but may have back up by his allies. This style of retaliation, while culturally available, has a less compensatory, positive effect on a victim's reputation. With or without back up, a victim's reputation diminishes. He will never again be considered strong. The option of retaliation, although a prescribed cultural means to regain his reputation, poses high risk to a victim's allies. Retaliation does not elevate their status and reputation. However, it does expose them to violence by an assailant and his allies. Instead of retaliation, a victim's allies alienate him.

Summary: distinctive cultural characteristics of sexual acts

Inmates' subjective perceptions of mutual sex, coercive sex, and rape can be summarized with culturally valid criteria. Consensual unions are not aggressive and require a mutual exchange of sex for goods or services. Coercive unions are mildly to strongly aggressive. Mild sexual pressure leaves an object's social alternatives open. He may likely remain in general population. Strongly aggressive unions cut a victim's social options. He can no longer remain in general population as a 'man.' However, he can choose to adopt another socio-sexual role. He may choose to become someone's wife or may become gay. A victim now becomes metaphorically weak. He may have a few straight allies to hang out with, but they cannot be relied upon for protection. Rape has three cultural requirements. First, an aggressor attacks a victim. Second, a victim's status changes to punk. Third, a victim's allies abandon him. A victim may retaliate against an attacker. However, a victim's retaliation adds additional risk to sexual assault. A victim's allies may assist a victim, but that would endanger them and provide them with no material gain.

CHAPTER 5. MANAGEMENT OF PRISON SEXUAL VIOLENCE

“Disease. I think that’s why rape stopped.”

Clemmer’s theory of culture was based on three assumptions. First, culture has a supra-individual quality; this means the content and structure of knowledge persists between generations. Second, cultural transmission relies on verbal messages. These messages transmit cultural information to inmates. Third, cultural messages create a socio-psychological and cultural reality. Fourth, inmates’ experiences inside and outside prison shape their perception of and adaptation to prison social life. Assumptions three and four culminate in an infusion of cultural knowledge. Inmates also learn to feel and respond in ways similar to others. In this way, inmates were prisonized. Verbal messages strongly influenced inmates’ knowledge of prison life and sexual violence. Information they receive about incidents of prison rape may or may not correspond to actual acts of prison sexual assault. Nevertheless, inmates perceive and respond to these messages. Inmates may respond to messages, in the simplest form, by the simple act of gossip and informal transmission of information to others.

Overall influence of the barrage of verbal information conveyed to and among inmates has not been well defined. However, this and other research has shown that verbal messages influence inmates’ perceptions of personal and institutional safety. These messages also influence inmates’ responses to actual and potential threats of violence. Safety zones represent a cultural response to threats of dangerousness. Analysis has shown that inmates’ sense of fear of sexual victimization and worry about sexual threats to their personal safety has been influenced to some degree by verbal messages about prison rape. However, there appears to be no necessary relationship

between what inmates hear about prison rape and their level of threat and worry. There seems to be little doubt that prison sexual assault as a category of cultural knowledge has become a persistent, multi-generational characteristic of the supra-individual nature of prison culture.

Inmates' Perceptions of the Management of Inmate Sexual Behavior

Inmates' cultural perception of sexual violence and personal and institution safety extends beyond boundaries defined by verbal messages conveyed about inmate sexual assault. Cultural perceptions include inmates' subjective perceptions on the influence of staff conduct and institution management on institution and personal safety. Cultural knowledge data were gathered on two broad categories. The first assesses inmates' perceptions of prison staff and institution management of prison sexual and sexual assault. The second category includes six questions which assess inmates' opinions on staff-based influence of sexual conduct and institution-based practices designed to prevent and intervene on sexual behavior and sexual violence.

Salience of cultural knowledge

Management questions measure cultural consensus. Consensus refers to the salience (Fleisher & Harrington, 1998). Salience means shared knowledge as an indicator of (1) cultural importance or (2) degree of shared knowledge. Clemmer's theory argues that different sets of peers or residence in different housing units influence inmates' perception of prison. The substance of inmates' knowledge and importance of knowledge will vary by environmental differences. Thus, correctional officers' attempt to prevent rape would be more salient knowledge (that is, they would know more about it) where rape would be more likely. Inmates in high-security housing may know less

and value what they know less about rape and sex affair prevention than inmates in inmates in dorms.

Staff Verbal Messages about Sexual Behavior and Sexual Violence

This paradigm of questions investigated the interaction of staff verbal and behavior messages on inmates based on the assumption that staff behavioral and verbal conduct would influence inmates' behavioral and verbal conduct. If inmates hear staff talk about rape inmates may be less likely to report rape. If inmates know of cases of staff engaging in sex with inmates or raping inmates, inmates may be less likely to report rape based on the assumption that inmates' trust in staff would be eroded by staff misconduct. Inmates' reports of rape, independent of staff conduct, may be forms of inmate-instigated staff manipulation. Women reported that false rape allegations may be perpetrated by women inmates who are jealous over a former male staff lover's admiration for another inmate, or jealousy caused by gifts given to some women but not others.

Sex does not affect quality of life on the compound. [Inmates] they play the staff and try to sue to get money. The inmates protect the COs they like. They blame others [COs] to keep the ones they like out of trouble. Black girls typically play COs for money. Staff get paranoid about this and loose trust with inmates. Officers get put on administrative leave. Most officers that get accused are black. Staff will bribe inmates, threaten them Girls claim staff raped [them] to get money from him. COs has good relationship with girls; share candy, bring gum. Someone snitches off a nice CO but girls claim some other CO did it, the one who

they didn't like. Black inmates step up COs claiming rape--staff then get paranoid and distance themselves from inmates. Black officers are targets of rape scam.

Table 29 compares the aggregate of men and women inmates on five management issues. First, data show that 29.2 percent of men and 14.7 percent of women had not heard correctional officers talk about prison rape. Second, 33.5 percent of men and 28.2 percent of women did not know cases of inmates reporting rape to officers. Third, 66.0 percent of men and 70.9 percent of women knew cases of officer-inmate sex. Fourth, 7.5 percent of men and 12.8 percent of women knew cases of officer-inmate rape. Fifth, 37.5 percent of men and 51.2 percent of women knew cases of false rape allegations against officers.

“Yeah, inmates say they were raped to play staff. They say they were raped by a staff member, they'd get locked up and do an investigation on a staff member, but it's consensual, when they don't get what they want, they tell.”

“A lot of [male] COs get walked because of relationships with [women] inmates, more men [staff] than women. If women has sex with a CO, the CO is getting played not the inmate. The girls tell on themselves. The girls tell another CO, the girl goes to the hole, the CO gets under investigation. Inmates initiate the relationship. Flirt with the COs. They tell a friend and the friend tells on them.”

Table 29 Inmates' Perceptions of Staff Verbal Messages by Gender

	Total		Men		Women	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
*Have you heard officers talk about rape?						
No	343	74.9	233	70.8	110	85.3
Yes	115	25.1	96	29.2	19	14.7
Do you know cases of inmates reporting rape to an officer?						
No	296	67.9	212	66.5	84	71.8
Yes	140	32.1	107	33.5	33	28.2
Do you know cases of officers and inmates having sex?						
No	172	32.6	128	34.0	44	29.1
Yes	355	67.4	248	66.0	107	70.9
Do you know cases of officers raping inmates?						
No	431	90.0	308	92.5	123	87.2
Yes	43	9.1	25	7.5	18	12.8
Do inmates ever say they got raped just to play staff?						
No	268	58.6	205	62.5	63	48.8
Yes	189	41.4	123	37.5	66	51.2

* p < .001

Interviews collected a few examples of a male staff member allegedly raping a male inmate.

“There was only one that I know of [rape] and that was at [OTHER STATE PRISON]. They tried to establish a relationship at first and the guy [inmate] wouldn’t do it and then he [staff] tried money, and that didn’t work so he went in there and raped him, while he was in the hole.”

Sixty-six percent of men inmates and 70.9 percent of women inmates reported knowing of sex between inmates and staff. These relationships could be either same- or cross-sex relations.

“Yes, I heard that the officer got fired. They investigated it; well he got suspended. She ended up copping from the hole and he never came back. They got into jackoff in the closet. She had his cum to prove that.”

Men and women inmates reported sex with same- or opposite-sex staff as an opportunity of material gain, recreation or both.

“A cute officer comes on, the inmate will immediately be at the desk, all up in his business and the officer will flirt back. Not all officers are fucking the inmates, but there have been several incidents where an inmate has got the officer fired and the officer sticks by the inmate and she goes home with him when she’s done. It’s usually black officers going with the white girls. It’s inmate rumor. If the prison authorities are trying to prove it, it’s really hard unless you can get the inmate to say it, but he’s sending you money and giving you cigarettes. You not going to give it up. Inmate approaches the officer and the officer says ‘hell yeah,

I'm the man, I'm the shit, all these bitches want to do it to me.' In reality it's not really you, you just the only dick we have access to right now."

"No, staff don't rape inmates. There was a dude down here and he was sucking his [officer's] dick and he saved the sperm. That happened a couple months before I came down. I'd let a female officer rape me though."

Table 30 and Table 31 show five issues that influence prison culture and climate.

The percentage of men and women inmates who over a period of five years heard officers talk openly about rape jumped to 44.3 from 11.8 percent among men and to 22.0 from 11.4 percent among women. Second, men and women with more than five years served reported an increase in inmate reports of rape to officers to 48.0 from 16.9 percent for men and to 54.1 from 16.3 percent for women. Third, men inmates with more than five years served reported an increase in cases of officer-inmate sexual affairs to 76.8 from 52.7 percent among men and to 82.4 percent from 65.0 percent among women. Fourth, 10.2 percent of men and 14.9 percent of women reported knowledge of officer-to-inmate rape. Fifth, with more than five years served, allegations of false rape allegation against staff increased to 50.8 percent from 21.1 percent among men and to 54.4 percent from 49.4 percent among women.

Table 30 Men Inmates' Perceptions of Staff Verbal Messages by Time Served-5yrs

	Total		5 Years or Less		> 5 Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
*Have you heard officers talk about rape?						
No	233	70.8	135	88.2	98	55.7
Yes	96	29.2	18	11.8	78	44.3
*Do you know cases of inmates reporting rape to an officer?						
No	212	66.5	123	83.1	89	52.0
Yes	107	33.5	25	16.9	82	48.0
*Do you know cases of officers and inmates having sex?						
No	128	34.0	80	47.3	48	23.2
Yes	248	66.0	89	52.7	159	76.8
Do you know cases of officers raping inmates?						
No	308	92.5	150	95.5	158	89.8
Yes	25	7.5	7	4.5	18	10.2
*Do inmates ever say they got raped just to play staff?						
No	205	62.5	116	78.9	89	49.2
Yes	123	37.5	31	21.1	92	50.8

* p < .001

Table 31 Women Inmates' Perceptions of Staff Verbal Messages by Time Served-5yrs

	Total		5 Years or Less		> 5 Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Have you heard officers talk about rape?						
No	110	85.3	78	88.6	32	78.0
Yes	19	14.7	10	11.4	9	22.0
*Do you know cases of inmates reporting rape to an officer?						
No	84	71.8	67	83.8	17	45.9
Yes	33	28.2	13	16.3	20	54.1
Do you know cases of officers and inmates having sex?						
No	44	29.1	35	35.0	9	17.6
Yes	107	70.9	65	65.0	42	82.4
Do you know cases of officers raping inmates?						
No	123	87.2	83	88.3	40	85.1
Yes	18	12.8	11	11.7	7	14.9
Do inmates ever say they got raped just to play staff?						
No	63	48.8	43	50.6	20	45.5
Yes	66	51.2	42	49.4	24	54.5

* p < .001

Staff Influence on Sexual Conduct and Institution Practices of Social Control

"I am not so sure that they specifically try to prevent rape. There is a real high degree of control. You are never without direct line of sight supervision. Other

places I have been, there are anonymous kite boxes. I don't know. I don't know if there is a specific way they prevent rapes from happening."

Table 32 shows data on six management issues. First, 30.0 percent of men and 46.1 percent of women reported that transfer resolves sexual pressure. Second, 44.4 percent of men and 77.0 percent of women reported protective custody an effective resolution to sexual pressure.

"[Administration] do take them [rapists] out if they catch them, they'll lock them up. The administration will do something with a dude like that."

Third, 13.3 percent of men and 24.2 percent of women reported that rape guidelines were not posted on bulletin boards. Fourth, 29.8 of men and 36.0 percent of women reported that "the correctional system," or the nature of a correctional agency or institution, can protect them from rape.

"[Rape] doesn't happen here. No one can prevent it but theyself, CO's can't watch you all day they can't hold your hand if it's gonna happen it's gonna happen."

"A technique officers use to prevent rape [in women's prisons] is to put women officers with all men officers; they never have just men; men can't do everything and go everywhere."

Fifth, 49.3 percent of men and 74.4 percent of women reported that officers try to prevent inmate sexual affairs. Sixth, 60.0 percent of men and 67.2 percent of women reported that officers try to prevent rape.

“[Rape’s] not even a threat no more, if it did happen the officers would stop it, the majority would. In the end, yeah. I don’t think we have [officers] that would ignore it.”

“No, I don’t think they think [rape is] a problem, they see the same thing that we do. They see how these women portray themselves. Officers are like shit that’s on you, you probably had it coming.”

Table 32 Inmates’ Perceptions of Management Responses by Gender

	Total		Men		Women	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Does inmate transfer solve problems of sexual pressure?						
No	281	65.7	219	70.0	62	53.9
Yes	147	34.3	94	30.0	53	46.1
*If an inmate is pressured for sex and goes to protective custody are they safe?						
No	196	46.8	170	55.6	26	23.0
Yes	223	53.2	136	44.4	87	77.0
Are rape guidelines posted on bulletin boards?						
No	297	83.9	228	86.7	69	75.8
Yes	57	16.1	35	13.3	22	24.2
Can the system protect you from rape?						
No	238	68.6	181	70.2	57	64.0
Yes	109	31.4	77	29.8	32	36.0

*Do officers try to prevent sex?						
No	213	43.8	179	50.7	34	25.6
Yes	273	56.2	174	49.3	99	74.4
Do officers try to prevent rape?						
No	167	38.0	128	40.0	39	32.8
Yes	272	62.0	192	60.0	80	67.2

* $p < .001$

Table 33 data show men's perceptions of six management issues on sentences of less and more than five years. First, men inmates' perception on the effective use of transfer and protective custody increases beyond from years served to 30.8 percent from 29.1 percent and 45.6 percent from 43.1 percent, respectively. Second, men's perception of posted rape guidelines on bulletin boards decreased to 11.6 percent from 14.9 percent. Men's perception of the system's ability to protect them from rape increased to 31.5 percent from 28.2 percent. Men's perception of officers trying to prevent inmate sexual affairs and rape increased to 50.3 percent from 48.1 percent and 62.6 percent from 56.8 percent.

Table 33 Men Inmates' Perceptions of Management Responses by Time Served-5yrs

	Total		5 Years or Less		> 5 Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Does inmate transfer solve problems of sexual pressure?						
No	219	70.0	100	70.9	119	69.2
Yes	94	30.0	41	29.1	53	30.8

If an inmate is pressured for sex and goes to protective custody are they safe?						
No	170	55.6	78	56.9	92	54.4
Yes	136	44.4	59	43.1	77	45.6
Are rape guidelines posted on bulletin boards?						
No	228	86.7	114	85.1	114	88.4
Yes	35	13.3	20	14.9	15	11.6
Can the system protect you from rape?						
No	181	70.2	94	71.8	87	68.5
Yes	77	29.8	37	28.2	40	31.5
Do officers try to prevent sex?						
No	179	50.7	82	51.9	97	49.7
Yes	174	49.3	76	48.1	98	50.3
Do officers try to prevent rape?						
No	128	40.0	63	43.2	65	37.4
Yes	192	60.0	83	56.8	109	62.6

Table 34 data show women's perceptions of six management issues on sentences of less and more than five years. First, women inmates' perception on the effective use of transfer and protective custody increases beyond from years served to 51.4 percent from 43.8 percent and to 68.6 percent down from 80.8 percent, respectively. Second, women's perception of rape guidelines not posted on bulletin boards increased to 34.6 percent from 20.0 percent. Women's perception of the system's ability to protect them from rape increased slightly to 36.0 percent from 35.6 percent. Women's perception of officers

trying to prevent inmate sexual affairs and rape increased to 73.2 percent from 75.0 percent and 71.1 percent from 65.4 percent.

Table 34 Women Inmates' Perceptions of Management Responses by Time Served-5yrs

	Total		5 Years or Less		> 5 Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Does inmate transfer solve problems of sexual pressure?						
No	62	53.9	45	56.3	17	48.6
Yes	53	46.1	35	43.8	18	51.4
If an inmate is pressured for sex and goes to protective custody are they safe?						
No	26	23.0	15	19.2	11	31.4
Yes	87	77.0	63	80.8	24	68.6
Are rape guidelines posted on bulletin boards?						
No	69	75.8	52	80.0	17	65.4
Yes	22	24.2	13	20.0	9	34.6
Can the system protect you from rape?						
No	57	64.0	41	64.1	16	64.0
Yes	32	36.0	23	35.9	9	36.0
Do officers try to prevent sex?						
No	34	25.6	23	25.0	11	26.8
Yes	99	74.4	69	75.0	30	73.2
Do officers try to prevent rape?						
No	39	32.8	28	34.6	11	28.9
Yes	80	67.2	53	65.4	27	71.1

Table 35 shows men's perceptions of six management issues on sentences of less and more than 10 years. First, men perception on the effective use of transfer and protective custody increased to 30.8 percent from 29.1 percent and 45.6 percent from 43.1 percent on sentences of less and more than 10 years, respectively. Second, men's perception of rape guidelines not posted on bulletin boards decreased to 11.6 percent from 14.9 percent. Third, men's perception of the system's ability to protect them from rape increased slightly to 31.5 percent from 28.2 percent. *"Everything is the prison's fault. They blame their behavior and their thoughts on the prison system. A lot of men here don't have remorse, you hardly hear that someone is sorry. They don't say, oh man I messed up." It is hardly ever heard here.* Men's perception of officers trying to prevent inmate sexual affairs and rape increased to 50.3 percent from 56.8 percent and 62.6 percent from 56.8 percent.

Table 35 Men Inmates' Perceptions of Management by Time Served-10yrs

	Total		< 10 Years		10+ Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Does inmate transfer solve problems of sexual pressure?						
No	219	70.0	100	70.9	119	69.2
Yes	94	30.0	41	29.1	53	30.8
If an inmate is pressured for sex and goes to protective custody are they safe?						
No	170	55.6	78	56.9	92	54.4
Yes	136	44.4	59	43.1	77	45.6

Are rape guidelines posted on bulletin boards?						
No	228	86.7	114	85.1	114	88.4
Yes	35	13.3	20	14.9	15	11.6
Can the system protect you from rape?						
No	181	70.2	94	71.8	87	68.5
Yes	77	29.8	37	28.2	40	31.5
Do officers try to prevent sex?						
No	179	50.7	82	51.9	97	49.7
Yes	174	49.3	76	48.1	98	50.3
Do officers try to prevent rape?						
No	128	40.0	63	43.2	65	37.4
Yes	192	60.0	83	56.8	109	62.6

Table 36 data shows women inmates' perception of six management issues on sentences of less and more than 10 years. First, women's use of the effective use of transfer to cope with sexual pressure increase to 50.0 percent from 45.1 percent after 10 years served. Second, women perception of protective custody to handle sexual pressure decreased to 66.7 percent from 79.8 percent after 10 years served. Third, women's perception of posted rape guidelines increased to 38.9 percent from 20.5 percent after 10 years. Fourth, women's percentage that the correctional system could prevent rape decreased slightly to 35.3 percent 36.1 percent after 10 years. Fifth, women's percentage that officers try to prevent inmates' sexual affairs decreased to 63.3 percent from 77.7 percent after 10 years. Sixth, women's perception that officers try to prevent inmate rape increased slightly to 33.3 percent from 32.6 percent after 10 years.

Table 36 Women Inmates' Perceptions of Management by Time Served-10yrs

	Total		< 10 Years		10+ Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Does inmate transfer solve problems of sexual pressure?						
No	62	53.9	50	54.9	12	50.0
Yes	53	46.1	41	45.1	12	50.0
If an inmate is pressured for sex are they safe in protective custody?						
No	26	23.0	18	20.2	8	33.3
Yes	87	77.0	71	79.8	16	66.7
Are rape guidelines posted on bulletin boards?						
No	69	75.8	58	79.5	11	61.1
Yes	22	24.2	15	20.5	7	38.9
Can the system protect you from rape?						
No	57	64.0	46	63.9	11	64.7
Yes	32	36.0	26	36.1	6	35.3

Do officers try to prevent sex?							
No	34	25.6	23	22.3	11	36.7	
Yes	99	74.4	80	77.7	19	63.3	
Do officers try to prevent rape?							
No	39	32.8	30	32.6	9	33.3	
Yes	80	67.2	62	67.4	18	66.7	

Visualizations of Inmates' Perceptions of Key Management Issues

“[Pressed for sex?] Depends. Some [officers] might laugh in their face or might bring them down to the warden and major.

Clemmer’s theory of supra-individual culture posits that inmates’ perceptions of management’s attempts to improve institutional safety are unlikely to occur rapidly or at all, to any significant degree. Cultural attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions change slowly. Seventy years of prison culture and sex culture research has cited repeatedly a core array of findings about prison culture and inmates’ sexual behavior. Inmates’ too have reported similar beliefs and attitudes about prison sexual behavior over decades of research. Such findings offered by both inmates and researchers support Clemmer’s theory of supra-individual culture.

Inmates’ subjective impressions of prison sexual violence are lodged in inmate culture. These impressions are transmitted to generation after generation of inmates. It seems that ‘new’ information slowly enters inmates’ trans-generational cultural system. If institution culture changes with safety innovations, inmate culture has no mechanism to test the difference between “real” and “reported” information in verbal messages. Thus,

as administrative and managerial innovations try to enable safer prisons, inmates' perceptions of changes in institution safety may reflect what inmates have heard but not necessarily what they see.

Correctional Practice Recommendations

Prison researchers over many decades posited potential innovations to enhance inmate quality of life by reducing the risk of sexual assault. Often however, recommendations suggested general organizational innovations often difficult to directly link to sexual-assault reduction.

Correctional practice recommendations made over the past 30 years share similar approaches. These are: improve staff hiring to include more staff with professional attitudes; train line staff more comprehensively; and improve on-the-job training and line-staff supervision. These and similar recommendations fall within the prevue of finding of this research.

There are analytic approaches that may likely reduce inmate violence by targeting specific causes and conditions of non-sexual and sexual violence. Figure 5 illustrates the analysis of inmate perceptions about institution safety shown in Table 37.

Figure 5 Graph of Inmates' Perceptions of Correctional System's Ability to Protect Inmates from Rape by Gender and Time Served-5yrs, 10yrs

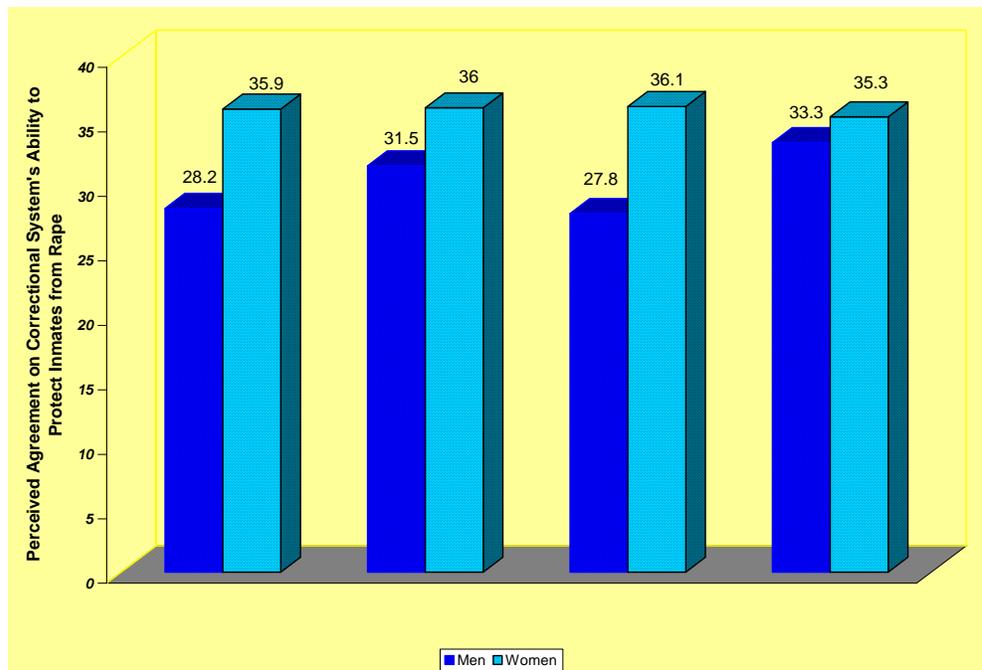


Table 37 assesses inmates' perceptions of institution safety and rape protection among inmates who have served less and more than five years. Women's and men's levels of perceived agreement are similar controlling for gender and sentence length. Among men and women who have served less than five years, 35.9 percent among women and 28.2 percent among men agree that correctional system can protect them against rape. Among men and women who have served more than five years, women reported 36.0 percent agreement and 31.5 percent men reported agreement. A consensus, albeit low, controlling for time served and gender suggests a culturally influenced response: interpreted by Clemmer's supra-individual theory these responses suggest that, independent of

correctional agencies' actual ability to protect inmates, inmate culture has low consensus agencies' ability to protect them from rape.

Table 37 Inmates' Perceptions of Correctional System's Ability to Protect Inmates from Rape by Gender and Time Served-5yrs.

	Total		5 or less Years		> 5 Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	57	64.0	41	64.1	16	64.0
Yes	32	36.0	23	35.9	9	36.0
Men						
No	181	70.2	94	71.8	87	68.5
Yes	77	29.8	37	28.2	40	31.5

Table 38 shows men and women inmates' do not perceive a correctional systems' ability to protect them from rape for sentences served under and over 10 years. The levels of agreement for men and women are similar by gender. Among men and women with less than 10 years served, 36.1 percent of women and 27.8 percent of men; and 35.3 percent of women and 33.3 percent of men who have served more than 10 years agree that correctional agencies can protect them from rape.

Table 38 Inmates' Perceptions of Correctional System's Ability to Protect Inmates from Rape by Gender and Time Served- 10yrs.

	Total		< 10 Years		10 + Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	57	64.0	46	63.9	11	64.7
Yes	32	36.0	26	36.1	6	35.3
Men						
No	181	70.2	117	72.2	64	66.7
Yes	77	29.8	45	27.8	32	33.3

Inmates' lack of confidence in institution protection may be linked to many conditions affecting low confidence in institution safety. Data show that inmate debts lead to violence; that inmates have a low level of confidence in institution transfers as a means to prevent or intervene on situations of sexual pressure; and that protective custody, while trusted to protect inmates to some degree, especially among women, falls short of creating inmate confidence in institutional safety. Integrated analysis of, for instance, commissary expenditures, incident reports, transfers, and residence unit supervision may shed light on this complex relationship.

Commissary Expenditure Analysis

Inmate interview data indicated that sexual and non-sexual exploitation may occur when only some inmates have financial support to those who don't, threaten and exploit those who do. An inmate explains the commissary spending system.

“It starts out with the Level One system. The sexual predator uses the level one system to his advantage. Each prisoner comes in and starts at a low level. He has to work his way up to buy a TV and go to the store and buy commissary. They start at 0 and can only spend \$10 per month, they have no money and can't buy anything. All their assets and needs like soap and shampoo, they have troubles buying even their needs. It helps the predators, they can offer these things for sex, real simple. They don't have to rape anyone in prison, all you have to do is have money, very little money.”

An expenditure analysis could identify saving levels for all inmates. They could be divided into low, moderate, and high levels of saving and no savings. Inmates with no or low amounts of saving may be classified as high or moderate risk of physical, sexual exploitation of those with moderate and high savings. Such an analysis could be coupled with inmates' spending history in two ways. First, high-savings level inmates may start to spend more money more if they are exploited. Second, inmates who had no savings and who suddenly are flush are likely to have exploited a peer's family, threatening violence against a family member if money isn't deposited into their commissary account. Commissary expenditure analysis should be linked to incident report analysis.

Incident Report Analysis

Perhaps one of the most pervasive inmate explanations for sexual violence links violence to debts.

“If you're playing spades and you lose real bad, \$15 or something or more, the person you owe it to will probably sit down and talk to you, say I

don't need the \$15, what I really want is head and I'll wash all the debt off, and they'll be like okay."

"The way inmates do drugs influences if a dude is homosexual or is raped. If he has a big drug debt, he's in trouble and sex may get him out it. There's harsh people in here."

"Old time booty bandits would lend thing to guys to a point where they can't pay it back and would then collect in other ways."

There are rather straightforward ways to test such reports. First, an affiliation analysis of all inmates cited could be done on all violations. The management research could focus on the identification of inmates who've been cited over time for different types of violent and non-violent offenses. If an inmate was cited for gambling and then cited for stealing someone's radio this inmate stands at high risk of engaging in additional violation, perhaps sexual. There may also be other inmates in the same or different housing area who engage in similar behavior. A management research question asks if frequently cited inmates are linked to one another in direct relationships such as friendships or crime partnerships or in indirect relationships, that is, they are linked through shared companions. Two or more inmates linked via one or more incident should be known as high-risk inmates.

Second, incident reports of all violent acts should be analyzed in a similar way at 3, 6, 9, and 12 month intervals. The research would determine if (1) the inmates who didn't know each other became linked via a violent episode and then together committed a violent act together and (2) if one or more inmates kept appearing at the site of sexual

and non-sexual violent act. Sexual and non-sexual acts of violence can be analyzed by cited perpetrator(s), witnesses, and bystanders; if such data aren't collected, an inventory of inmates linked to every violent incident could be created and maintained. Sexually violent inmates who weren't apprehended and haven't been reported may be identified via their network of ties to those who were perpetrators, witnesses or bystanders. Then too sexually violent inmates may operate independently and have no companions whose identify was noted at violent events. Or sexually violent actors may operate independently and have no common social ties to anyone previously cited. Understanding the relationships between and among violent offenders and others linked to acts of violence by virtue of their proximity to such events could provide prison investigators with powerful analytic tools based on relatively simple data collect techniques.

Housing-unit Supervision

Table 39 data assess three management issues by housing type among men inmates. Double-celled men inmates at a level of 50.0 percent reported knowledge of more reported rape cases than inmates in single-cells and dorms, 29.7 and 22.2 percent, respectively. Men inmates housed in single cells and dorms reported that inmates filed false rape allegations against staff at 36.4 percent and 32.2 percent, respectively. Men inmates in single- and double-cells and dorms reported not knowing of officers raping inmates, 5.8 percent, 13.0 percent, and 4.5 percent, respectively.

“Inmate would mostly likely get raped in a two person room; they can't rape you in the dorm, all open. Inmate would help stop the rape.”

“Not no more a force thing, you can talk them into turning themselves out, unless you in the cell block, you can still rape there, you got a cellmate.”

“Back in the cell block, you more secluded, you in a cell with a man and if you weak he can take advantage of you with out nobody seeing.”

“I don’t think it [rape] would occur in the dorm, something like that would occur in the block, there are two to a cell.”

Table 39 Men Inmates’ Perceptions of Staff Management by Housing Type

	Total		Single		Double		Dorm	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
<i>*Do you know cases of inmates reporting rape to an officer?</i>								
No	211	66.6	78	70.3	49	50.0	84	77.8
Yes	106	33.4	33	29.7	49	50.0	24	22.2
<i>Do you know cases of officers raping inmates?</i>								
No	306	92.4	114	94.2	87	87.0	105	95.5
Yes	25	7.6	7	5.8	13	13.0	5	4.5
<i>Do inmates ever say they got raped just to play staff?</i>								
No	203	62.3	75	63.6	54	55.1	74	67.3
Yes	123	37.7	43	36.4	44	44.9	36	32.7

** p < .001*

Table 39 and Table 40 data show that men and women inmates in single-cells and dorms reported knowing of inmate reports of rape at approximately the same rate, 29.7 and 22.2 percent, and 28.1 and 28.3 percent, respectively. Table 40 data show that women inmates housed in double cells reported a much higher rate of false rape allegations than inmates housed single cells and dorms.

Table 40 Women Inmates' Perceptions of Staff Management by Housing Type

	Total		Cell		Dorm	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Do you know cases of inmates reporting rape to an officer?						
No	84	71.8	46	71.9	38	71.7
Yes	33	28.2	18	28.1	15	28.3
Do you know cases of officers raping inmates?						
No	123	87.9	64	87.7	59	88.1
Yes	17	12.1	9	12.3	8	11.9
Do inmates ever say they got raped just to play staff?						
No	62	48.4	29	43.3	33	54.1
Yes	66	51.6	38	56.7	28	45.9

Inmates know staff flirt and have sex with inmates. Interviews show that affairs take time to establish and maintain. A male correctional officer may supervise a woman's dorm or a woman officer may supervise a man's dorm over 3, 6, or 9 month periods.

This amount of time allows for personal relationships to blossom, said inmates. Inmates suggested that correctional officers should be transferred at short intervals with brief notification of transfer date. Some officers might be transferred monthly, others bimonthly, others quarterly. Interview data shows inmates' dependence on interacting with the same officers. A combination of staff and inmates in the same context over time may create a safety hazard. Officer assignment shifts at regular, albeit random intervals, may reduce inmates' false sexual allegations against officers.

There are four consequences of flirtatious and sexual affairs between staff and inmates. First, once inmates hear or see a relationship between an officer and inmate, some inmates wait their turn to exploit the same officer, inmates said. Women inmates commented:

"If I know that my friend is mess with an officer, a lot will try to frame them. They will say bring me cigarettes or I will report you."

"If another inmate know they tell, they'd be jealous why you get to eat free food I want some to. You give me a chain I won't say nothing, they'll try to bribe or black mail the person."

Men inmates commented:

"Some try to get some too, and use blackmail. Some may come straight up to ask for contraband in exchange for not telling."

"If he's sharp enough, a dude could blackmail that officer to bring something to him. That's something I'd do."

Second, inmates become jealous when a staff member brings gifts to his/her inmate girl or boy friend. Jealousy may engender open hostility between women inmates and closed hostility toward the staff member. Hostility may lead to filing false rape allegations against the staff member who, an inmate believes, slighted or embarrassed her. Women inmates commented:

“They say they were raped by a staff member, they'd get locked up and do an investigation on a staff member, but it's consensual, when they don't get what they want, they tell.”

“Up in [OTHER STATE PRISON] one of the girls supposedly had sex with an officer before this prison was here, they said she had it willingly she filed charges for rape and got a cell movement.”

A male inmate commented:

“Oh yeah. I've had friends I've known had sex with a guy [staff] and put it [semen] in something so he can bag it up and then he runs to the laws and claim rape. Having sex then don't like it anymore and claim rape.”

Third, interview data suggest that inmates lose trust and respect for officers who violate conduct rules either by engaging in illicit sex with inmates, smuggling goods, or other violations. Sexual and other types of misconduct, including smuggling goods to inmates, weaken the trust between staff and inmates. The culturally prescribed “professional” social distance between staff and inmates increases, inmates reported, as trust decreases.

Men inmates commented:

“Say about 30% of staff try to do the right thing but it's hard to do the right thing if others violate the rules.”

“I’m sure they must have rules on paper but it isn’t worth a damn unless it’s enforced.”

Fourth, inmates reported that honest and diligent line staff who are vested in their career drift away from ‘dirty’ staff; more data are needed on this topic as well. Over time, inmates said, honest officers shift posts and move away from a dirty officer or officers. These post transfers, inmates said, likely result in a station with two, three, or four dirty officers as supervisors.

“I think they sort of turn on that officer they’ll talk openly about that officer they lose trust in that officer and they’ll kid around with inmates about that officer, that officer is doomed in that prison if that goes on.”

Focused shakedowns

The objective of sex with staff, as inmates see it, focuses on material gain. Women inmates said dirty staff smuggle jewelry, perfume, and even specialized food, including, said some inmates, fast-food burgers. Women inmate commented:

“Yes, I hear inmates talking about sex with staff. She had to have sex to get the chain that’s on their neck, had to have sex to get the bubble gum or earrings that they got in their ear or fingernail polish.”

Male inmate commented:

“Hey get anything they want, I mean anything, they want drugs, booze, whatever, they get it. These old homosexual guards that work here; the young homosexuals will play them out of anything they got I’ve seen them play them out of their whole paycheck.”

Shakedowns should focus on finding weapons and on spotting clothing, shoes, earrings, and perfume today that weren't there two weeks ago. Jewelry is a prized commodity. Jewelry inventory database could track jewelry received by individual inmates. Officers who aren't assigned to a shakedown unit could match in-cell jewelry inventories to the inventory records. A careful record of possessions checked after random periods might be an effective deterrent for both inmates and staff.

Observation logs

A unit of 65 inmates will have tens of hundreds of interactions daily, but all inmates don't socialize among one another. Line-staff training could teach them how to record persistent associations among inmates, such as observing two or three men who frequently go to the yard together. Straightforward techniques, such as spot sample, time sample, and focus sample, could provide invaluable data at low cost. A spot sample would look at association of inmates at the same spot at different times. A time sample would record interactions, such as every evening and morning at seven thirty. A focus sample would record associations of, for example, high-risk inmates, identified with above techniques, at random and fixed times. Systematic observation (with or without interviews) would provide intelligence data and would directly or indirectly let inmates know they're being watched.

Analysis of Inmates' Management Perceptions

Inmate Orientation

Inmates' perceptions of institution management strategies provide a gendered analysis useful in strengthening staff and inmate institution orientation. In this section a

graphic display of management data analysis illustrates men and women inmates' perceptions over time on six management strategies: posted guidelines on sexual assault procedures; correctional system's ability to keep inmates safe; correctional officers' ability to prevent inmate sex; and correctional officers' ability to prevent inmate rape. Inmates' said that new-inmate orientation reinforced their fear that sexual assault was almost inevitable. They also said that inmate orientation was ineffective, because it relied on the use of an inmate handbook to acquaint inmates with institutional policies and practices. Given that a majority of inmates are illiterate or have low reading levels or have no interest in reading, an orientation handbook would most likely fail to effectively distribute information on, for example, sexual coercion.

Written Sexual Pressure Guidelines

Figure 6 graphs data in Table 41 and Table 42. These data show inmates' agreement on whether institutions posted sexual assault guidelines. Analysis shows that men and women with less than five years served uniformly agree that guidelines were not posted.

Figure 6 Graph of Inmates' Perceptions of Posted Rape Guidelines by Gender and Time Served-5yrs, 10yrs

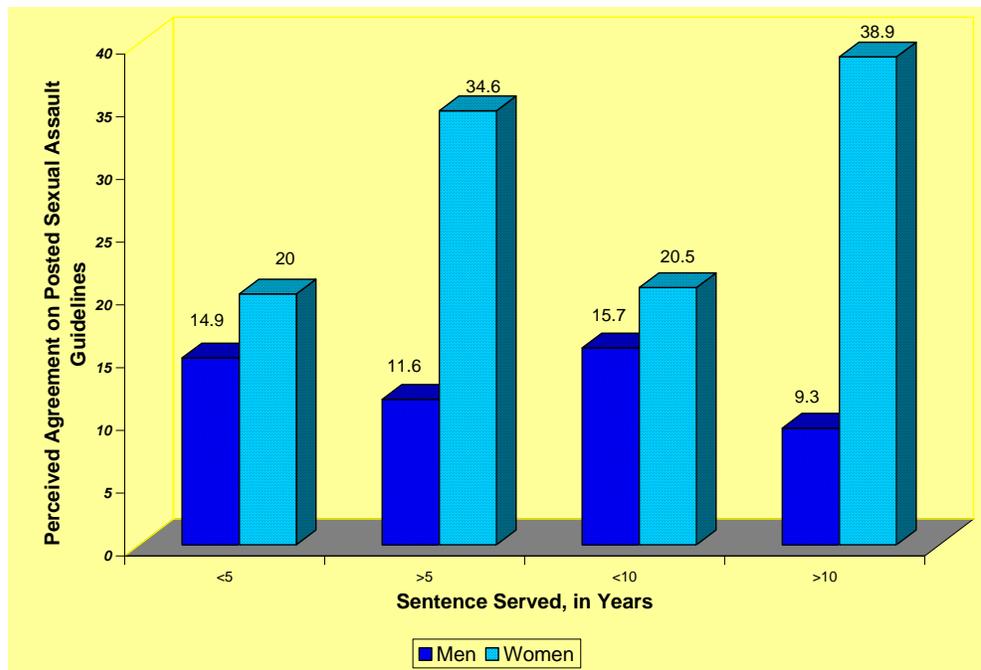


Table 41 Inmates' Awareness of Institutions Posted Sexual Pressure Guidelines by Gender and Time Served-More or Less than 5 Years

	Total		5 or less Years		> 5 Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	228	86.7	114	85.1	114	88.4
Yes	35	13.3	20	14.9	15	11.6
Men						
No	69	75.8	52	80.0	17	65.4
Yes	22	24.2	13	20.0	9	34.6

Table 42 Inmates' Awareness of Institutions' Posted Sexual Pressure Guidelines by Gender and Time Served-More or Less than 10 Years

	Total		< 10 Years		10 + Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	228	86.7	140	84.3	88	90.7
Yes	35	13.3	26	15.7	9	9.3
Men						
No	69	75.8	58	79.5	11	61.1
Yes	22	24.2	15	20.5	7	38.9

*p < .001

A woman inmate commented:

“There’s a sexual harassment flyer everywhere with the 1- 800 number you’re not allowed to call. We’re not allowed to call any 1-800 numbers but it’s posted.”

Men inmates commented:

“Somewhere in the R&R, like here at check in they have a little orientation thing of safe sex and stuff like that and there might have been something about rape, but I didn’t really pay attention to that I don’t feel I’m in danger of something like that and I know I’m not going to rape anyone so I don’t think about it or dwell on it.”

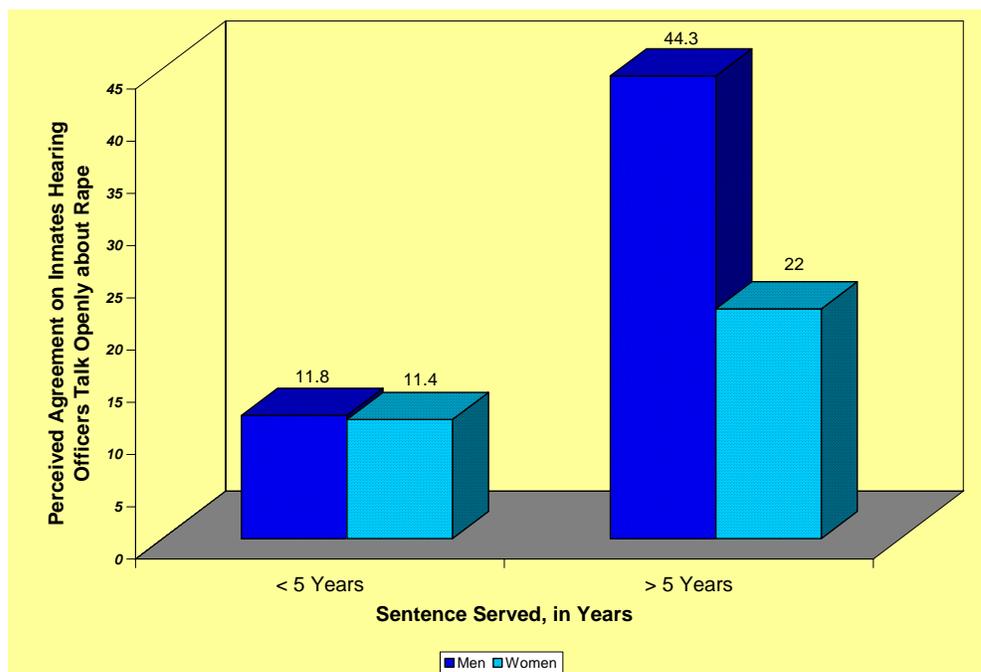
“Having rape guidelines is kind of like a fire extinguisher. First you got to have a fire.”

Male: *I haven't even looked.*

Correctional Officers Talk about Prison Rape

Figure 7 shows that 11.8 and 11.4 percent of men and women inmates with less than five years served overheard officers openly discuss rape. However, men inmates who have served more than five years show a dramatic increase to 44.3 percent who've overheard officers discuss rape. Data do not indicate the content of what inmates heard and where and when they heard it. Nevertheless, verbal culture has the power to influence inmates' attitudes and beliefs.

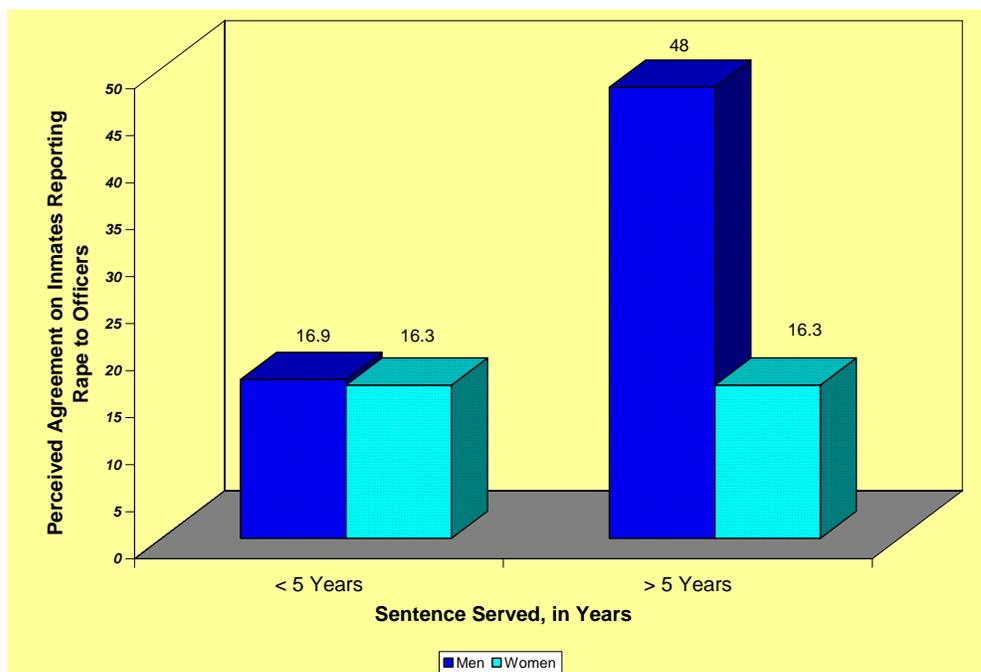
Figure 7 Graph of Inmates' Agreement on Hearing Officers Talk about Rape by Gender and Time Served-5yrs



Inmates Reporting Rape to Correctional Officers

Figure 8 shows the percentage of men and women inmates with less than five years served who were aware of inmates reporting rape to officers was relatively infrequent, 16.9 and 16.3 percent, respectively. However, men who have served more than five years showed a dramatic increase to 48.0 percent from 16.9 percent in awareness of rape reports to officers.

Figure 8 Graph of Inmates' Agreement on Knowing about Inmates Reporting Rape to an Officer by Gender and Time Served-5yrs



Some inmates are afraid to report rape.

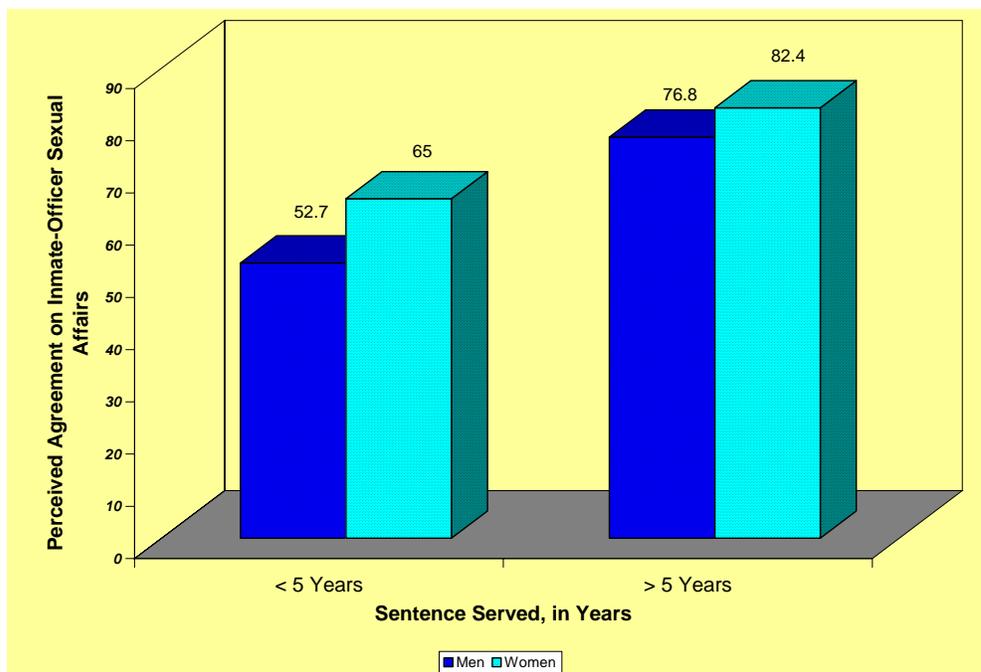
“No, they’re afraid of being labeled as a snitch or something like that.”

“Yes, put them on investigation and let them both out. In [OTHER STATE PRISON], they were both put into the hole and then transferred them both out to different facilities.”

Correctional Officer-Inmate Sexual Affairs

Figure 9 analysis shows that men and women inmates increase their agreement on knowing of staff-inmate sexual relationships over time served. Men inmates' agreement increases to 76.8 percent from 52.7 percent, and women's, to 82.4 from 65.0 percent.

Figure 9 Graph of Inmates' Agreement on Knowing of Inmate-Officer Sexual Affairs by Gender and Time Served-5yrs



Correctional Officers Ability to Prevent Inmate Sexual Affairs

Figure 10 shows men and women inmates' perceived agreement on correctional officers' trying to prevent inmate sexual relationships. Women inmates agree to a greater

extent that correctional officers' try to prevent inmate sexual affairs, however men inmates don't. Men's agreement remains consistently at approximately 50 percent over sentenced served. Women's agreement hovers at or about 75 percent and drops to 63.3 percent among women who served over 10 years.

Figure 10 Graph of Inmates Perceptions of Correctional Officers' Trying to Prevent Inmates' Sexual Affairs by Gender and Time Served-5yrs, 10yrs

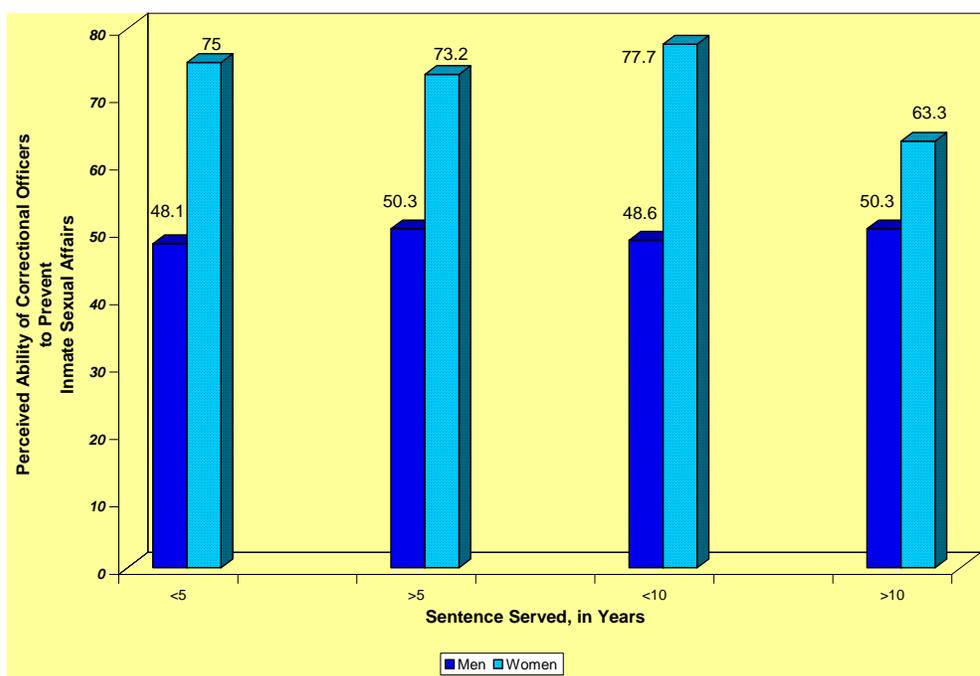


Table 43 shows that 74.4 percent of women and 49.3 percent of men inmates who've served less than five years perceive that correctional officers try to prevent rape. The percentage decreases for women to 73.2 percent and increases for men to 50.3 percent.

Table 43 Inmates Perceptions of Correctional Officers' Trying to Prevent Inmates'

Sexual Affairs by Gender and Time Served-5yrs.

	Total		5 or less Years		> 5 Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	34	25.6	23	25.0	11	26.8
Yes	99	74.4	69	75.0	30	73.2
Men						
No	179	50.7	82	51.9	97	49.7
Yes	174	49.3	76	48.1	98	50.3

Table 44 shows that 77.7 percent of women and 48.6 percent of men inmates who've served less than 10 years perceived that correctional officers try to prevent rape. The percentage decreases for women to 63.3 percent and remains constant for men to 50.3 percent who've served more than 10 or more years.

Table 44 Inmates Perceptions of Correctional Officers' Trying to Prevent Inmates'

Sexual Affairs by Gender and Time Served- 10yrs.

	Total		< 10 Years		10 + Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	34	25.6	23	22.3	11	36.7
Yes	99	74.4	80	77.7	19	63.3
Men						
No	179	50.7	107	51.4	72	49.7
Yes	174	49.3	101	48.6	73	50.3

Correctional Officers' Trying to Prevent Inmate-on-Inmate Rape

“Snitches are every where. Sexual assault is not common. If there were rape, someone would know in three minutes. [Rapist] knows women were raped as children. She feels that this may be why they are gay. [There’s] a lot of domestic violence . . . pull hair, punch them, kick them on the bleachers. Jealousy is very prevalent. Old timers stop this. Cameras, staff walking, snitches everywhere--if there were rape, someone would know.”

Figure 11 illustrates inmates’ perceived agreement that correctional officers have an ability to prevent inmate-on-inmate rape. Men’s agreement hovers at or near 60 percent, while women’s ranges to 71.1 from 65.4 percent.

Figure 11 Graph of Inmates’ Perceptions of Correctional Officers’ Trying to Protect Inmates from Rape by Gender and Time Served-5yrs, 10yrs

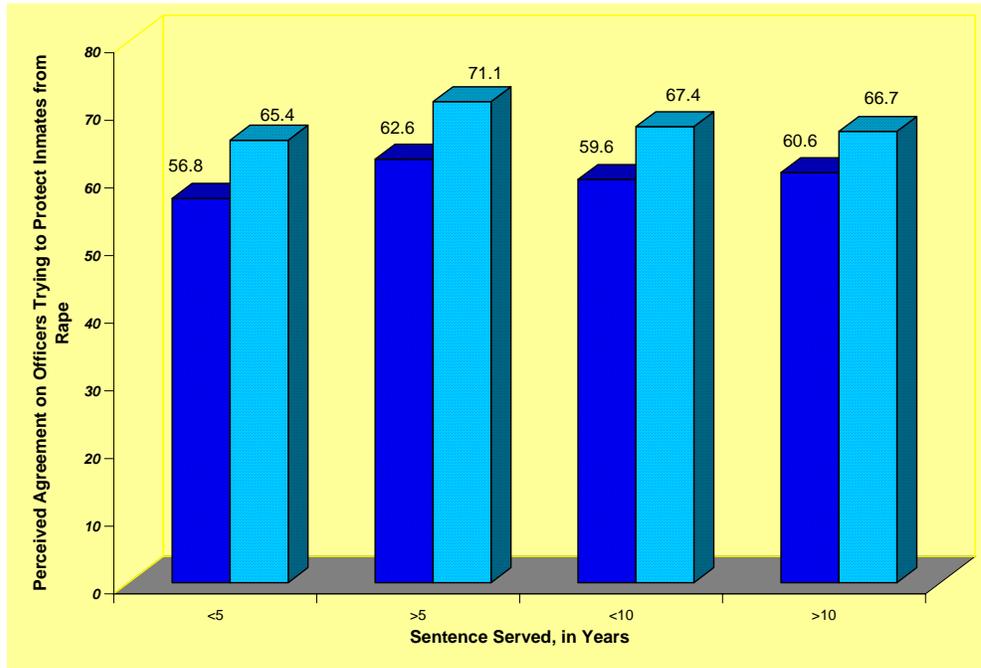


Table 45 shows that 65.4 percent of women and 56.8 percent of men inmates who’ve served less than five years perceived that correctional officers try to prevent rape. The percentage increases for women to 71.1 percent and for men to 62.6 percent who’ve served more than five or more years.

Table 45 Inmates’ Perceptions of Correctional Officers’ Trying to Prevent Inmate-on-Inmate Rape by Gender and Time Served-5yrs.

	Total		5 or less Years		> 5 Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	39	32.8	28	34.6	11	28.9

Yes	80	67.2	53	65.4	27	71.1
Men						
No	128	40.0	63	43.2	65	37.4
Yes	192	60.0	83	56.8	109	62.6

Table 46 shows that 67.4 percent of women and 59.6 percent of men inmates who've served less than 10 years perceived that correctional officers try to prevent rape. The percentage decreases for women to 66.7 percent and increases for men to 60.6 percent who've served more than 10 or more years.

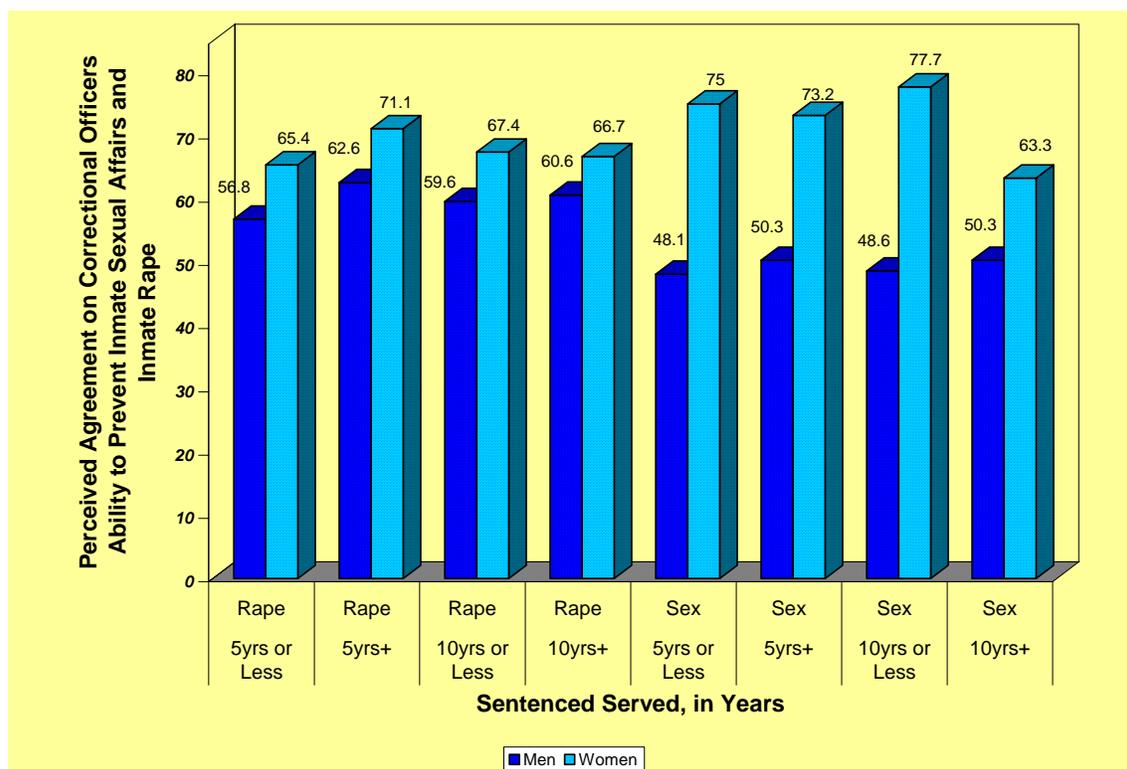
Table 46 Inmates' Perceptions of Correctional Officers' Trying to Prevent Inmate-on-Inmate Rape by Gender and Time Served-10yrs.

	Total		< 10 Years		10 + Years	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Women						
No	39	32.8	30	32.6	9	33.3
Yes	80	67.2	62	67.4	18	66.7
Men						
No	128	40.0	76	40.4	52	39.4
Yes	192	60.0	112	59.6	80	60.6

Figure 12 shows that men and women inmates' agreement that correctional officers try to prevent inmate-on-inmate rape and inmate sexual affairs. Women's agreement on correctional restraints on both types of sexual behavior remains

consistently higher than men's over time served. Women inmates' agreement on correctional officers' ability to prevent inmate sexual affairs over 5 and under 10 years ranging to 77.7 from 75.0 percent, but men's ranges from 48.1 to 50.3 percent. Notably, women's agreement drops to 63.3 from 66.7 percent after 10 or more years served. Women's decrease may conceivably be related to correctional culture's³² granting lifers and others with very long sentences less sexual restriction.

Figure 12 Inmates' Perceptions of Correctional Officers' Ability to Prevent Inmate Sexual Affairs and Inmate Rape by Gender and Time Served-5yrs, 10yrs



³² This reduction may be an example of Clemmer's theory of supra-individual cultural transmission, and not a deliberate supervision decision by correctional staff to reduce supervisory restrictions; rather the emphasis here rests on how correctional culture has selected to adapt to inmates' sentence length and sexual behavior. Selection refers to a "cultural" approach to emphasize sexual supervision among inmates with less time served.

Table 47 shows the mean level of agreement for rape prevention for men and women inmates increases to 66.85 percent, more than five years served, from 61.1, less than five years. The highest mean level of rape prevention agreement, 66.86 percent, occurs in the five-plus years served category. Sexual-affair prevention reaches its highest level of agreement, 63.15 percent, in the less than 10 years served category, which measures slightly lower than rape prevention agreement, 63.5 percent, in the same time category.

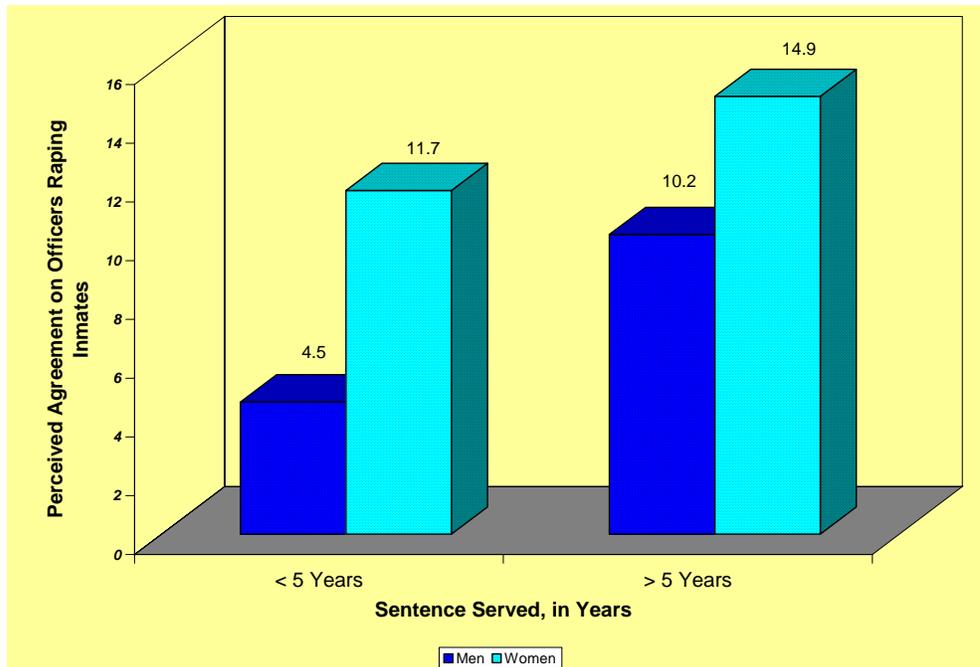
Table 47 Mean Level of Inmates' Perceptions of Correctional Officers' Ability to Prevent Inmate-on-Inmate and Inmate Sexual Affairs by Gender and Time Served-5yrs, 10yrs

	Rape				Sex			
	5 Years or Less	5+ Years	10 Years or Less	10+ Years	5 Years or Less	5+ Years	10 Years or Less	10+ Years
Men	56.8	62.6	59.6	60.6	48.1	50.3	48.6	50.3
Women	65.4	71.1	67.4	66.7	75	73.2	77.7	63.3
Mean	61.1	66.85	63.5	63.65	61.55	61.75	63.15	56.8

Correctional Officer-on-Inmate Sexual Assault

Figure 13 shows that men and women inmates share a perceived agreement on knowing few cases of staff-inmate rape. Over time served men's perceived agreement increase to 10.2 from 4.5 percent, while women's, to 14.9 from 11.7 percent.

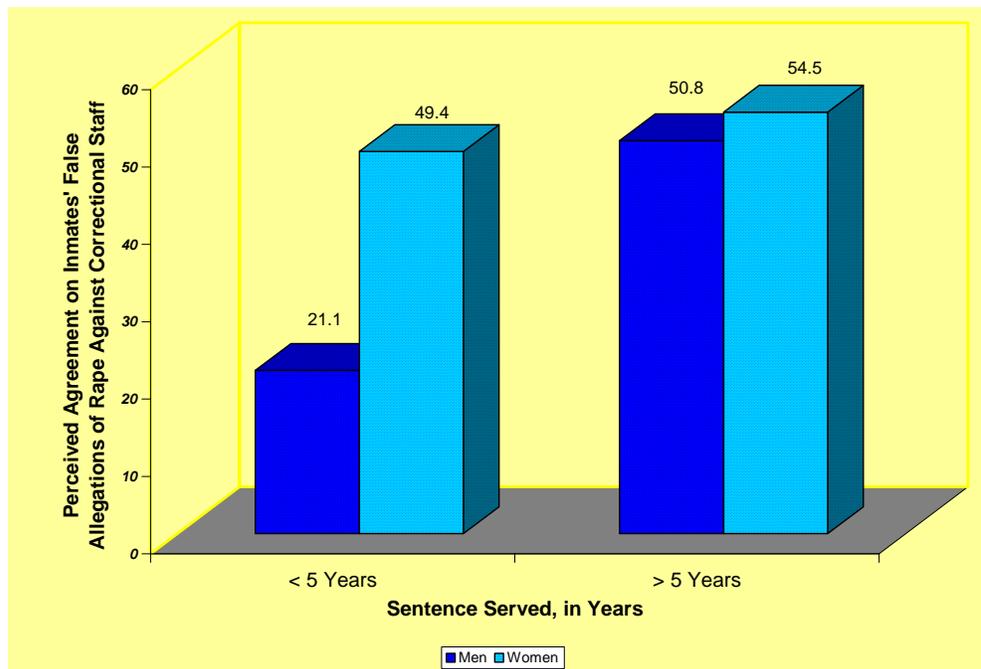
Figure 13 Graph of Inmates' Agreement on Knowing of Officer-Inmate Rape by Gender and Time Served-5yrs



Inmates' False Rape Allegations against Correction Staff

While inmates reported a consistently low level of agreement on correctional officers' sexual assault on inmates, data on false allegations of rape against staff emerge in stark contrast. Figure 14 analysis shows that men and women inmates perceived at a high level of agreement that inmates issue false rape allegations against staff. Women with less than five years served reached a 49.2 percent level of agreement whereas men at the same time served stand at 21.1 percent. However, men's agreement increases sharply with time served to 50.8 percent. Women's agreement increases as well though slightly, to 54.5 percent.

Figure 14 Graph of Inmates' Agreement on Knowing of Inmates' False Allegations of Rape against Correctional Officers by Gender and Time Served-5yrs



Executive Summary

The goal of this research was a nation-wide study of the culture of prison-inmate sexual violence. The principal investigators at the behest of the National Institute of Justice conducted a socio-cultural study of prison sexual violence in men's and women's high-security prisons across the United States. A multi-disciplinary advisory panel composed of prominent scholars and correctional practitioners contributed to research design and methodology.

This study's qualitative methodology collected interview data in comprehensive semi-structured interviews. These interviews allowed inmates to freely express their subjective perceptions on sexual violence. The interview instrument was culturally sensitive and pre-tested in men's and women's prisons. A systematic sampling design for

this study selected 564 inmate participants (408, male; 156, female) in 30 prisons in 10 states. Strict procedures protected the anonymity and confidentiality of prisons and inmate participants.

Inmate participants were experienced in prison life. At the time of their interview, 66.3 percent of men and 46.3 percent of women served more than 60 months; 63.1 percent of men and 35.1 percent of women had already served more than 120 months. Race and ethnic categories distributed across the sample were 46.8 percent black, 40.2 percent white, 9.9 percent Hispanic, and 3.0 percent other. Prior to their imprisonment, 22.4 percent of male inmates, and 25.8 percent of women inmates self-reported gay or bisexual relationships.

Analysis showed that women inmates perceived that 59.7 percent of the other inmates in their prisons were gay and 11 percent were “on the down low” (practiced socially hidden same-sex relations). Men inmates perceived that 14.8 percent were gay, and 27.5 percent were “on the down low.” Additionally, in their respective prisons, women and men inmates were asked for their subjective estimate on homosexual behavior. Women inmates perceived that 70.7 percent of inmates, and men inmates perceived that 42.3 percent of inmates, engaged in homosexual conduct.

Inmates were asked for their –subjective estimate on sex-related prison management issues. Sixty-six percent of men inmates and nearly seventy-one percent of women inmates reported they were aware of inmate-staff mutual sex relationships. Collectively, 9.1 percent of men and women inmates reported they were aware of a case of an inmate raped by a staff member. Among men and women inmates, respectively, 33.5 percent and 28.2 percent indicated they knew of inmate reported rape to staff.

Nearly thirty-eight percent of men and 51.2 percent of women knew of false rape allegations against staff.

Inmate safety analysis had qualitative and quantitative findings. A majority of inmates reported that inmates' safety—protection from physical and sexual assault, was the personal responsibility of inmates, independent of institution efforts to protect them. Regardless of these personal perceptions, 28.2 percent and 31.5 percent, respectively, reported that a correctional system's policies and procedures can protect them against rape. Men and women inmates reported on average that 56.8 percent and 62.5 percent, respectively, of correctional officers try to protect them against rape. Five percent of women and 22.0 percent of men reported they were certain that at least one rape occurred in an institution they were housed in their life-time experience of imprisonment. Nine percent of women inmates and 21.3 percent of men inmates reported some worry or sense of threat caused by a potential rape. Inmates reported they did not fear imminent rape. However, they acknowledged such behavior may occur.

This study conducted a culturally sensitive analysis of prison inmates' subjective perceptions of prison sexual violence. Prison socialization gave them a shared body of cultural knowledge and rules of behavior on social-sexual conduct and sexual violence. The qualitative analysis of hundreds of hours of interview data had six major findings.

First, inmate culture has a complex system of beliefs and norms on sexual conduct. Beliefs and norms in concert with numerous social and economic issues create multiple interpretations of aggressive sexual conduct. Acts of similar sexual violence that occur in one context may have a different interpretation in another context. Interpretation depends on the pre-assault behavior of the victim, assailant, and other

inmates' perceptions of the causes of the sexual violence. However, men and women inmates reported that prison rape as they defined it did not frequently occur. Second, inmates reported they "self-police" the prison community in an effort to try to maintain peace and social order. Third, inmates reported numerous protective social arrangements, such as religious groups, recreation friendships, and support by older inmates, to facilitate safety from physical and sexual violence. These arrangements also provide men and women inmates with social and emotional support.

Fourth, inmate sexual culture allows for inmates' disagreement on the meaning of acts of sexual violence in similar contexts. Some inmates may interpret sexual violence as rape while others interpret a similar act as sexual violence other than rape. A key issue that distinguishes the meaning of sexual violence hinges on the response of a victim toward an aggressor after the act of sexual violence. Fifth, prison inmates judge prison rape as detrimental to inmates' social order. Prison rapists are unwelcome in a prison community. Sixth, while men's and women's prisons show differences in observable social behavior, these prison cultures share a system of cultural beliefs, values, and norms. This shared culture results in similar subjective interpretations of sexual violence. A bivariate analysis of interview data highlighted gender-based, cultural distinctions in men's and women's prisons.

Policy Recommendations for Correctional Practice

This project led to research-oriented recommendations with practice-oriented implications. Research recommendations would strengthen evidence-based practices. Staff training should emphasize heightened awareness of inmates' informal activities. Interviews with inmates indicate that correctional officers disregard inmates' informal

activity in dorms and cell blocks. Inmates hang out partners, why they hang with certain other inmates, social group composition, and so on, would give line staff direct observational input on potential pairings of sexual aggressors and victims.

Interview data showed that scared or naive inmates may not participate in social activities, such as watching television in a day room or playing cards. Rather, these inmates and those who have previously been victimized may remain within close proximity to their cells or bedding area in dorms. Victims of physical and/or sexual violence may not use shower facilities out of fear of further sexual or physical attacks. Line-staff observational training could enhance corrections officers' abilities to observe inmate social patterns. These direct, low cost approaches to supervision would enable staff to systematically gather information on social interactions. This information could be the basis of pre-emptive violence prevention and intervention. As a result of these changes in observational behaviors, corrections officers would be more likely to identify sexual aggressors who could then be transferred to other housing units or institutions before the violence occurred.

Interviews consistently reported that rapists are unwelcome in mainstream inmate society; that they have few companions; and that their sexual aggression pushed them to the margin of inmate society. These insights can be tested with formal methods of social network analysis. If rapists could be identified through officers' observations of rapists' social affiliations or their interaction with former or potential victims, institutions could devise pre-emptive approaches to isolate (potential) rapists.

Observation data in concert with incident report information could provide the basis of a formal analysis of inmate social networks. Inmates hang out with different

companions for different reasons. Some companions hang out for legitimate and non-violent reasons, such as card playing or watching television. Other companions hang out for illicit reasons, including physical, sexual, or economic exploitation of non-combative inmates. While systematic observations can provide some information on these groupings, the analysis of data taken from incident reports, such as perpetrators of violence and details of violent acts, can be used to create graphic visualizations of inmates' social interactions. Such visualizations illustrate how inmates are linked to one another for particular reasons.

Interviews reported that debts were often a cause of physical or sexual violence. Staff analysis of commissary expenditures matched against incident reports and staff observations could identify inmates who are economic aggressors. This analysis could also identify inmates who have no commissary expenditures. These inmates are at high risk of borrowing goods from other inmates. Borrowing without repayment can lead to sexual violence. The act of borrowing itself puts a borrower in a passive position and subject to others' whims. These whims may include sexual favors to repay debts. Additionally, new inmates are given the opportunity to purchase commissary goods. However, older inmates prey on new inmates. Aggressive inmates may steal goods or conjure a manipulative relationship with new inmates. Such a relationship, interviews showed, may end in forceful but covert sexual favors or overt sexual violence. This suggests that institutions should regulate and carefully monitor new inmates' commissary purchases. At this point, incident report analysis and observation information would help staff find aggressive inmates who steal from new inmates.

This research as well as previous studies of prison social and economic systems shows that prison social and economic sub-systems are integrated. However, this research shows that inmate culture—inmates learned and shared norms, beliefs, and rules, have a strong influence on inmate behavior. Single innovations, such as additional cameras or improved supervisory practices alone may not facilitate a long-term decrease in sexual violence. Multiple types of analysis as those noted would provide a detailed, systematic assessment of the causes and conditions of sexual violence.

Interview data analysis had implications for the improvement of new-inmate orientation. New inmates experience high levels of anxiety. Many new prison-inexperienced inmates reported that staff orientation leaders frightened them with the portent of socio-economic sexual exploitation and rape inside the institution. Staff did not act to mitigate inmates' fears and worries about rape; rather, inmates said, they were told they would have to learn 'how to handle it.' Inmates reported that staff said sexual violence was part of prison life; some inmates said staff told them that sexual victimization was part of their punishment. On the other hand, when inmates entered the mainstream inmate population they did not encounter sex aggression. Moreover, a majority of inmates were soon supported within a safe zone of social affiliation, such as companionship with older inmates or inmates they knew from free society. Generally, inmates said staff 'tortured' them with threats of sexual victimization. Only later did they find prison life safer than they had expected.

Data analysis shows that inmates' level of worry about rape remains relatively low over their period of incarceration. However, inmates hear gossip about rape incidents or tales of egregious rape that happened long ago. Only after inmates are

socialized do they realize that what they hear about rape does not necessarily match their prison experiences. This disjunction between what inmates hear and what they experienced causes anxiety and fear. Until this disjunction diminishes through daily experience, inmates may find themselves involved in protection mechanisms, such as pre-emptive fights if they feel threatened or possession of a weapon. Strong inmate orientation and continuous support by staff would aide inmates to establish positive behavioral routines.

Inmate orientation trainers must provide a balanced account of sexual and other types of violence. Trainers must never intentionally or unintentionally use the threat of sexual violence to manipulate inmates and frighten them. Trainers must always reinforce positive trends in inmates' prison social life and in staff-inmate communication relationships. Staff must always tell inmates that their fears and worries about rape will be taken seriously. Inmates often said correctional officers disregard or discount or devalue inmates' concerns over sexual or physical violence. Corrections administrators should be sensitive to the concerns of incoming inmates and train their staff appropriately to deal with these fears. Staff should be trained in positive forms of communication. They must learn how to express empathy toward inmates. They must learn how best to handle anxious inmates and those whose fears of sexual violence are justifiably real.

Inmates reported that line-staff interact with them was generally conducted in a professional manner. However, there are some who, inmates said, despise them only because they are inmates or, in some cases, are known or suspected homosexuals. Correctional administrators should utilize inmates' positive evaluations of line-staff as fair and professional to train other correctional officers in similar professional behavior.

Institutions must make a concerted effort to retrain professional corrections staff and reinforce the need for objective, professional interactions with inmates. Inmate complaints about alleged homophobes should be taken seriously. Obvious homophobic behavior by staff should be dealt with in a serious manner. Abundantly clear from the data are the serious management implications of poor staff communication and shirked responsibilities in the supervision and failure to treatment of inmates fairly and professionally.

Inmates said that reporting sexual pressure or rape to staff most often results in the deterioration of a victim's lifestyle. He or she would be locked down in administrative detention while staff conducted an investigation. Some inmates said they could be locked down for years or transferred to another institution, where they'd have to assimilate to a new mainstream population. All the while, a sexual aggressor whose guilt was not substantiated may be returned to general population. Institution practices must design mechanisms that do not punish (as inmates see it) them for reporting rape.

Women inmates reported that staff-inmate mutual sexual relationships are rather common (as data showed). Inmates said that such relations, while bringing them contraband or other material goods, erode their trust in staff; to paraphrase, 'if we cannot trust staff to obey the rules, why should we.' The erosion of trust becomes complicated even more when staff-inmate sexual relations cause jealousy and strife among inmates. The data in this study are clear. Women inmates know about sexual relations between other inmates and male or female staff. Financial rewards offered to staff and inmates may encourage them to report staff violators of the sexual prohibition against sex with inmates.

Overall, correctional, program, and administrative staff must better understand the cultural and social dynamics of inmate social life. A more realistic appraisal of staff members' impact on inmates' behavior and anxieties, coupled with serious institution remedies for the failure to meet professional standards, would create a positive inmate culture. Out of a positive context, long-term formal and informal mechanisms to prevent sexual violence are likely to emerge.

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Appendix A: Lexicon of the Culture of Prison Sex

TERM/EXPRESSION	DEFINITIONS: DENOTATIVE & CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS; CONTEXTUAL USAGE
A HUSTLE	AN ACTIVITY THAT PRODUCES VALUABLE RESOURCES; SELLING DRUGS OR SEX IS A HUSTLE. THE INMATE WHO GIVES THE COMMISSARY IS ON THE HUSTLE
A TURN-OUT	A HETEROSEXUAL ON THE STREET WHO IS PRESSURED INTO SEX INSIDE
AGGRESSIVE FEMME	A FEMME WHO CAN FIGHT, ALSO CAN SHAVE HEAD OR WEAR MAKE-UP CAN PLAY EITHER ROLE.
AGGRESSOR	WOMEN'S PRISON USAGE SYNONYMOUS WITH DYKE AND FEMME; DOMINANT PARTNER IN A SEXUAL RELATIONSHIP
ALL-OUT-QUEEN	A HOMOSEXUAL WHO DISPLAYS AND EXTORTS FEMININE TRAITS OFTEN IN AN EXAGGERATED MANNER; MAY FASHION WOMEN-LIKE CLOTHING; WALK WITH SWINGING HIPS; TAKE ON A HIGH VOICE; DECORATE EYE LIDS WITH POOL CUE CHALK OR KOOL AID; CHARACTERISTIC TRAIT IS THEY ARE NOT WEAK; INMATES SAY "QUEENS CAN STAND UP AND FIGHT LIKE A MAN"; "QUEENS DON'T WANT TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH ANYTHING MASCULINE"; SYNONYM, ALL-OUT-FUCK BOY.
ALL-THE-WAY OUT	A DUDE WHO ONCE CLAIMED TO BE HETEROSEXUAL AND SWITCHED TO HOMOSEXUAL SEE, DUDE
AN OLD-SCHOOL MOVE	A SLOW, COVER TACTIC TO TURN OUT A YOUNG INMATE BY CREATING A FRIENDSHIP BOND THROUGH ATHLETICS, SHARING MEALS AND LETTING THE YOUNG INMATE BELIEVE THE OLDER INMATE IS HIS FRIEND
ARCHIN'	MEN WHO ARCH THEIR BROWS TO LOOK LIKE WOMEN
ASS CHASER	SEXUAL PREDATOR
ASS-PUSSY	REFERENCE TO ANUS AS FEMALE SEX ORGAN
BAD BONE	A RUMOR THAT CAUSES WOMEN INMATES TO STAY AWAY FROM ONE ANOTHER; TO PUT A BAD BONE ON SOMEONE; USED IN VERBAL COMBAT ALONG WITH OR INSTEAD OF SLURS
BANDITS	SYNONYM, BOOTIE BANDIT; LOCAL GEOGRAPHIC MEANING: "GUY WHO'LL SCREW JUST ABOUT ANY BOY HE CAN." BANDITS HAVE DISTINCTIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD DAILY LIFE: "HE FOCUSES ON THE NEXT LAY." "BOOTIE BANDIT JUST WANTS YOU--WON'T TURN DOWN ANYTHING." CONTRAST BANDITS TO PREDATORS: A PREDATOR "DOESN'T WANT JUST ANYBODY; EACH HAS HIS OWN TASTE." PREDATOR HAS MORE SKILL THAN A BANDIT. BAD REPUTATION ACCOMPANIES A BANDIT LABEL. INMATES SAY THAT ONCE THEY GET "CAUGHT A COUPLE OF TIMES, THEY CAN'T DENY IT; THEY RELISH IN IT AND ARE ACCEPTED. YOU CAN'T DO NO WRONG BECAUSE YOU'RE THE LOWEST ANYWAY." A BANDIT "WON'T GET ALL MAD IF HE DOESN'T GET IT [SEX], BECAUSE HE'LL GET IT SOMEPLACE ELSE. MORE CONSENSUAL EXPERIENCES THAN NON-CONSENSUAL ONES. REFERENCE TO 'LOW': LOW DOESN'T DENOTE SOCIAL STATUS BUT AN OPINION OF ONE'S BEHAVIOR.
BEAST FUCKING	ROUGH SEX

TERM/EXPRESSION	DEFINITIONS: DENOTATIVE & CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS; CONTEXTUAL USAGE
BEING DOWN	TO HAVE SEX WITH SOMEONE "IN A HATEFUL MANNER TOWARD SOMEONE ELSE." EX: WHEN A FEMME HAS SEX WITH ANOTHER BUTCH IN FRONT OF HER BUTCH.
BELL PEPPER	A LARGE PENIS HEAD
BICURIOS	A STRAIGHT (SEE, STRAIGHT) WHO IS CURIOUS ABOUT, AND OFTEN DOES, TRY A SAME-SEX RELATION. THEY DO NOT CONSIDER THEMSELVES NOR ARE THEY CONSIDERED HOMOSEXUAL. SAME AS MEANING OF BICURIOS ON THE STREET. SOCIAL CONTEXT MEANING: BICURIOS INMATES WHO PROPOSITION A DUDE AND ARE THEN REJECTED MAY BE SEEN AS POTENTIAL RAPISTS BECAUSE THEY WERE OFFENDED OR FELT WEAK ABOUT THEIR SEXUAL ATTRACTIVENESS. REFERS ONLY TO AN INMATE IN A MALE ROLE.
BIG BOB	SYNONYM FOR BOXING BETTY
BIG MAMMA	SEE MADAM
BI-SEXUAL	A MAN WHO ON THE STREET HAS SEX WITH WOMEN, BUT INSIDE PRISON PLAYS THE PASSIVE SEXUAL ROLE WITH HETEROSEXUAL MEN; ONCE THAT HAPPENS HE IS NOT CONSIDERED BI-SEXUAL, HE IS HOMOSEXUAL BECAUSE HE TAKES ON A FEMALE ROLE.
BITCH	MULTIPLE MEANINGS IN A VARIETY OF CONTEXTS. OFTEN USED AS AN HONORIFIC TERM OF REFERENCE OR ADDRESS TO DENOTE A TRUSTWORTHY FAG, OR A MAN'S "WIFE"
BLOW JOB	ORAL SEX; A COMMON HUSTLE IF AN INMATE DOES NOT HAVE A MAN (SEE MAN)
BLOW JOB UNDER THE INFLUENCE	ON STREET IT REFERS TO DRUGS AND ALCOHOL; INSIDE IT REFERS TO PRESSURE, DEPRESSION, OR LONELINESS
BODY FUCKING	TO RUB TOGETHER BODIES UNTIL ORGANISM, USUALLY CLOTHED; EXAMPLE: "IT NEEDS A LOT OF SPACE SO IT ISN'T COMMON"
BOO	WOMEN INMATES. "SHE'S MY BOO" INMATE CALLED BOO A "LOVE NAME"
BOOTIE	ASS; CAN BE USED TO REFER SPECIFICALLY TO THE ANUS
BOOTIE BANDITS	INFREQUENTLY USED AS AN HONORIFIC FOR OLDER INMATES WITH SOCIAL STANDING BUT MAY NOT HAVE SEXUAL CONNOTATIONS; ALSO USED TO DENOTE AN INMATE WITH "GAME" WHO TURNS OUT INMATES; AN INMATE WHO HAS THE REPUTATION OF PRESSURING INMATES FOR SEX; HAS MULTIPLE SEXUAL RELATIONS AS IN "ONE-NIGHTER"; NOT AS VIOLENT AS A PREDATOR; SOME INMATES TAKE PLEASURE OR ENJOYMENT FROM BEING OR BEING KNOWN AS A BOOTIE BANDIT AND WILL TALK OPENLY ABOUT HIS CONQUESTS: SEE BANDIT
BOTTOM HO	THE NUMBER ONE QUEEN IN A GROUP OF HOS THAT IS OVERSEEN BY A STRONG MAN

TERM/EXPRESSION	DEFINITIONS: DENOTATIVE & CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS; CONTEXTUAL USAGE
BOXING BETTY	SEX-LINKED TALE OF AN INMATE WHO WAS SEXUALLY RIPPED OFF BY OTHER INMATES, SOMETIMES AS MANY AS THREE OR FOUR. TALE THEN DESCRIBES THAT HE TRAINED AND LIFTED WEIGHTS AND BEAT UP AND SODOMIZED HIS ATTACKERS. FOLKLORIC CHARACTER RECOGNIZED BY INMATES ACROSS A WIDE GEOGRAPHIC AREA; IF NAME DIDN'T EMERGE IN INTERVIEWS, INMATES KNEW THE TALE.
BOY	USED BY A DADDY TO REFER TO HIS SON; SON HAS A NARROW RANGE OF MEANING; SON OFTEN USED TO DENOTE A NON-SEXUAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DADDY/SON, BUT DADDY COMMONLY EXTORT MONEY FROM SON
BREAK YOUR BACK	"LET ME SCREW YOU"; ROUGH SEX
BROWN NOSE	SAME AS FREAK
BULL-DAGGER (WOMEN INMATES)	BULL DYKE
BULL-DAGGERING (BULLDAGGING; WOMEN INMATES)	TO HAVE SEX WITH FEMMES AND DYKES
BULLDAGGING (MEN INMATES)	TO FLIP FLOP; LIMITED USAGE
BUMPING PUSSIES	SEE FLIP FLOP
BUS	A BUS DELIVERS INMATES TO PRISON FROM A RECEPTION-CLASSIFICATION CENTER
BUSHWACKER	SEXUAL PREDATOR
BUST A 60	TO SPEND ALL YOUR MONEY ON SOMEONE FOR PROTECTION (FIGHT, FUCK, OR BUST A 60--[AMOUNT VARIES BY STATE])
CANTEEN HO	SYNONYM, COMMISSARY HO, STORE-BAG STUDS: SEX FOR COMMISSARY, ONLY WITH SOMEONE BE CAUSE THEY GOT CANTEEN
CAP	BLOW JOB; "TO CAP A DUDE" OR "DUDE GOT CAPPED"
CAR WASH	A LARGE SHOWER AREA WITH MULTIPLE SHOWER HEADS; NO PRIVACY. TERMS ISN'T RECOGNIZED IN A NUMBER OF STATES (PROBABLY BECAUSE INMATES ARRIVED AFTER REMODELING AND DIDN'T EXPERIENCE A CAR WASH).
CARPET MUNCHERS	WOMEN WHO PARTICIPATE IN ORAL SEX WITH ANOTHER WOMAN
CAVE MAN	BRUTAL INMATE WHO TAKES SEX BUT WHO IS NOT PERCEIVED AS A RAPIST. INMATE WHO DOES IT REPEATEDLY HAS CAVE MAN SYNDROME.
CAVE MAN SYNDROME	SEE CAVE MAN
CELLIE	CELL MATE
CHECK OFF	DEROGATORY TERM FOR SOMEONE WHO TRANSFERS OR CHECKS INTO PC FOR PROTECTION. THEY'RE SCARED AND THEY SNITCHED SO THEY GO FROM CAMP TO CAMP
CHECKING IN	TO REQUEST PROTECTION IN A PRISON'S ADMINISTRATIVE SECURITY UNIT

TERM/EXPRESSION	DEFINITIONS: DENOTATIVE & CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS; CONTEXTUAL USAGE
CHILD MOLESTER	USED BY WOMEN INMATES TO REFER TO A STUD BROAD WHO PREYS ON (SWEATS) MUCH YOUNGER WOMEN INMATES
CIVILIAN	A DUDE WHO ISN'T HOOKED UP; DUDE WHO HAS PEOPLE SUPPORTING AND DOESN'T NEED A SEX RELATIONSHIP CIVILIANS HAVE POTENTIAL TO COME TOGETHER AND BE A STRONG FORCE
CLOSET CASE	CLOSET CASES: A STRAIGHT GUY PRETENDING TO BE STRAIGHT IN FRONT OF HIS FRIENDS BUT PRIVATELY HE IS MORE ACCEPTING OF HOMOSEXUAL BEHAVIOR; GUY WHO IS BISEXUAL
CLOSET PUNK	A STREET BISEXUAL. DUDE WHO DOESN'T TALK ABOUT HAVING SEX WITH MEN AND WOMEN ON STREET
CLOSET QUEEN	PRISON HOMOSEXUAL; SYNONYMS: FAG, DICK SUCKER, FEMME: IN LIMITED GEOGRAPHIC USAGE FOR SOMEONE THAT IS OPENLY GAY AND DOESN'T WANT ANYONE TO KNOW IT; WILL DO IT [SEX], WANTS TO DO IT; MUST BE SECRET ENGAGEMENT IN SEX V. BEING DOWN LOW--SOCIALY HE IS NOT SUPPOSED TO DO IT.
COCK BLOCK	AN INMATE WHO STANDS IN THE WAY OF A PREDATOR AND A PREDATOR; AN OLDER INMATE MAY BE A COCK BLOCK FOR A NEW INMATE
COCK SUCKERS	WOMEN WHO LIKE TO GIVE HEAD
COCKGLAZER	DUDE FORCED INTO SEX THE FIRST TIME THEN CONTINUED TO HAVE SEX VOLUNTARILY; SYNONYM OF HOMOSEXUAL, FAG, QUEER
COMMISSARY NECESSARY	TO COMMIT AN ACT IN ORDER TO OBTAIN COMMISSARY (CANTEEN); EXAMPLE: "WOMEN WHO CUT THEIR HAIR AND PRETEND TO BE BUTCH IN ORDER TO GET A FEMME TO PROVIDE HER WITH COMMISSARY."
COP, STOP, BLOCK, AND LOCK	A TURN-OUT STRATEGY; CONNOTES 'POWER' IN A SEXUAL RELATIONSHIP; STAGES OF A CLOSE, DELIBERATE TURN-OUT; STRATEGY REQUIRES FINDING A TARGET (COP), STOPPING THE TARGET FROM THINKING ABOUT OTHER RELATIONSHIPS OR FRIENDS OR FAMILY (STOP), STOPPING TARGET'S INTERACTION WITH OTHER INMATES (BLOCK), AND ONCE THE TARGET HAS BEEN ISOLATED, THE AGGRESSOR HAS TARGET IN SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL STATE VULNERABLE TO SEX (LOCK). IN STREET TALK--"GET IT AND LOCK IT IN AND KEEP IT TO YOURSELF"
CORNER PERSON	A RAPED DUE WHO IS STILL ON THE YARD. HE IS IN THE CORNER, NO ONE WILL HANG OUT WITH HIM. CORNER MEN ARE VALUABLE. "SOMEBODY WOULD PICK HIM AND SAY, MAKE ME SOME MONEY. THERE'S MONEY IN RAPED GUYS STILL ON THE YARD. HE'D BE PUSHED ASIDE, NOBODY WILL HANG WITH HIM."
CORNER PERSON	AN INMATES WHO HAS BEEN RAPED AND STAYS ON YARD. "HE'S IN THE CORNER. NO ONE WILL HANG OUT WITH HIM." CORNER MEN HAS ECONOMIC VALUE. USAGE: SOMEONE WOULD PICK HIM AND SAY, 'MAKE ME SOME MONEY.' THERE'S MONEY IN RAPED GUYS STILL ON THE YARD. HE'S PUSHED ASIDE, NOBODY WILL HANG WITH HIM."
CROSS-OVER	SYNONYM, KING CROSS-OVER; HETEROSEXUAL HAVING SAME-SEX OPENLY; SYNONYM OF BI-SEXUAL
CUPCAKE	A DUDE WHO IS "SOFT," UNABLE TO PROTECT HIMSELF AND HAS QUALITIES OF A GAY

TERM/EXPRESSION	DEFINITIONS: DENOTATIVE & CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS; CONTEXTUAL USAGE
CURIOUS	A DUDE WHO IS "CURIOUS" ABOUT SAME-SEX RELATIONS; "IF YOU'RE CURIOUS THEY'LL TURN YOU OUT"; DUDE IS SEEN AS CURIOUS AND THEN TURNED OUT OR RAPED
DADDY	SYNONYM OF FATHER; AN OLDER INMATE WHO WATCHES OVER A YOUNGER INMATE; "HE'S MY DADDY." GUY WHO TAKES CARE OF AN INMATE; FIGHTS AND PROVIDES FOR HIM, AND IN RETURN HE GETS ALL THE SEX HE WANTS. EXPRESSION: "I'M GOING TO BE YOUR DADDY. HE'S GOING TO SCREW YOU." MUSLIMS PROTECT ONE ANOTHER AS BROTHERS BUT DON'T PROVIDE GOODS OR SERVICES TO PROTECTED INMATES
DAGGING (MALE USAGE)	TO FLIP FLOP; LIMITED USAGE
DAG-PARTNERS	FLIP FLOPPERS
DICK SUCKER	SEE CLOSET QUEEN
DICKING DOWN	ROUGH SEX
DIESEL DYKE	TOUGH DYKES; WOMAN COULD BE A STUD BUT NOT BE TOUGH
DOGGY STYLE	TO HAVE ANAL SEX FROM A REAR POSITION
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	VERBAL OR PHYSICAL DISPUTES AND SPATS BETWEEN AN MALE-ROLE INMATE AND FEMALE-ROLE INMATE. IN USAGE, MALE INMATES DON'T CONCEPTUALIZE MAN/WIFE AGGRESSION AS DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, BUT WOMEN INMATES DO. WHEN INTERVIEWING MEN INMATES, ASKING ABOUT DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, USING THAT TERM, MEN INMATES MAY PAUSE OR ASK FOR AN EXPLANATION. WOMEN INMATES KNOW IMMEDIATELY THE TERM DOMESTIC VIOLENCE REFERS TO STUD/FEMME RELATIONSHIP.
DOUCHE BAG MOUTH	HAS HAD A LOT OF FEMALE PARTNERS IN ORAL SEX
DRIVE-BY	MASTURBATING ON SOMEONE IN THE SHOWER
DRY SNITCH	TO FILE A GRIEVANCE AGAINST STAFF OR INMATES, OFTEN WITH THE INTENTION OF BREAKING UP COUPLES OR CAUSING STAFF TROUBLE
DUDE	MALE INMATE; SYNONYM OF MAN, AS IN BEING THE MAN IN HOMOSEXUAL COUPLE
DYKE	MEN'S PRISON USAGE IS SYNONYMOUS WITH FAG; WOMEN'S PRISON USAGE DENOTES THE DOMINANT PARTNER IN A SEXUAL RELATIONSHIP
FAG	CONNOTATION IS ALWAYS DEROGATORY. A MALE INMATE WHO LOOKS AND BEHAVES LIKE A WOMAN AND IS WEAK AND WAS COERCED OR FORCED IN HOMOSEXUAL BEHAVIOR; A KIND OF HOMOSEXUAL; A FAG DOES WHAT WOMEN ON THE OUTSIDE DO SUCH AS STAY AT HOME AND ACT AS A MOM; TAKE CARE OF CELL; MAKE GOOD; CARRY DRUGS AND SHANKS; WILL DO WHATEVER THEY CAN TO KEEP THEIR MAN OUT OF THE 'HOLE'; EXPRESSIONS USED IN HOSTILE VERBAL ENCOUNTER BY A FAG TOWARD A STRAIGHT GUY--"YOU'RE PUNK, YOU A BITCH, YOU A FAG;

TERM/EXPRESSION	DEFINITIONS: DENOTATIVE & CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS; CONTEXTUAL USAGE
YOU TAKE IT UP THE BUTT"	
FAG	SYNONYMOUS WITH MAMMA, MOMMA LARK; LITTLE MAMMA
FAG HAG	WOMEN WHO ARE NOT GAY BUT HANGS OUT WITH ALL THE GAYS
FAGGIES	A GAY INMATE; MAY BE AN INMATE WHO CAME IN GAY OR WAS TURNED OUT INSIDE; TERM FAGGIES IS USED WITH VERY LIMITED DISTRIBUTION
FATHER	AN OLDER INMATE WHO WATCHES OVER AND PROTECTS A YOUNGER, PRISON-INEXPERIENCED INMATE; SEX DOES NOT HAVE TO BE RETURNED FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE PROTECTION; DADDIES MAY TAKE ON SONS IF THEY MISS THEIR OWN SONS; USED TO DENOTE THE ROLE PLAYED BY AN INMATE HAS A SON; A SON WOULD NOT CALL HIS DADDY, FATHER. DESPITE KIN TERM USAGE, MEN INMATES DON'T CONCEPTUALIZE THE RELATIONSHIP AS A FAMILY UNIT
FEFE BAG	SYNONYM, POCKET PUSSY; CHICKEN FAT DEVICE MADE TO FEEL LIKE A WOMAN. FEFE BAG DEVICE: PUT A PLASTIC BAG INTO A SOCK AND PUT RUBBER BANDS AROUND IT AND SQUIRT IN VASELINE OR LOTION-- SUCTION DEVICE USED AT TIP; OR A WARM WASH CLOTH BOUND WITH RUBBER BANDS
FEMALE	A MALE INMATE WHO PLAYS THE ROLE OF FEMALE; A FAG; AN ALL-OUT HOMOSEXUAL; A TERM OF REFERENCE
FEMALE PUNK FAG	SYNONYM OF FAG/PUNK
FEMME	USAGE IN MEN'S PRISON, SEE CLOSET QUEEN; USAGE IN WOMEN'S PRISONS DENOTES WOMAN INMATES WHO LOOK FEMININE, FOR EXAMPLE, WEAR LIPSTICK; REFERS TO THE PASSIVE PARTNER IN A COUPLE. VERY LIMITED USAGE REFERS TO A MALE INMATE WHO'S HETEROSEXUAL BUT LOOKS FEMININE
FEMME-FEMME	TO BE LIKE A GIRLY-GIRL, A TRUE FEMME, MAKEUP, HAIR, ETC.
FIST FUCKING	TO INSERT FIST IN WOMAN'S VAGINA DURING A CONSENSUAL OR NON-CONSENSUAL ENCOUNTER
FLIP-FLOP	A FLIP-FLOP, TO FLIP-FLAP; GAYS WHO SWITCH SEXUAL POSITIONS FROM BOTTOM AND TOP; A SEXUAL POSITION; MOST GUYS WANT TO GIVE SEX; IF MEN INMATES ARE TOTALLY GAY FLIP-FLOP IS NOT A BIG ISSUE
FLY TRAP	TECHNIQUE TO DETERMINE IF A MAN IS SEXUALLY INTERESTED IN ANOTHER MAN. FLY TRAP: TO DEFECATE WITH TOILET STALL DOOR OPEN TO SPOT PASSERS-BY WHO LOOK AT MAN ON TOILET; IT'S BELIEVED THAT THE LOOKER THEN SHOWS INTEREST IN SEX; MEN DON'T LOOK AT OTHER MEN ON THE TOILET OR IN THE SHOWER; IF THEY DO, THE CONNOTATION IS THAT THE OBSERVER IS INTERESTED IN SEX

TERM/EXPRESSION	DEFINITIONS: DENOTATIVE & CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS; CONTEXTUAL USAGE
FREAK BOY	A FAG WHO HAS EXTREME SEXUAL BEHAVIOR, SUCH AS GOLDEN SHOWERS
FREAKS	SAME AS FREAK BOY
FREAKY ISLAND	LIMITED USE TO REFER TO A NON-SMOKING RESIDENCE UNIT PREFERRED BY HOMOSEXUALS
FREE-WORLD FAG	FAG ON THE OUTSIDE AND INSIDE; GETS MORE RESPECT
FRESH MEAT	WOMEN ON THE FARM, WOMEN NEW TO THE INSTITUTION
FUCK BOY	A DUDE WHO ISN'T ALL-THE-WAY OUT; MAY HAVE A BEARD; DOESN'T LOOK GAY; TARGET OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE IF HE DOESN'T DO WHAT HE IS ASKED TO DO; WEIGHT LIFERS WHO GET "FUCKED" ARE FUCK BOYS; MINOR USAGE AS SYNONYM OF PRESSURE PUNK, EMPHASIZING THAT HOMOSEXUALITY IS NOT "ALL THE WAY OUT"; SOME USE AS A YOUNG TURN-OUT WHO IS PIMPED; SOME USE AS SYNONYM FOR TURN-OUT. SOME USAGE FOR DRUGGED OUT BOYS WHO'LL DO ANYTHING FOR DRUGS; ALSO REFERS TO HETEROSEXUALS WHO WILL HAVE SEX FOR DRUGS AND DON'T CONSIDER THEMSELVES HOMOSEXUALS
GANG UMBRELLA	SEE TO PUT SOMEONE UNDER AN UMBRELLA'
GANGSTER BITCH	A BITCH THAT'S EDUCATED AND CAN BE TRUSTED. STREET TERM, "HOMOSEXUAL WHO TAKES NO SHIT"; HOMOSEXUAL WHO GOES UNACKNOWLEDGED BY INMATES BECAUSE 'SHE' HAS A VIOLENT REPUTATION
GANGSTER BOOTIE	SAME AS GANGSTER BITCH; LIMITED USAGE TO MEAN "NICE ASS"
GARBAGE DISPOSAL	SLEEPS WITH ANYTHING (FEMALE)
GAY	GAY HAS A CONNOTATION IS DIFFERENT FROM HOMOSEXUAL AND FAG; A GAY IS FLAMBOYANTLY HOMOSEXUAL; A GAY MAY FLIP-FLOP WITH A HOMOSEXUAL, PLAYING THE FEMALE AND MALE ROLES
GAY BOY	A GAY WHO DOESN'T DRESS IN DRAG BUT TRIES TO ACT LIKE MEN; PERSON WHO IS "BASICALLY OUT OF THE CLOSET"
GEORGIA	A FORM OF MANIPULATION (ALSO CALLED PIMPING) WHEN MANIPULATOR PRETENDS TO BE A FRIEND OF MANIPULATED MAN TO GET HIS SHOES, OR 'GO ON A MISSION' OR 'SPEND HIS MONEY'; LIMITED USAGE
GETTING EVEN	SAME AS PAY BACK
GIRL	MALE INMATE WHO BEHAVIORS LIKE OTHER INMATES OUTSIDE THE CELL, BUT ADOPTS FEMALE CLOTHING INSIDE THE CELL; COOKS AND CLEANS; MAY WEAR BRA AND PANTIES INSIDE CELL. FORM OF ADDRESS: "HEY, GIRL, THEN TRICKERY STARTS. IF A STRAIGHT GUY CALLS A GAY 'SHE' "YOU'LL BEGIN TO THINK SHE CAN SATISFY YOU LIKE A BITCH."
GIRL-BOY	A VICTIM OF SEXUAL ASSAULT WHO DOES NOT 'HANDLE HIS BUSINESS [RETALIATE]'; SEEMS TO BE AN OLD TERM
GIRLY GIRL	NEAR SYNONYM OF FEMME; A GIRLY GIRL IS AN COSMETICALLY EXTREME VERSION OF FEMME; WEARS HEAVY MAKE-UP, LIP STICK

TERM/EXPRESSION	DEFINITIONS: DENOTATIVE & CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS; CONTEXTUAL USAGE
GIRLY GIRL	OVERLY FEMME
GORILLA HAWK	SYNONYM OF GORILLA PIMP
GORILLA PIMP	AN INMATE WHO FORCES INMATES INTO HAVING SEX WITH HIM; A GORILLA PIMP "TAKES PUSSY"; UNLIKE THE STREET, A GORILLA PIMP DOES NOT SELL "PUSSY"; AN INMATE WHO "TAKES" (FEMALE ROLE) SEX. LIMITED USAGE REFERS TO 'OLD SCHOOL GUYS'; "TAKING WHAT YOU WANT"; OLDER USE--MAKING SOMEONE GET SOMETHING ONE WANTS; GAYS ARE OFTEN GORILLA PIMPED
GORILLA PIMP	SYNONYM OF GORILLA HAWK
GOT SUGAR IN YOUR TANK	REFERS TO MAN WHO IS GAY THOUGH HE MAY NOT RECOGNIZE IT
GRAVEYARD LOVE	TO PRESSURE SOMEONE FOR SEX WHEREIN THE OUTCOME IS SEX OR DEATH; "YOU ARE GOING TO BE WITH ME OR BE WITH THE DIRT"
GRAVEYARD LOVE	RELATIONSHIP BASED ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, THEY WILL NEVER LEAVE EACH OTHER UNTIL ONE KILLS THE OTHER
GRINDING	FLIP FLOP
GUMBY	SAME AS FAG
HARD ADDICT	A GUY WHO IS HARD UP AND DOES WHAT HE HAS TO DO TO FEED HIS ADDICTION
HARD ADDICTION	SOMEONE WHO HAS AN ADDICTIVE NEED, DRUGS OR SEX OR NEED FOR COMPANIONSHIP
HEAD	SYNONYM FOR BLOW JOB
HEAD-HUNTER	WOMEN'S USAGE--"GIRLS WHO ALWAYS TRYING TO GIVE SOMEBODY HEAD ARE CALLED HEAD HUNTERS." REFERS TO WOMEN INMATES WHO CONTINUOUSLY "LOOK FOR HEAD"; RELATED TERM, RIDING HEAD (RECEIVER OF ORAL SEX): "COCK SUCKERS; PEOPLE WHO LIKE TO GIVE (RIDE) HEAD ARE HEAD HUNTERS. A HEAD HUNTER-- THEY TRY TO HUNT FOR A PERSON'S MOUTH."
HEATER HEAD	AN AGGRESSIVE HOMOSEXUAL
HER	PRONOUN, TERM OF REFERENCE; SHE IS ALSO USED; SYNONYMOUS WITH FAG
HE-SHE	HE-SHE; DEROGATORY--GAYS DON'T USE THE TERM; HETEROSEXUALS ARE SAID TO USE TERM IN REFERENCE TO GAY; HAS A NON-NEGATIVE CONNOTATION
HETEROSEXUAL	A MALE WHO HAD SEX ONLY WITH WOMEN OUTSIDE PRISON; HE MAY HAVE SAME-SEX RELATIONS INSIDE PRISON PLAYING THE FEMALE ROLE; HETEROSEXUAL IS SEEN AS STRONGER AND ABLE TO PROTECT A HOMOSEXUAL; HE CAN PROVIDE SECURITY FOR A HOMOSEXUAL
HITTING FROM THE BACK	USED BY WOMEN INMATES TO REFER TO ROUGH OR REALLY ROUGH SEX
HITTING IT	MASTURBATION; "HE WAS HITTING IT ON THE STREET AND GOT ARRESTED"

TERM/EXPRESSION	DEFINITIONS: DENOTATIVE & CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS; CONTEXTUAL USAGE
HO	AN HONORIFIC TERMS DENOTING A HOMOSEXUAL WHO IS RELIABLE; SYNONYM OF BITCH
HO	A HOMOSEXUAL ONE CAN TRUST IN, FOR EXAMPLE, SELLING DRUGS; DOES NOT NECESSARILY "SELL ASS"; A HO HAS "POLISH AND GAME"; USAGE ALSO INCLUDES DEROTAGORY CONNOTATION--CONTEXT DETERMINES MEANING
HOMOSECTING	TO HAVE SEX WITH ANOTHER WOMAN; RESTRICTED GEOGRAPHIC USAGE
HOMOSEXUAL	SEE FAG; USED SOMETIMES AS A SYNONYM OF GAY BUT MOST OFTEN HAS DIFFERENT CONNOTATION. A HOMOSEXUAL IS A SEXUAL PREFERENCE. A PERSON WHO HAS NO DESIRE TO BE WITH OPPOSITE SEX; A MALE HOMOSEXUAL ENGAGES IN SEX WITH MEN INSIDE AND OUTSIDE PRISON; HAS RESPECT AMONG INMATES, MAY BE VIOLENT; MAY HAVE RESPECT AMONG INMATES FOR HIS STRENGTH--FIGHTING ABILITY OR WILLINGNESS TO KILL; A MAN WHO TRIES HIS "BEST TO DO EVERYTHING A NATURAL WOMAN MIGHT DO"; ALSO USED TO REFER TO "A DUDE WITH FEMININE QUALITIES WITH THE POTENTIAL TO BE A HOMOSEXUAL"; "THEY'LL TRICK THE SHIT OUT OF YOU; THEY'LL WALK AND SHAKE, WEAR LIP GLOSS AND [SOME HAVE] BREASTS"
HOMOSEXUAL	SOMETIME USED AS A SYNONYM OF FAG; DEROGATORY TERM; GENERIC; USED AS A TERM OF ADDRESS AND REFERENCE; HOMOSEXUAL, GAY AND FAG HAVE DIFFERENT CONNOTATIONS
HOMOSEXUAL (NOT OPENLY GAY)	CLOSET QUEEN; COMPLETELY GAY AND NOBODY KNOWS; HOMOSEXUAL ON STREET AND KEEPS IT IN CLOSET IN PRISON
HOMOSEXUAL, TO REFER TO SOMEONE AS	A TERM OF REFERENCE USED ONLY IF THE SPEAKER HAS THE SAME STATUS AS THE REFERENT; "HOLYFIELD [FORMER HEAVY WEIGHT WORLD BOXING CHAMPION] CAN CALL TYSON [ALSO A FORMER HEAVY WEIGHT WORLD BOXING CHAMPION] A HOMOSEXUAL
HOOKER	REFERENCE TO PASSIVE PLAYER IN A SEXUAL RELATIONSHIP
HOT-PARTNER:	TAKES CARE OF ELDERLY WOMEN INMATES, HELPS THEM IN THE SHOWER IN RETURN GETS A LETTER FOR THEIR FILES AND RESPECT OF OTHER INMATES.
HOUSEWIFE	A FAG WHO CARES FOR A MAN'S CELL; IS OFTEN USED IN A DEROGATORY WAY TO INDICATE THAT THE FAG IS NOT RELIABLE OR WON'T OBEY HER MAN'S COMMANDS TO PROSTITUTE HIMSELF FOR DOPE, CASH OR COMMISSARY
HUSBAND	MALE INMATE WHO PLAYS MAN'S ROLE IN A LONG-TERM MAN-FAG RELATIONSHIP, OR MARRIAGE; ALSO CALLED DADDY
JACK BOYS	PUBLIC MASTURBATORS WHO SIT TOGETHER AND TALK ABOUT FEMALE STAFF
JACK TICKET	AN INCIDENT REPORT ISSUED FOR MASTURBATION, OFTEN MASTURBATION IN A PUBLIC PLACE
JACKBOY	A DUDE WHO MASTURBATES WHILE LOOKING AT A FEMALE STAFF

TERM/EXPRESSION	DEFINITIONS: DENOTATIVE & CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS; CONTEXTUAL USAGE
	MEMBER
JACK-OFF ARTIST	OFTEN SYNONYM OF FREAK BOY; A COMPULSIVE MASTURBATOR; MASTURBATION IN PUBLIC WHILE LOOKING AT A FEMALE STAFF MEMBER; HE MAY STAND IN A SHOWER AND MASTURBATE FOR HOURS IF A FEMALE STAFF MEMBER IS PRESENT
JOHN	DUDE WHO BUYS SEX
JUICY	SYNONYM OF FAG
JUMP-AROUNDS	HOMOSEXUALS THAT GO FROM LOVER TO LOVER
K-DADDY	SYNONYM OF STRAWBERRY
KICKIN' IT	USED FOR DATING--GOING TO THE YARD OR BINGO
KID V BOY TDC2 INTERVIEWS IT APPEARS	BOY IS LOVER. KID IS RIDING
KILLER	INMATE WHO "KILLS," OR PUBLICLY MASTURBATES. LIMITED USAGE, A TERM OF REFERENCE USED TO IDENTIFY A NON-HOMOSEXUAL DUDE WHO WAS "RIPPED OFF" (SEXUALLY ASSAULTED) AND THEN IS ABOUT TO OR HAS VIOLENTLY RETALIATED AGAINST HIS RAPIST; TERM DOES NOT REFER TO DUDE WHO COMMITTED HOMICIDE FOR OTHER REASONS
KILLER	JACK BOY; A MAN WHO MASTURBATES WHILE LOOKING AT SOMEONE
KING CROSS-OVER	HETEROSEXUAL WHO FLIPS; BEEN BUSTED OUT; TRYING TO HIDE IT BUT NOW IS OUT; PROBABLY WON'T HAVE THAT HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCE IF HE ISN'T PUT IN THAT POSITION
KINKIN'	WOMEN'S PRISON USAGE REFERS TO WOMEN WHO ARE DATING
KNOCK ME OFF	BLOW JOB
LET ME RIDE YOUR DOME	REQUEST FOR ORAL SEX BETWEEN WOMEN INMATES. EXAMPLE: "FEMME SAYS TO BUTCH, 'LET ME RIDE YOUR DOME' IN ORDER TO HAVE BUTCH GO DOWN ON HER.
LIPSTICK LESBIAN	ONE DAY A STUD BROAD, ANOTHER DAY A FEMME
LOVER'S LANE	A PRISON THEATRE
MADAM	THE NUMBER ONE QUEEN AMONG A GROUP OF HOES WHO ARE PROSTITUTES; CHARGED WITH MANAGING THE PROSTITUTION BUSINESS
MAMMA	REFERENCE TO PASSIVE PLAYER IN A SEXUAL RELATIONSHIP
MARK	A RAPE VICTIM OR TARGET
MARRIAGE	A PERMANENT SAME-SEX RELATIONSHIP OFTEN BEING IDENTIFIED BY THE WIFE (MALE OR FEMALE) WEARING OF A WEDDING RING
MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE	A MAN AND HIS HOMO SHARING THE SAME CELL
MEAT MONSTERS	SYNONYM OF A FLIP FLOP

TERM/EXPRESSION	DEFINITIONS: DENOTATIVE & CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS; CONTEXTUAL USAGE
MENTAL RAPE	EMOTIONAL BULLYING BY USE OF REPEATED EXPRESSIONS, SUCH AS "I HAVE THE WHITEST TEETH I EVER CAME ACROSS," AND "YOU'LL NEVER TASTE A SWEETER PETER THAN MINE." DONE BY GROUPS OF TWO OR MORE MEN. MAY LEAD TO SEX PLAY, SUCH AS FONDLING, WHEN BULLIES FONDLE WEAKER MAN WHO'S LYING ON A BED
MINUTE MAN	TO HAVE SEX QUICKLY
MISS THING	LIMITED GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION TO MEAN QUEEN.
MY BABY	SYNONYMOUS WITH FAG; TERM OF REFERENCE OR ADDRESS
MY HO	EXPRESSION OF ATTACHMENT BY A MAN TOWARD HIS "FEMALE" PARTNER; A TERM OF ENDEARMENT; A HO WILL HUSTLE, WASH CLOTHES, MAKE MONEY FOR HER MAN
MY MAN	REFERENCE TO DOMINANT MALE IN A RELATIONSHIP; "THAT'S MY MAN"
MY NIGGAH	REFERENCE TO DOMINANT MALE IN A RELATIONSHIP; "THAT'S MY NIGGAH"
NASTY HO'	INMATE WHO TRADES SEX FOR DRUGS; SEE STRAWBERRY
NASTY TRICK	SAME AS NASTY HO; SEE STRAWBERRY
NEW BOY	NEW INMATES ON THE CELL BLOCK; REFERS TO PRISON-INEXPERIENCED INMATES
NIGHT CREEPERS	DUDE ON THE DOWN LOW; DURING THE DAY HE PRETENDS TO BE STRAIGHT, BUT AT NIGHT LOOKS FOR SEX
OKIE POOKIE (1)	WHITE INMATES; NARROW GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION
OKAYED POKIER (2)	WHITE TERM FOR FORCED SEX; LIMITED GEOGRAPHIC USAGE
OLD JOE	BIG DICK BOB
OLD THINGS	TRUSTWORTHY HOMOSEXUAL; MAY BE IDIOSYNCRATIC
PACK MAN	HAS HAD A LOT OF FEMALE PARTNERS IN ORAL SEX; SEX ROLES ARE NOT SWITCHED
PANCAKE	SYNONYM OF FLIP-FLOP; A HOMOSEXUAL WHO VOLUNTARILY SWITCHES SEX ROLES, MALE TO FEMALE, FEMALE TO MALE; USAGE IS THE SAME IN WOMEN'S PRISON
PARTNERS	COMPANIONS; PEOPLE AN INMATE CAN RELY ONE
PAY BACK	RETALIATION FOR A VIOLENT OR DISRESPECTFUL ACT
PAYMASTER	TO BUY SEX AS ONE WOULD ON THE STREET
PEANUT BUTTER CHASER	FLIP FLOP
PECKERWOOD	WHITE SUPREMACIST
PENITENTIARY SLICK	CONS PEOPLE OUT OF SEX WITH SLICK TALK
PILLOW PRINCESS	SOMEONE WHO JUST LAYS BACK ON THE PILLOW AND RECEIVES ORAL SEX,

TERM/EXPRESSION	DEFINITIONS: DENOTATIVE & CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS; CONTEXTUAL USAGE
PIMPING	MANIPULATION WITH OR WITHOUT SEX; "A MAN CAN BE PIMPED, AND HE AIN'T GOT TO BE A HOMO TO BE GAY; MANIPULATION THAT CAN BE USED FROM "OUR STANDPOINT IF YOU PIMP ANOTHER DUDE YOU USING A MENTAL GAME"; SEE GEORGIA
PIRATE	SEXUAL PREDATOR
POCKET PUSSY	SYNONYM OF FEFE BAG
POWER' IN SEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS	A LOVER CREATES DISTANCE HIS WOMAN AND OTHERS AND IN DOING SO, KEEPS OTHERS AWAY
PREDATOR	AN INMATE WHO HAS THE INTENTION OF ENGAGING IN VIOLENT SEX; A PREDATOR IS SEEN AS STRONG GUY; A PREDATOR MAY TURN OUT AN INMATE, IN WHICH CASE, THE RAPE DOES NOT OCCUR; A PREDATOR MAY STALK AN INMATE AND RAPE HIM. USED AS: PREDATORS ARE "SNEAKY AND DANGEROUS; HE'LL JUST GET IT [SEX]."
PRESSURE PUNK	A PUNK WHO YIELDS TO SEXUAL PRESSURE AND PLAYS THE FEMALE ROLE; MAY BE RAPED THE FIRST TIME AND AFTERWARD YIELD VOLUNTARILY; TARGETS FOR VIOLENT SEX IF THEY DO NOT DO WHAT SOMEONE HAS ASKED THEM TO DO
PRISNEYLAND	A PENITENTIARY THAT HAS A NON-VIOLENT REPUTATION; USED FOR MALE OR FEMALE INSTITUTIONS
PUNK	A WEAK INMATE; AN INMATE WHO CANNOT DEFEND HIMSELF OR TRY TO DEFEND HIMSELF; A PRESSURE PUNK DOES NOT TELL ANYONE HE HAS BEEN RAPED OR FORCED INTO SEX; WOMEN WHO ARE TURNED OUT ARE NOT CONSIDERED WEAK OR PUNKS--"YOU'RE NOT BEING PUNKED—IT'S WHAT YOU DO, THAT'S HOW IT IS." "PUNK IS A WEAK DUDE WHO HAVING SEX INSTEAD OF PROTECTING HIMSELF."
PURPLE PASSION	FOLKLORIC FIGURE WHO RAPES VULNERABLE MEN; HE IS HUGE AND EXCEPTIONALLY STRONG. "HE GETS YOU WHILE YOU'RE SLEEPING; HE HAS SOMEBODY WITH HIM AND YOU CAN'T DO NOTHING BECAUSE HE'S SO BIG." SOME SAY HE ONLY RAPE GAYS; CALLED A BOOTIE BANDIT-- WILL RAPE ANYONE INDEPENDENT OF THEIR "QUALITIES"
PUSSY	A MAN'S ASS USED FOR SEX; "THAT PUSSY WAS GOOD"
QUEEN	MALE INMATE WHO ADOPTS FEMININE TRAITS; SAME AS QUEEN ON THE STREET BUT NOT THOUGHT OF AS A DRAG QUEEN
QUEEN	HIGHER STATUS THAN A HOMOSEXUAL AND HAS BEEN IN PRISON LONGER AND HAS MORE EXPERIENCE IN SAME-SEX RELATIONSHIPS; A HO IS HIGH STATUS BUT LOWER THAN A QUEEN; HIGHEST STATUS AMONG FEMALE-ACTING INMATES. STATUS DOES NOT REFER TO STRUCTURAL HIERARCHY RATHER IT REFERS TO SOCIAL PRESTIGE, STRENGTH IN BEING OUT, WILLING TO BE WHO YOU ARE DESPITE OBSTACLES
QUEEN	TOTAL HOMOSEXUAL, THAT IS, THROUGH EXTERNAL APPEARANCE AND BY PERSONAL DEFINITION; "BEING A WOMAN" NOT ACTING LIKE ONE;

TERM/EXPRESSION	DEFINITIONS: DENOTATIVE & CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS; CONTEXTUAL USAGE
	SYNONYM OF QUEENDOM
QUEENDOM	REFERS TO "ALL THE LADY THAT I AM; ALL THE LADY IN ME." AN EMOTIONAL STAGE OF COMING TO UNDERSTAND ONE'S INNER SEXUAL IDENTITY
QUEENDOM-- PHILOSOPHY OF	"SOMETHING ABOUT YOU MAN, BECAUSE I NEVER TALK TO A HOMOSEXUAL ON THE STREET. I BELIEVE THE GUYS WHO ARE MOST OPEN ANTI-GAY THE MORE I'M CONVINCED HE'S GOT SOMETHING IN HIM THAT'S GAY." "IF YOU NEVER GOT LOCKED YOU'D HAVE DONE IT OUT THERE, MAYBE IT WOULD TAKE ALCOHOL, BUT YOU'D DO IT. THEIR IS A SEXUAL BEING IN YOU THAT YOU DIDN'T EXPLORE UNTIL YOU CAME TO PRISON."
RANK	CORRECTIONAL ADMINISTRATOR; DIALECT VARIATION
RAPE	A FORM OF TURNING OUT AN INMATE; A RAPIST MAY BE THOUGHT OF AS A "COWARD"; A RAPIST DOES NOT IMPROVE HIS SOCIAL VALUATION; EARLIER, INMATES SAY, 10 OR MORE YEARS AGO OR MORE, RAPE WAS A WAY TO PROVE TOUGHNESS AND WAS MORE COMMON THAN TODAY; RAPIST MAY BE WELL-LIKED DEPENDING ON HIS OTHER RELATIONSHIPS; ACT MAY IMPROVE THE SOCIAL EVALUATION OF RAPIST, DEPENDING ON VICTIM; A RAPIST "NEVER GOES AROUND SAYING I RAPED THIS GUY"; RAPISTS DON'T TALK TO ONE ANOTHER ABOUT THEIR EXPERIENCES; CONNOTES "BABY RAPER" MORE THAN INMATE-TO-INMATE NONCONSENSUAL SEX. WOMEN'S PRISON: "RAPE IS WORD USED COMMONLY ON STREET SO THEY USE IT IN HERE"
RAPPIES	HOMEYS, FRIENDS
RASPBERRY	SYNONYM OF STRAWBERRY
RENEGADE	UNATTACHED HOMOSEXUAL
RIDE (N)	A NEW BOY WHO CAN BE USED FOR SEX
RIDING	"HE'S RIDING" "GOT HIM RIDING"; SAME AS, I GOT HIM UNDER MY WING
ROLLER	A CORRECTIONAL OFFICER
RUNNING A GAME	TERM REFERRING TO A PASSIVE PROCESS OF TURNING OUT SOMEONE
SAFE ZONE	A SECURE SOCIAL CONTEXT IN WHICH ONE DOES NOT FEEL THREATENED, SUCH AS A RELIGIOUS GROUP OR A GANG OF NEIGHBORHOOD PARTNERS
SAFE ZONE	A SOCIAL ATTACHMENT THAT AFFORDS AN INMATE PROTECTION
SERIAL KILLER	MULTIPLE INCIDENTS OF MASTURBATORY KILLING
SETTING UP HOUSE	REFERS TO A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A GAY AND HIS BOY (GAY IS DOMINANT; MAY DECIDE WHO IS PLAYING WHICH ROLE); THIS RELATION IS ONE GAY AND ONE PUNK OR BOY--IT IS NOT A MAN-BOY/WIFE RELATION
SHARK MAN	AN INMATE WHO "SWEATS DUDES FOR SEX" IN THE SHOWER
SHOP 180	TO FIND A GIRL WHO SPENDS HER MAXIMUM AMOUNT OF MONEY EACH MONTH ON COMMISSARY

TERM/EXPRESSION	DEFINITIONS: DENOTATIVE & CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS; CONTEXTUAL USAGE
SHORTER	WOMEN INMATES. "SHE'S MY SHORTER." INMATE CALLED SHORTER A 'LOVE NAME'
SHOT SWALLOWER	USED AS A JOKE AMONG GAYS. REFERS TO EXAMPLE: "HI, I'M CHRIS I'M THE SHOT SWALLER FOR THE GAY GROUP"; A MALE INMATE WHO HAS ORAL SEX AND SWALLOWS SEMAN. REFERS TO HOMOSEXUAL OR GAY IN A SPECIFIC TYPE OF SOCIAL GROUP; IN THIS CASE, 'SHOT SWALLER' IS A HOMOSEXUAL WHO DECLARED HIS SEXUAL PREFERENCE ON MEMBERSHIP TO THE GROUP.
SILVER-TONGUE HAWK	TURN OUT ARTISTS
SISTERS	TERM OF ADDRESS AND REFERENCE USED AMONG ALL-OUT HOMOSEXUALS; MINOR USAGE BETWEEN "GIRLFRIENDS" OF DUDES IN THE SAME GANG
SIX-FIVE	TO WATCH OUT FOR THE POLICE
SKEEZER	A FEMALE (HOMOSEXUAL) WHO JUMPS FROM MAN TO MAN TO GET MONEY; A GOLD-DIGGER; HAS A POOR SOCIAL EVALUATION--"THEY AIN'T WORTH SHIT"
SKULL	USED AS "LET ME GET SOME SKULL"; TO RECEIVER ORAL SEX
SLOW TURN-OUT	THE PROCESS OF TURNING OUT AN INMATE THAT TAKES A MONTH OR LONGER; OFTEN USED IN REFERENCE TO TURNOUTS IN MINIMUM AND MEDIUM SECURITY PRISONS, EXCLUDING PENITENTIARY INMATES WHO ARE, INMATES SAY, TURNED OUT INMATES QUICKLY OR RAPE THEM
SNEAK TIP	CREEPING
SNEAK TIP	WOMEN INMATES. REFERS TO A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A WOMAN INMATE AND MALE OR FEMALE STAFF MEMBER.
SNITCH	TO REPORT INFORMATION TO PRISON AUTHORITIES THAT MAY HARM AN INMATE
STABLE	STUD BROAD WHO HAS MULTIPLE FEMMES; THEY MAY RESIDE IN DIFFERENT HOUSING UNITS AND BE UNAWARE OF ONE ANOTHER.
STALKER	RAPIST
STATE [RELATIVE]	WOMEN'S USAGE: PSEUDO-FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS; STATE DAUGHTER OR STATE MOTHER OR STATE FAMILY
STIFF GUY	TO HAVE SEX WITH MEN, BUT STILL BE A MAN
STRAIGHT	A DUDE WHO IS BELIEVED TO BE HETEROSEXUAL
STRAIGHT UP RAPE	FORCED SEX
STRAIGHTENER	TO HAVE A DESIRE FOR A BLOW JOB: "A DUDE WANTS A STRAIGHTENER"
STRAWBERRY (GAY BOY; FUCK BOY)	A PROSTITUTE OR HOOKER WHO EXCHANGES SEX FOR DRUGS; IT IS COMMON TO GIVE BLOW JOBS FOR COCAINE, HEROIN OR MARIJUANA; OFTEN DRUG ADDICTS; "A STRAWBERRY IS EASY TO PICK"
STREET BISEXUAL	SAME AS CLOSET PUNK
STRICKLY DICKLY	WOMEN'S PRISON; USAGE DENOTES WOMEN WHO DO NOT ENGAGE IN SAME-SEX RELATIONSHIPS IN PRISON

TERM/EXPRESSION	DEFINITIONS: DENOTATIVE & CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS; CONTEXTUAL USAGE
STRONG	A MAN WHO CAN BE TREACHEROUS AND TOUGH; MAY BE "A LITTLE GUY WITH STRONG KNIFE"
STUD	WOMEN'S PRISON USAGE IN SYNONYMOUS WITH DYKE
STUD BROAD	STUD; USED IN SOME REGIONS
SUCKER	WOMEN'S PRISON DENOTES SLOW, NAÏVE, AND PERHAPS OVERWEIGHT YOUNG GIRL WHO IS WORKED TO PERFORM SEX ACTS ON DOMINANT INMATE WHO ALSO TAKES HER COMMISSARY
SUGAR DADDY	SYNONYM OF STRAWBERRY
SUPER FREAK	A FREAK WHO ENJOYS THE MOST EXTREME SEXUAL BEHAVIOR, ACCORDING TO INMATE: EXAMPLE: TO "TAKE ON" FOUR DUDES AT ONCE OR THE INMATE WHO PURPORTEDLY HAS THE "BIGGEST DICK IN THE JOINT"; AN INMATE WILLING TO SIT ON A SHAMPOO BOTTLE
SWAP ARTIST	SWAPS SEX ROLES FOR MONEY, WILL HAVE ANY KIND OF SEX AS LONG AS THEY'RE PAID
SWAP OUT PARTNERS	TRADE ONE SEXUAL FAVOR FOR ANOTHER; "SOME GUYS WILL TRICK GUYS INTO GIVING UP SEX BY PERFORMING AN ACT ON THEM FIRST AND THEN LET THEM DO IT TO THEM"; MAY ALSO BE USED TO DENOTED SWAP OUT PARTNERS--FLIP FLOPS
SWEAT MASTER	AN INMATE WHO AGGRESSIVELY SWEATS SOMEONE FOR SEX
SWEET EYES	WATCHING SOMEONE MASTURBATE
THE COMMANDER	MALE IN A RELATIONSHIP; TERM OF REFERENCE
THE HOLE	A SEGREGATION HOUSING UNIT
THE KING	MALE IN A RELATIONSHIP; TERM OF REFERENCE
THE MAN	THE MALE IN A MAN-FAG, MAN-HOMOSEXUAL RELATIONSHIP
THEY DONE TORE UP MY ASS	EXPRESSION DENOTING ROUGH SEX; CONSENSUAL SEX; USED BY DUDES WHO PREFER ROUGH SEX
THIRSTY	TO BUY SEX AS ONE WOULD ON THE STREET
THIRSTY BOYS	SAME AS BOOTIE BANDIT
THIRSTY MAGURSKI	SAME AS BOOTIE BANDIT; SYNONYM OF CUM GUZZLER
THOROUGH [NOUN]	AS IN "THOROUGH DUDE" OR "THOROUGH PENITENTIARY" MEANING TOUGH
THREE-FOUR-FIVE-FIVE-O'CLOCK-IN-THE-MORNING BOYS	RAPISTS IN DORMITORY HOUSING WHO TAKES BOOTIE IN THE VERY EARLY MORNING
THUNDERCAT	YOUNG GIRL IN THE MIX
TIP	TO HAVE PREFERENCE, SUCH AS 'TO BE ON THE FEMININE TIP,' A MALE INMATE WOULD SAY
TO ADOPT	TO ACQUIRE SONS
TO BE BULLIED	TO FORCE A DUDE TO DO SOMETHING HE DOESN'T WANT TO DO; SOME DUDES ARE BULLIED INTO SEX

TERM/EXPRESSION	DEFINITIONS: DENOTATIVE & CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS; CONTEXTUAL USAGE
TO BE CURIOUS; CURIOSITY	NEAR SYNONYM OF 'TENDENCIES'; CONNOTES OF AN EXPERIMENT TO ENGAGE IN HOMOSEXUAL RATHER THAN A NATURAL INCLINATION; AN INMATE CAN BE CURIOUS SEVERAL TIMES WITHOUT BEING DEMEANED AS WEAK OR HAVING TENDENCIES; TERM HAS A NATIONAL DISTRIBUTION; COMMONLY USED IN MEN'S AND WOMEN'S PRISON
TO BE ON THE DOWN LOW	TO KEEP ONE'S SEXUAL BEHAVIOR IN SAME-SEX RELATIONSHIPS HIDDEN; A STRAIGHT WHO ENGAGES IN SAME-SEX RELATIONSHIPS AS THE MAN OR FAG; SOMETIMES THOUGHT TO BE DISRESPECT TO OTHER INMATES; BEING HONEST ABOUT SEXUAL ORIENTATION INSIDE IS THE SAME AS OUTSIDE IS NOT DISRESPECTFUL AND WILL PREVENT HOSTILITY
TO BE PUSSY ALL THE TIME	REFERENCE TO A MAN INMATE WHO WAS SEXUALLY ASSAULTED AND DOES NOT RETALIATE; EXAMPLE: "HE WAS PUSSY ALL THE TIME." DENOTES A GIRL-BOY.
TO BE PUT UNDER AN UMBRELLA	SOMEONE WHO IS PROTECTED FROM SEXUAL ASSAULT BY ASSOCIATION WITH A STRONG PERSON OR GANG
TO BE RECRUITED	TO CAJOLE AND ENCOURAGE A WOMAN INMATE INTO A SEXUAL RELATIONSHIP (ANALOGOUS TO SORORITY RECRUITMENT)
TO BE STUPID	UNAWARE OF SOCIAL GAMES OF INMATES, ESPECIALLY THOSE THAT LEAD TO UNWANTED SEX OR RAPE
TO BE TURNED OUT ALL THE WAY	TO HAVE A NEW EMOTIONAL AND PHYSICAL INVOLVEMENT IN HOMOSEXUALITY; INMATES WHO WERE FORCED THE FIRST TIME AND NOW DO IT WILLINGLY: "SO AND SO'S BEEN TURNED ALL THE WAY OUT, SOMEONE TOOK IT FROM THEM AND AFTER THAT HE HAD NO PROBLEM GIVING IT UP, HE STARTED SHAVING HIS LEGS AND WEARING MAKEUP"
TO BE WEAK	TO BE UNABLE TO PROTECT ONE SELF FROM THE PRESSURES OF PRISON LIFE
TO BE WORKED	A FORM OF MANIPULATION; 'TELL A YOUNG UNATTRACTIVE GIRL SHE'S PRETTY JUST TO GET HER COMMISSARY'; A WOMAN INMATE BEING WORKED MAY HAVE SEX WITH ONLY THE WORKMAN WORKING HER; IF A WOMAN BEING WORKED HAS SEX WITH OTHER WOMEN, SHE ASSUMES PASSIVE ROLE
TO BEAT IT	SAME AS TO FUCK SOMEONE
TO BREAK THE BACK DOOR	TO BE THE RECIPIENT IN ANAL SEX
TO CAP SOMEONE	SYNONYM FOR TO GIVE A BLOW JOB
TO CON	SAME TO RUNNING A GAME
TO CRAP ON A DUDE	TO ASK A DUDE IF HE IS INTERESTING IN HAVING SEX; A GAY MIGHT CRAP ON A GUY, ASKING "DO YOU FUCK AROUND"
TO CROSS OUT	TO GET SOMEONE IN TROUBLE, OR GET BACK AT SOMEONE (WOMEN)
TO CROSS YOU OUT	USED BY WOMEN INMATES; TO CREATE A BOGUS CASE ON SOMEONE AND THEN TELL STAFF; EXAMPLE: SNITCH OFF THAT AN INMATE HAS ILLEGAL DRUGS, OR THAT A WOMAN HAS AN AFFAIR WITH A MALE OR FEMALE

TERM/EXPRESSION	DEFINITIONS: DENOTATIVE & CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS; CONTEXTUAL USAGE
	STAFF MEMBER.
TO DATE	TO SHARE MEALS AND ACTIVITIES; SEX WITHOUT COMMITMENT
TO FLIP-FLOP	THE ACTIVITY OF SWITCHING SEX ROLES, MALE TO FEMALE, FEMALE TO MALE
TO FUCK SOMEONE	TERM USED TO DENOTE ROUGH SEX: "I WANT YOU TO FUCK ME TONIGHT"
TO FUCK THE SHIT OUT OF SOMEONE	SAME AS TO FUCK SOMEONE; USED TO INDICATED A MORE LENGTHY SEX ACT THAN A QUICKIE; OFTEN TWO TO THREE MINUTES
TO GET HIS GET BACK	RETALIATION FOR A VIOLENT OR DISRESPECTFUL ACT
TO GET DOWN LIKE THAT	A PROPENSITY TOWARD HOMOSEXUAL OR NON-HOMOSEXUAL BEHAVIOR; "THE DUDE DON'T GET DOWN LIKE THAT"
TO GET HOOKED UP	A WAY OF BONDING WITH ANOTHER INMATE WHO SHARES SEXUAL PREFERENCES; A GAY MAY APPROACH AN INMATE AND ASK "DO YOU FUCK AROUND?"
TO GET OFF ON HOMOSEXUALITY	TO BECOME A HOMOSEXUAL IN THE CONTEXT OF WEAK OUTSIDE FAMILY TIES
TO GET ON THE WAGON	TO ENTER A PRISON AS A NEW INMATE
TO GET OUT	TO LET HOMOSEXUALS KNOW YOU ARE A HOMOSEXUAL; "TO LET THE LADIES KNOW YOU'RE A FAG"
TO GET RUN IN	TO HAVE A GRIEVANCE FILED ON A PRISON OFFICER BY AN INMATE, ALLEGING MISBEHAVIOR--WOMEN
TO GET SKULL	WOMEN'S PRISON USED TO DENOTE ORAL SEX; USAGE: "CAN I HAVE SOME SKULL"; "LET ME RIDE YOUR DOME"
TO GET TOGETHER OFF THE RIP	TWO MEN WHO BOND QUICKLY AND FORM A PERMANENT RELATIONSHIP; SEX HAPPENS QUICKLY IF MEN GET TOGETHER OFF THE RIP
TO GIVE FACE	TO GIVE ORAL SEX
TO GIVE HEAD	TO GIVE ORAL SEX
TO GIVE IT UP	TO RELINQUISH TO THE PRESSURE FOR SEX
TO GO BOTH WAYS	INMATES WHO SWITCH BETWEEN MALE AND FEMALE ROLE IN A SEX ACT
TO HATE ON SOMEONE	AN INTENTIONAL ACT OF HATRED TOWARD SOMEONE; NON-VIOLENT ACT OF DISLIKE. EXAMPLE: "A JEALOUS WOMAN WRITES A WOMAN'S FAMILY AND TELLS HER PARENTS THEIR DAUGHTER IS GAY. DONE TO GET GIRL'S PARENTS GET PISSED AND STOP SENDING MONEY."
TO HAVE A FULL LOCKER	USED IN REFERENCE TO A LOCKER BEING FULL OF COMMISSARY ITEMS AS A RESULT OF 'COMMISSARY QUEEN' TRADING COMMISSARY ITEMS FOR SEX
TO HAVE A REP	TO HAVE ACQUIRED A REPUTATION FOR VIOLENCE
TO HAVE SOMEONE UNDER YOUR WING	"I GOT HIM UNDER MY WING"

TERM/EXPRESSION	DEFINITIONS: DENOTATIVE & CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS; CONTEXTUAL USAGE
TO HAVE TENDENCIES; TENDENCIES	TO EXPRESS A NATURAL DESIRE, EVER SO SLIGHTLY, TO ENGAGE IN HOMOSEXUALITY; ALSO USE AS 'TENDENCIES TO BE WEAK' THAT LEAD TO HOMOSEXUALITY; CONNOTES AN INMATE WHO MAY LIKELY CHOOSE A HOMOSEXUAL LIFESTYLE WITHOUT A PREJUDICIAL RESPONSE FROM OTHER INMATES, IF THE INMATE DID NOT EXPRESS WEAKNESS BUT NATURAL DESIRE; ALSO CONNOTES THAT A NATURAL DESIRE TO BE HOMOSEXUAL IS BEING RECOGNIZED; TERM HAS A NATIONAL DISTRIBUTION; USED COMMONLY IN MEN'S AND WOMEN'S PRISONS
TO HIT IT	SAME AS TO FUCK SOMEONE; WOMEN'S USAGE INCLUDES TO USE A DILDO ON ONESELF
TO HIT IT	TO HAVE SEX IN AN AGGRESSIVE MANNER
TO HOG SOMEONE	"I'M HOGGING HIM" MEANS TO TAKE SOMEONE'S MONEY AND POSSESSIONS
TO HUSTLE	TO PERFORM ACTIVITIES THAT GENERATE VALUABLE RESOURCES, SUCH AS DRUG SELLING OR SEX
TO KILL	TO MASTURBATE; "KILL ON SOMEBODY"; KILLER-AN INCIDENT OF BEING A KILLER. CONNOTES PUBLIC (V. PRIVATE) MASTURBATION
TO LEAVE IT AT THE GATE	EXPRESSION USED IN MEN'S PRISON TO DENOTE THAT SAME-SEX RELATIONS WAS A HUSTLE BUT NOT AN INDICATION THAT INMATES IS HOMOSEXUAL; APPLIES EVEN IF A MAN WAS TURNED OUT; "AS LONG AS YOU LEAVE IT AT THE GATE, IT'S JUST A HUSTLE"
TO LET ME HIT IT	"I WANT A HIT"; TO WANT ANAL SEX
TO LET SOMEONE TAKE HIM	TERM OF REFERENCE FOR RAPE VICTIM
TO LOCK UP	TO TAKE REFUGE IN PROTECTION CUSTODY
TO LOSE MANHOOD	TO HAVE HAD ANAL SEX; DUDE HAS THEN LOST MANHOOD
TO MARRY	WOMEN'S PRISON: TO HAVE PUBLIC CEREMONY IN A CELL HOUSE, PROCLAIMING THE PERMANENCE OF A RELATIONSHIP; GUESTS ARE INVITED, VOWS ARE EXCHANGED; RICE MAY THROWN, CAKE EATEN IF PURCHASED IN COMMISSARY
TO PRESS SOMEONE	SYNONYM OF TO SWEAT SOMEONE
TO PRESSURE	TERM USED INSTEAD OF RAPE; RAPE IS THOUGHT NOT TO OCCUR; AN INMATE IS PRESSURED INTO SEX BUT NOT RAPED
TO PULL UP ON SOMEONE	TO AGGRESSIVELY CONFRONT SOMEONE; TO PULL UP ON SOMEONE IN AN EFFORT TO PRESSURE FOR SEX
TO PUNK SOMEONE OUT	GENERAL EXPRESSION, TURN-OUT SOMEONE
TO RIDE HEAD	WOMEN WHO LIKE TO RECEIVE HEAD
TO RIDE SOMEONE	TO HAVE ANAL SEX
TO RIP SOMEONE OFF	TO VIOLENTLY TAKE BOOTIE; "DUDE WAS RIPPED OFF"
TO SHOOT	TO MASTURBATE; SYNONYM: TO KILL"; "I SHOT HIM DOWN"; "I'D LIKE TO SHOOT HER DOWN"

TERM/EXPRESSION	DEFINITIONS: DENOTATIVE & CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS; CONTEXTUAL USAGE
TO STAY ALL THE WAY AWAY FROM HOMOSEXUALS	TO AVOID INTERPERSONAL CONTACT WITH HOMOSEXUALS; A STRATEGY TO AVOID BEING DRAWN INTO A SEX ROLE
TO STAY OUT OF THE WAY	TO AVOID INVOLVEMENT IN THE SEX SCENE
TO STRADDLE THE FENCE	A FEMALE BISEXUAL
TO STRETCH OUT; STRETCHING OUT	TO MASTURBATE; "TO STRETCH OUT" AS IN "A MASTURBATOR STRETCHES OUT"
TO STUD-UP	A PUNK TRYING TO GO BACK TO BEING A MAN. THEY CAN FIGHT OR DO OTHER MANLY THINGS TO ACCOMPLISH THIS
TO SWAP OUT	SYNONYM OF 'TO GO BOTH WAYS'; "YOU DON'T KNOW WHO THE MAN OR WOMAN IS"
TO SWEAT SOMEONE	TO PRESSURE SOMEONE; DOES NOT NECESSARILY REFER TO ONLY SEX
TO TAKE IT [ANAL SEX]	SYNONYM OF FORCED SEX
TO TAKE IT IN THE SHOE	TO BE THE RECIPIENT IN ANAL SEX
TO TAKE IT TO YOU	SAME AS 'TO FUCK SOMEONE'
TO TAKE ON	TO HAVE SEX WITH SOMEONE VOLUNTARILY; A RAPE VICTIM IS NOT TAKEN ON
TO TAKE SOME ASS	SYNONYM OF TO RIP SOMEONE OFF
TO TAKE SOMEONE UNDER YOUR WING	"I TOOK HIM UNDER MY WING"
TO TAP OUT	TO SUCCUMB TO SEXUAL PRESSURE; "DUDE HAD TO TAP OUT"
TO TEAR IT UP	SAME AS TO FUCK SOMEONE WITH THE CONNOTATION OF AGGRESSIVE SEX; USED BY AGGRESSOR ("I TORE UP THAT ASS") AND AGGRESSEE ("I WANT YOU TO TEAR IT UP")
TO TRY SOMEONE	TO CHALLENGE SOMEONE AS IN "DUDE WALKED RIGHT UP AND TRIED ME"
TO TRY TO TIE UP LOOSE ENDS	SAME AS PAY BACK
TO TURN [SOMEBODY] OUT; A TURNOUT	TURN OUT ISN'T REALLY GAY BUT A KIND OF CROSS-OVER; A MAN OR WOMAN WHO HAS 'TENDENCIES'
TO TURN SOMEONE OUT	TO RELEASE SOMEONE; TO LET SOMEONE GO; TO RELEASE SAME-SEX DESIRES; THERE ARE MANY FORMS OF RELEASE OR LETTING OUT THE INSIDE SAME-SEX TENDENCIES OF INMATES; PROCESS OF COVERTLY PRESSURING SOMEONE FOR SEX; THE OUTCOME OF THE PRESSURE IS SEX; AN INMATE TURNS OUT ANOTHER BY, FOR EXAMPLE, COVERTLY PUTTING THE TARGET IN DEBT TO HIM BY SHARING CIGARETTES OR CANDY OR BEFRIENDING HIM AND OFFERING PROTECTION
TRADE, JOHN	A MAN; "YOU KNOW GIRL, YOU KNOW HE'S TRADE"
TRANSFORMER	QUEENS OR PUNKS THAT "TRANSFORM" TO MEN WHEN NEEDED. IT

TERM/EXPRESSION	DEFINITIONS: DENOTATIVE & CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS; CONTEXTUAL USAGE
	BROUGHT THE MAN OUT.
TREE JUMPER	SEXUAL PREDATOR
TREY	SYNONYM OF JOHN
TRICK	DUDE WHO BUYS SEX
TRUCK-DRIVING DRAG HEAD	FLIP FLOP
TRUCK-DRIVING DRAG HEAD [DRAG QUEEN]	MALE INMATES; TO CHANGE SEXUAL APPEARANCE; EXAMPLE: "DUDE LOOKS MALE SOME DAYS BUT OTHER DAYS HE'S A QUEEN."
TRUE GUYS	INMATES WHO FEEL THAT OTHERS ARE TRYING TO ATTACH THEMSELVES TO THEM IN ORDER TO STAY SAFE
TRY-SEXUAL	WILL HAVE SEX WITH ANYTHING
VETERAN, VET	A VET IS A SYNONYM OF QUEEN, AN OLDER 'WOMAN' WHO HAS BEEN IN THE LIFESTYLE A LONG TIME
VIRGINITY	TO HAVE NEVER PARTICIPATED IN ANAL SEX
WAR PLAYING	FLIP FLOP
WATER HEAD	GIVER OF SEX; THE GIVER OF ORAL SEX
WEAK-MINDED	SOMEONE WHO WILL HAVE SEX WITH OR GIVE COMMISSARY OR MONEY TO SOMEONE IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH A SOCIAL TIE TO SOMEONE WHO HAS MANY FRIENDS; A PROCESS OF BUILDING A SAFE ZONE; WEAK-MINDED CONNOTES THE INABILITY TO SOLVE, OR THINK THROUGH, A PROBLEM; OPPOSITE OF STRONG-MINDED--A STRONG-MINDED PERSON HAS AN ABILITY TO MANIPULATE AND THINK THROUGH AN ISSUE AND KEEP HIMSELF OUT OF TROUBLE. "IF YOU HAVE A PRETTY BIG ANGER PROBLEM, YOU'RE WEAK MINDED; IF YOU'RE IMPULSIVE AND CAN'T THINK OF WHAT YOU'RE GOING TO SAY BEFORE YOU SAY, YOU'RE WEAK-MINDED." WEAK-MINDED REFERS TO INABILITY TO CONTROL EMOTIONS.
WHITE SHIRT	INSTITUTION MANAGER AND ADMINISTRATORS
WIFE	MALE INMATE IN A FEMALE ROLE IN A LONG-TERM MAN-FAG MARRIAGE; THE MAN MAY CALL HIS WIFE HIS HO OR HIS MOMMY ("SHE'S MY WIFE; SHE'S MY MOMMY")
WIFE	A DEROGATORY TERM IDENTIFYING A FEMALE PARTNER WHO WILL NOT OBEY "HER" MAN'S COMMANDS; CONNOTATION OF A WIFE APPROACHES THAT OF STREET PROSTITUTE; "DUDES DON'T WANT A PROSTITUTE, THEY WANT A HO WHO WILL DO ANYTHING FOR THEIR DUDE"; "A HO IS WAY UP [HIGH VALUE, PRAISED], A HOUSEWIFE IS DOWN LOW"
WING GIRL	A FEMME WHO IS THE OBJECT OF SEX ONLY IN A HOUSING UNIT; WING GIRL HAS SEX WITH A STUD BROAD ONLY INSIDE A HOUSING UNIT; THE STUD BROAD HAS SEX WITH OTHER FEMMES ON THE COMPOUND
WOLF	INMATES WHO ARE SEXUALLY AGGRESSIVE; USED GENERICALLY TO CONNOTE AGGRESSOR, AS IN WOLF AND LION, AND VICTIM; NOT COMMONLY USED IN NATURAL SPEECH; USED AS A PARAPHRASE IN

TERM/EXPRESSION	DEFINITIONS: DENOTATIVE & CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS; CONTEXTUAL USAGE
	SPEECH SITUATIONS WITH OUTSIDERS WHO INMATES BELIEVE DO NOT UNDERSTAND PRISON-TERM NUANCES
WOOD PILE	A GROUP OF PECKERWOODS
YUCK MAN	HAS HAD A LOT OF FEMALE PARTNERS IN ORAL SEX

Appendix B: Interview Protocol

Interviewer (initials):

Date:

Start Time:

DEMOGRAPHICS

Age:

Race:

Street Sexual Orientation (Straight, gay/lesbian, bisexual):

In what city did you grow up?

Currently married?

How long have you been married this time?

How many times have you been married?

Divorced?

Married before this imprisonment or while in prison?

Children?

Where's the baby daddies/mommies?

Does this institution have conjugal visits?

Current Living Unit:

Months in the living unit:

Inmate Count:

Unit Style:

Number of inmates in the cell:

PRISON HISTORY

Current conviction offense:

Sentence:

How many months have you been in prison on this conviction?

Number of times in prison on separate convictions, except for this one?

Total months in state prison:

Total months in federal prison:

Age first admitted to adult prison:

Age first time in juvie:

Total number of months spent in juvie?

Where?

How many times have you been to the hole?

For what?

MENTAL HEALTH

How would you describe your family history?

MH_FamHist:

When you were coming up, did an adult, relative, friend or someone you trust abuse you?
(abuse means to punch, kick, slap, hit with hand or object that caused bruises, contusions,
broken bones or emergency medical treatment)

MH_Abuse:

Did you have an adolescent or adult same-sex experience on the street?

MH_SameSex:

Have you ever been treated for mental health issues on the street as a result of something
you did in school or in your family or neighborhood?

MH_Treat_Street:

Have you ever voluntarily requested mental health treatment in prison?

MH_Treat_Prison:

RAPE

Reasons inmates get raped?

Rape_Reasons:

Ways inmates try to prevent being raped

Rape_Prevent:

If an inmate were to be raped, where would it occur?

Rape_Where:

What time of day is rape most likely?

Rape_When:

Ever know a rapist who was killed?

Rape_Rapist_Kill:

Ever know a rape victim who was killed?

Rape_Victim_Kill:

Ever known a rape victim who committed suicide?

Rape_Victim_Suicide:

Is there one-on-one rape?

Rape_One_on_One:

Is there group rape? Why?

Rape_Group:

How do predators choose a rape victim?

Rape_Choose:

Who is most vulnerable to rape? (Age? Race?)

Rape_Who_Vulnerable:

What's the reputation of raped inmates?

Rape_Reputation:

Does a rape victim's reputation depend on why he/she was raped?

Rape_Reputation_Depend:

Do you think a dude is entitled to the sex he has taken?

Rape_Entitle:

What is the reputation of a rapist/predator?

Rape_Rapist_Reputation:

If someone is raped, will their friends retaliate?

Rape_Retaliante:

What happens to someone who is raped and doesn't lock up?

Rape_Lockup:

What happens to the quality of life in the cell house after someone gets raped?

Rape_Quality_of_Life:

Are people worried about rape? Is it a big threat?

Rape_Worry:

What are your recommendations to prevent rape?

Rape_Prevent_Recs:

Do you know for sure of a rape in this institution or any other prison you've been in?

Rape_Know_Of:

Can you give a general description of what happened without identifying the specific people involved in the event? Was it one-on-one, group, gang-related? Where did it occur? What time of day did it occur?

Rape_Know_Of_Description:

If you haven't seen a rape firsthand, have you overheard an inmate being raped? What did you hear? When did it occur? Where?

Rape_First_Hand:

Have you ever seen a rape, like in the movies?

Rape_Movies:

Is there rape folklore—like stories about notorious rapists of long ago?

Rape_Folklore:

Is raping an inmate the same as turning out an inmate?

Rape_Turn:

How many different ways can an inmate get turned out/worked/played? For example, an inmate can get involved in gambling and pay debt with sex; or smoke someone's squares and pay off with sex. Tell me about each different situation you can think of?

Turn_How:

What does it mean to be weak-minded?

Weak_Mind:

What does it mean to be strong-minded?

Strong_Mind:

How does money or commissary work in relation to sex?

Sex_Money:

How does money or commissary work in relation to rape?

Rape_Money:

What is the best way to avoid getting involved in the sex scene?

Sex_Scene_Involve:

Has an inmate ever been attracted to you? What happened?

Sex_Attracted:

How does an inmate who wants sex inside get hooked up?

Sex_Hooked_Up:

FREE LISTS

Reasons inmates have sex with other inmates?

FL_Why_Sex:

In what ways do officers try to prevent inmates from having sex?

FL_How_Prevent_Sex:

Common places inmates have sex in the living unit

FL_Sex_LivingUnit:

Common places inmates have sex outside of the living unit?

FL_Sex_NonLivingUnit:

SOCIAL DYNAMICS

What does “taking someone under your wing” mean?

SD_UnderWing:

We’ve heard that inmates sometime use terms like the ones we use outside for family members. Do people use these terms in this institution?

SD_Family:

What are the basic family dynamics?

SD_Family_Dynamics:

What roles do each member play?

SD_Family_Roles:

Does protection from rape work within the family?

SD_Family_Rape:

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE/RELATIONSHIPS

Do couples in here date like couples on the street?

DV_Date:

Are there special terms for these couples?

DV_Couple_Terms:

Ever seen anything in here you'd call domestic violence? Example:

DV_DV:

Why would there be DV in a short-term relationship:

DV_Short_Term:

Why would there be DV in a long-term relationship:

DV_Long_Term:

Is rape more likely in a short- or long-term relationship?

DV_Rape_Likely:

LEXICAL

What are the names of the players in the sex scene. Don't give us their personal names.

LX_Players:

What do you call the dominant player:

LX_Players_Doms:

What do you call the passive player:

LX_Players_Passives:

Terms for an inmate who buys sex:

LX_Sex_Buyers:

Terms for an inmate who sells sex:

LX_Sex_Sellers:

Terms for an inmate who sells sex for drugs:

LX_Drugs_Sellers:

Terms for an inmate who sweats someone for sex:

LX_Sex_Sweaters:

Terms for an inmate who forces someone into sex:

LX_Sex_Forcers:

Terms for an inmate who is forced into sex:

LX_Sex_Forcees:

Term for inmates who were forced into sex the first time but then continues because they like it?

LX_Sex_LikeIt:

What types of sex activities are most common? What are the terms for each type:

LX_Sex_Acts_Most:

What types of sex activities are least common? What are the terms for each type:

LX_Sex_Acts_Least:

Terms for calm sex:

LX_Sex_Calm:

Terms for rough sex:

LX_Sex_Rough:

Terms for really rough sex:

LX_Sex_Really_Rough:

Terms for inmates who go both ways:

LX_Sex_Bothways:

Terms for inmates who go one way in one relationship and another way in another:

LX_Sex_Bothways_Situation:

Terms for inmates who are in the closet?

LX_Sex_Closet:

Terms for running a stable?

LX_Sex_Stable:

SOCIAL PROCESS

Which groups have power in prison?

SP_Power_Who:

What does it mean to have power in prison?

SP_Power_What:

Group and Sexual Relations

A. What are the different gangs, religions and races in this prison?

B. Name each group:

Which groups would most likely rape them?

Which groups would they most likely rape?

	G=Gang R=Race Rel=Religion	What are the different gangs, religions and races in this prison?	Which groups would most likely rape them?	Why	Which groups would they most likely rape?	Why
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						

How is sex or rape influenced by religion?

SP_Religion_Rape:

Do members of the groups have consensual sex?

SP_Withingroup_Sex:

What relation are predators to these groups?

SP_Groups_Predators:

Are there groups whose members are rape victims more than other groups?

SP_Groups_Rape_Victims:

Are there all-out homosexuals in each group?

SP_Groups_Homosex:

Do homosexuals have power?

SP_Homosex_Power:

Do homosexuals hold important jobs?

SP_Homosex_Jobs:

STAFF

Do you know any cool officers?

Staff_Cool:

Do officers try to prevent rape?

Staff_Rape_Prevent:

Can homosexuals influence staff to get favors for themselves or others?

Staff_Homsex_Influence:

Do inmates ever say they got raped just to play the staff?

Staff_Rape_Play:

Do you know cases of officers and inmates having sex?

Staff_Sex_Inmate:

Have you ever known a case when an inmate played a staff member for sex and then had the staff member smuggle in drugs or weapons or Wendy's hamburgers, or something like that? Tell me the story

Staff_Sex_Inmates_Examples:

How do other inmates react to officer-inmate sex?

Staff_Sex_Inmate_InmateReact:

How do other officers react to officer-inmate sex?

Staff_Sex_Inmate_StaffReact:

Do you know cases of officers raping inmates?

Staff_Rape_Officer:

How does the institution try to protect inmates from rape?

Institution_Rape_Prevent:

If an inmate is pressed for sex and transfers does that solve the problem?

Staff_Rape_Transfer:

If an inmate is pressed for sex and goes to PC are they safe?

Staff_Rape_PC:

What do officers do if someone is being pressed for sex?

Staff_Sex_Press:

Have you known a case when someone was raped and reported it to an officer?

Staff_Rape_Reported:

Is reporting a rape considered snitching?

Staff_Rape_Snitch:

When you came to prison did anyone ever tell you what to do if someone was sweating you for sex?

Staff_Sex_Prepare:

Have you ever heard officers talking about a rape?

Staff_Rape_Officer_Talk:

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

How can inmates who have been raped get help?

Institution_Rape_Help:

Can the system protect you from rape?

Institution_Rape_Protect:

Are rape guidelines posted on bulletin boards?

Institution_Rape_Post:

PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL ROLES

Of 100 general population inmates,

How many are all-out gay?

Num_Gay:

How many are straight and not down low?

Num_Straight:

How many are on the down low?

Num_DownLow:

How many Men/studs are there?

Num_Studs:

How many Punks/ Femmes are there?

Num_Fems:

How many couples would there be?

Num_Couples:

FINAL QUESTIONS

Interview End Time:

Final Comments:

Interviewer_Comments:

Appendix C: Sampling Procedure

Instructions to Systematically Select Inmate Interviewees

Please select inmates housed in the general population. Special inmate populations should not be included in the selection procedure. The following categories of inmates must be excluded: inmates in administrative detention; disciplinary segregation; hospitalized inmates; inmates in residential substance abuse units; inmates in mental health residential units; protective custody; non-sentenced inmates; inmates in transit units; and INS detainees or deportees.

A single interviewer can reasonably interview six inmates per day. We will have three interviewers. Given that inmates may wish to bypass the interview, let us plan to interview 20 inmates per day. The total number of potential inmate interviewees is determined by summing 20 inmates by the number of interview days. Thus, four days of interviewing will require 80 inmates.

Here is the procedure for the systematic selection of inmates. Divide the institution population by the total number of potential inmate interviewees. This procedure gives yields an interval number. Ask someone to pick a number in the range of 1 up to the [interval number]. The number just picked is the first interviewee. To select the second inmate, add the interval number to the number of the first inmate selected. Continue this pattern until required number of interviewees is selected.

For example, if an institution has 1000 inmates, divide 1000 by 40, to get the interval number 25. In the range of 1 to 25, someone may select the number 3. Add 25 to 3 to get 28. Add 25 to 28 to get 53. Add 25 to 53 to get 78 and so on. The inmates chosen to be interviewed will be those whose name appears 3rd, 28th, 53rd, 78th and so on, on the roster of general population inmates.

If inmates are to be placed on call out, we would like to interview selected inmates in the order of their selection. If an inmate is unavailable, please skip that inmate and move to the next one on the roster.

We prefer to do “just-in-time” interviews; that is, inmates should arrive at the interview area just in time to be interviewed. Please do not hold inmates in a tank over a period of hours. Once finished, an interviewed inmate should not be placed even temporarily with non-interviewed inmates.

Please remember that inmates should only be told they have been selected for a research study and that the researchers will explain the purpose of the study. Staff should not ask selected inmates to sign informed consent forms. Interviewers will explain the research and ask for interview approval from inmate volunteers.

Appendix D: Protocol Modification

On-Site Staff Responses to Unanticipated Events

Here is a list of instructions that we will implement inside correctional facilities.

If inmates are placed on call-out, their arrival at the interview area should be timed so that inmates do not wait too long among other selected inmates. A wait of five to 10 minutes is acceptable. When an interview ends, an interviewed inmate should be placed in a holding area only with inmates who have been interviewed. Interview rooms should be in a location (or locations) that protects as much as possible the anonymity of inmate interviewees.

Corrections staff (line officers to senior-most staff) should not interfere in any way once an interview begins. If a staff member's office is used as an interview area, neither that staff member nor any other staff member may open the door and walk into the room for any reason. Should such a situation occur, the interviewer will cease the interview and may discontinue that, and subsequent interviews and exit the institution if, after consultation with PI, it has been determined by the research team that such interference is a deliberate attempt to disrupt the interview process. An indicator of a deliberate attempt to disrupt the interview process is, for example, a staff member that repeatedly enters one or more interview rooms during the course of interviews. We will make the decision to cease research on the side of caution. If such a situation occurs, the PI will request to speak with the warden or the senior-most official in the institution, in order to discuss the situation. Should the warden choose not to intervene and prevent deliberate interview disruptions, the research team will exit the institution.

If staff members collect inmate informed consent statements prior to research interviews, the inmate who signed the informed consent statement will be disqualified from research participation. The institution may be disqualified if the Principal Investigator believes that the prior signing of an informed consent statement was more than a simple logistic error. Institution disqualification will occur if more than several inmates signed informed consent statements prior to their interviews. If such a situation occurs, the PI will request to speak with the warden or the senior-most official in the institution in order to discuss the situation. Should the warden choose not to prevent the recurrence of such prior inmate signatures on informed consent statements, the research team will exit the institution.

Correctional staff may not choose inmate interviewees. Should an institution place inmates on call-out prior to the arrival of the research team, the Principal Investigator must review the general-population roster used to systematically select inmate interviewees. The appearance of a deliberate deviation in the systematic selection procedure of inmate interviewees will disqualify an inmate and may result in the disqualification of an institution if it appears to the Principal Investigator that inmate selection was purposely manipulated. In such a case, the PI will request to speak with the warden or senior-most institution administrator.

The nature of the interviews requires the availability of psychological services or in the absence of an on-site psychologist or psychiatrist, psychological treatment must be readily available to an inmate in an anonymous and confidential manner should the inmate consent to such treatment. If institution-based psychological treatment is unavailable, the PI will discuss with the warden or senior-most institution official the

logistics of transporting an inmate, within a reasonable time period of less than two hours, to a local mental health facility or as an alternative, making an emergency phone call a local psychologist or psychiatrist who will treat the inmate at the institution within a reasonable period of less than two hours.

Appendix E: Thematic Codebook

Code Book: Thematic Codes

1. Inmate
 - a. Organization
 - i. Race (any discussion where race is relevant) *T_Inmate_Race*
 - ii. Gang (any discussion of inmate gangs) *T_Inmate_Gang*
 - iii. Religion (any discussion where religion is relevant to sex/violence)
T_Inmate_Religion
 - b. Inmate Relationships
 - i. Individual relationships (generic code for dyads, sexual relationships, including marriage & wedding ceremonies)
T_Inmate_Relations
 - ii. Stables/Slavery (any discussion of sexual slavery, pimping, stables, etc) *T_Inmate_Stable*
 - iii. Being on the down low, undercover, or hiding their sexual relationship *T_Inmate_DL*
 - c. Inmate Social roles (use relevant anytime these roles are discussed, or if someone defines or possesses that trait)
 - i. Predators: Any *T_Inmate_SR_Predator*
 - ii. Victims: *T_Inmate_SR_Victim*
 - iii. Queens *T_Inmate_SR_Queen*
 - iv. Punks/Boys/Kids/Fags (passive male sex role) *T_Inmate_SR_Punk*
 - v. Man/Daddy (dominant male sexual role) *T_Inmate_SR_Man*
 - vi. Stud (dominant female sex role) *T_Inmate_SR_Stud*
 - vii. Femme (passive female sex role) *T_Inmate_SR_Femme*
 - viii. Weak *T_Inmate_SR_Weak*
 - ix. Strong *T_Inmate_SR_Strong*
 - x. New (new to prison, or young): *T_Inmate_SR_New*
 - xi. Old (oldtimer, lifer): *T_Inmate_SR_New*
 - xii. Child Molester: *T_Inmate_SR_Molester*
 - xiii. Homosexual: *T_Inmate_SR_Homosexual*
2. Staff (code anytime they are discussed)
 - a. CO (line staff) *T_Staff_CO*
 - b. Rank (administrative) *T_Staff_Rank*
 - c. Unit Staff (case managers, counselors, psych,) *T_Staff_Unit*
3. Inmate-Staff relationships (these are all bi-directional; inmate < >staff)
 - a. Sexual (any reference to sex with staff) *T_Inmate_Staff_Sex*
 - b. Protection (any reference to staff protecting inmates)
T_Inmate_Staff_Protect

- c. Privileges/Favors (any reference to male/female staff exchanging sex with male/female inmates for favors) *T_Inmate_Staff_Favors*
 - d. Resource exchanges (snitching, exchanging information) *T_Inmate_Staff_Resource*
 - e. Extortion (any reference to staff extorting inmates) *T_Inmate_Staff_Extortion*
 - f. Indifferent (staff “working 8 to 5”; “doing job, no more”; indifference toward inmates safety and service to inmates) *T_Inmate_Staff_Indiff*
4. Sex
- a. Sex Acts: any description of sexual activities: *T_Sex_Acts*
 - i. Objects (non-body parts, dildo-like) *T_Sex_Acts_Objects*
 - ii. Masturbation (self or self & partner) *T_Sex_Acts_Masturbation*
 - iii. Freaky shit (‘red tea,’ ‘proof-of-love,’ ‘cutting,’ ‘water sports,’ ‘cantaloupe,’ etc.) *T_Sex_Acts_Fringe*
 - b. Theories of
 - i. “Everyone does this shit,” “gay for the stay,” “trying to fit in”: *T_Sex_Theory_Everyone*
 - ii. “It’s in ya,” “tendencies”: *T_Sex_Theory_InYa*
 - iii. Time/wear-out: *T_Sex_Theory_Time*
 - iv. Any other theoretical justification for sex: *T_Sex_Theory_Other*
 - c. Reasons For (degrees of consent):
 - i. “Gay for the stay,” “fitting in”; peer pressure: *T_Sex_Why_Peer*
 - ii. Bicurious, just wanted to try it: *T_Sex_Why_Curious*
 - iii. “Can get away with it and won’t be labeled,” “prison is more accepting”: *T_Sex_Why_Easy*
 - d. Avoidance strategies/safe zones for not getting involved in sex or rape
 - i. Individual Behaviors
 - 1. Physical stature (“just being a big guy”) *T_Sex_SZ_Ind_Physical*
 - 2. Weapons (carrying shanks, stabbing) *T_Sex_SZ_Ind_Weapon*
 - 3. Violence (beating up a big guy, fighting as protection, prevention) *T_Sex_SZ_Ind_Violence*
 - 4. Staying to yourself *T_Sex_SZ_Ind_Alone*
 - ii. Social Behaviors
 - 1. Protection
 - a. Individual affiliations—“find a friend,” “protection,” CODE ALL AS ‘TAKE UNDER WING’, STRUCTURAL CODE *SD_UnderWing*
 - b. Group affiliations—separate codes for gangs and families *T_Sex_SZ_Group_affil*

- iii. Institutional Characteristics
 - 1. PC (as a good place they put you; safe; calm)
T_Sex_SZ_Institution_PC
 - 2. Cell type (e.g., single cell) *T_Sex_SZ_Institution_Cell*
 - 3. Prisney World (safety of the institution, “it’s [sexual violence] always somewhere else”) -
T_Sex_SZ_Institution
 - e. Disease: *T_Sex_Disease*
 - i. Use code for any reference to STDs or sexual activity as related in any to way sexual diseases, such as ‘having sex with someone known to have AIDS.’
 - f. Communication:
 - i. Talking about sex
 - 1. Educating (e.g., process for learning rules, assessing risk, etc.) *T_Sex_Comm_Talk_Educ*
 - 2. Status acquisition (e.g., queens gain status about turning the ‘unturnables,’ booty bandits) *T_Sex_Comm_Talk_Status*
- 5. Coercion: *T_Sex_Coerc*
 - a. Overt Threat of bodily harm (I’ll kill you if you don’t):
T_Sex_Coerc_Overt
 - b. Covert Bodily Threat (Victim ‘just’ knows the person will harm them):
T_Sex_Coerc_Covert
 - c. Obligation (given you all this stuff and you feel obligated even without a threat; to think sex and dating, reciprocity): *T_Sex_Coerc_Oblig*
- 6. Violence (any reference to, in any context)
 - a. Violence in relation to sex: *T_Sex_Violence*
 - b. Violence not related to sex: *T_NonSex_Violence*
- 7. Social Control
 - a. Sex
 - i. Formal Reasons (people don’t have sex)
 - 1. Reporting mechanisms (incident reports; PC)
T_SC_Sex_Formal_Report
 - 2. Monitoring (Locks, supervision of religious areas, kitchen, etc., cell checks, cameras) *T_SC_Sex_Formal_Monitor*
 - ii. Informal (gang rules; image of homosexual—informal reasons people don’t have sex) *T_SC_Sex_Informal*

- b. Rape
 - i. Formal (ways to control rape)
 - 1. Reporting mechanism (formal reports/allegations)
T_SC_Rape_Formal_Report
 - 2. Investigation mechanisms (investigation of major assaults/killing and link to rape)
T_SC_Rape_Formal_Investigate
 - 3. Monitoring mechanisms (recognizing/known unit inmates, cell doors locked, closet locked, better supervision in religious area, monitor kitchen, ensure inmates are in correct cells overnight) *T_SC_Rape_Formal_Monitor*
 - ii. Informal (ways to control rape) ('Cool Guard,' snitching, staff relations with homosexuals, image of the rapist)
T_SC_Rape_Informal

8. Enabling Behaviors

- a. Sex
 - i. Staff-Formal: *T_En_Sex_Other*
 - 1. Poor Monitoring: *T_En_Sex_Monitor*
 - 2. Not Reporting: *T_En_Sex_Report*
- b. Rape
 - i. Staff Formal: *T_En_Rape_Staff_Other*
 - 1. Poor Monitoring: *T_En_Rape_Staff_Monitor*
 - 2. Not Reporting or inmates afraid to report:
T_En_Rape_Staff_Report
 - ii. Staff-Informal
 - 1. Homophobia: *T_En_Rape_Staff_Homo*
 - 2. Racism: *T_En_Rape_Staff_Racism*
 - 3. Being stupid ('not knowing who belongs in what cell', 'not knowing their job': *T_En_Rape_Staff_Naive*
 - 4. Attitudes ('You deserve it cause you're here', 'putting the kid in with chomo [child molester]') *T_En_Rape_Staff_Atts*
 - 5. Informal Communication with Inmates ('staff tell us everything,' 'staff to inmates things they shouldn't know')
T_En_Rape_Staff_Gossip
 - 6. Easy targets; easily manipulated, personal characteristics:
T_En_Rape_Staff_Manip
 - iii. Inmates enabling rape: *T_En_Rape_Inmate_Other*
 - 1. Inmate Access to Confidential Information:
T_En_Rape_Inmate_Access
 - iii. Institutional Enabling Rape: *T_En_Rape_Inst_Other*
 - 1. Incident Report System, Sanctions (sending both to the hole; causing non-reporting, being forced to give up the offender)
T_En_Rape_Inst_Report
 - 2. Ineffective punishment (hole is easy, let them put me in there who cares) *T_En_Rape_Inst_Pun*

3. Inmate Movement--Cell or unit changes for no reason are easy to get, transferring people to other units as a way of information transfer *T_En_Rape_Inst_Move*
 4. Ignorance of inmates new to the system, naïve: *T_En_Rape_Inst_Newbie*
 5. PC giving you a bad reputation: *T_En_Rape_Inst_PC_Rep*
 6. PC not being safe, anyone can get there: *T_En_Rape_Inst_PC_Unsafe*
 7. Poor Conditions of PC, being so uncomfortable that no one wants to be there: *T_En_Rape_Inst_PC_cond*
9. Kite/Grievance (any discussion of their use): *T_Kites*
10. Incidence or Prevalence of Rape (any numbers or guesses at all about sex, rape): *T_Rape_Amount*
11. Incidence or Prevalence of Sex (any numbers or guess at all): *T_Sex_Amount*
12. Other Interesting Stuff (attach Atlas memo to each incident) *T_Other_Interest*
13. *T_Rape*: any discussion of rape
14. *T_Weapon*: any discussion of weapons

Appendix F: SPSS Codebook

NIJ_PREA_CODEBOOK

Institution and survey ID ID
PS (Prison Sex) F (female) M (male) 1-25 (location)

Auto Number auto

Initials of interviewer int_nm
JLK = Dr. Jessie Krienert
MSF = Dr. Mark Fleisher
LDS = Lauren Stevenson
HCR = Heather Rey

Length of interview (in minutes) time_min

Date of Interview date

Interview location place
Identifiers removed

DEMOGRAPHICS

Sex of Respondent sex
1 = Male
2 = Female

Age of Respondent (at time of interview) age

Race of Respondent race
1 = Black
2 = White
3 = Hispanic
4 = Other

Street Sexual Orientation (Straight, gay/lesbian, bisexual): sex_pref
1 = Straight
2 = Gay
3 = Bisexual
4 = Transgender

Coded Sexual Preference sex_pref_code
1 = Straight
2 = Gay
3 = Bisexual

Currently married? Married

0 = No

1 = Yes

Married before this imprisonment or while in prison? mar_bef

1 = prior

2 = during

Divorced? (number of times) Divorced

Coded Divorce (Currently divorced) divorced_code

0 = No

1 = Yes

How long have you been married this time? (in months) mar_long

How many times have you been married? mar_num

Coded number of times married: mar_num_code

0 = Never Married

1 = Married Once

2 = Married Twice

3 = Married 3 or More Times

Children? kids

Coded Number of Children: kids_code

0 = no children

1 = 1 child

2 = 2 children

3 = 3 or more children

Where's the baby daddies/mommies? babydad

Does this institution have conjugal visits? Conjugal

0 = No

1 = Yes

Months in the living unit: unit_mo

Inmate Count count

Unit Style: style

Coded Unit Style unit_code

1 = single

2 = double

3 = dorm

Coded Unit Style unit_code dorm cell

1 = cell

2 = dorm

Number of inmates in the cell: num_cell

Coded number of inmates in cell: unit_code

1 = single

2 = double

3 = dorm

PRISON HISTORY

Current Conviction: curr_con

Coded current conviction: curr_con_code vio

1 = murder

2 = sex offense

3 = robbery

4 = other violent crime

5 = non-violent crime

6 = drugs

Coded current conviction: curr_con_code

1 = violent

2 = non-violent

3 = drug

Current Conviction sentence detailed: long_con

Current sentence in months: sent_mo

How many months have you been in prison on this conviction? conv_mo

Number of times in prison on separate convictions, except for this one? pris_num

Coded prior incarcerations: pris_num_code

0 = None

1 = 1

2 = 2

3 = 3 or more

Total months in state prison: state_mo

Coded State Months: state_mo_10

0 = less than 120

1 = 120 or more

Coded State Months state_mo_5_code

0 = 60 or less

1 = more than 60

Total months in federal prison: fed_mo

Coded Federal Time (ever): fed_mo_code

0 = No

1 = Yes

Age first admitted to adult prison: age_pris

Ever been to juvenile detention? juvie

0 = No

1 = Yes

Age first time in juvie: age_juv

Total number of months spent in juvie? juv_mo

How many times have you been to the hole? hole

Why did you go to the hole? hole_why

MENTAL HEALTH

When you were coming up, did an adult, relative, friend or someone you trust sexually abuse you? s_abuse

0 = No

1 = Yes

Did you have an adolescent or adult same-sex experience on the street? Samesex

0 = No

1 = Yes

Have you ever been treated for mental health issues on the street as a result of something you did in school or in your family or neighborhood? mh_st

0 = No

1 = Yes

Have you ever voluntarily requested mental health treatment in prison? mh_inst

0 = No

1 = Yes

RAPE

Ever know a rapist who was killed? r_o_kill

0 = No

1 = Yes

Ever know a rape victim who was killed? r_v_kill

0 = No

1 = Yes

Ever known a rape victim who committed suicide? r_suic

0 = No

1 = Yes

Is there one-on-one rape? r_one

0 = No

1 = Yes

Is there group rape? r_group

0 = No

1 = Yes

Do you think a dude is entitled to the sex he has taken? r_entitl

0 = No

1 = Yes

If someone is raped, will their friends retaliate? r_retali

0 = No

1 = Yes

Are people worried about rape? Is it a big threat? r_worry

0 = No

1 = Yes

Do you know for sure of a rape in this or any other prison you've been in?

r_witnes

0 = No

1 = Yes

Have you heard about an inmate being raped? r_hear

0 = No

1 = Yes

Have you ever seen a rape, like in the movies? r_movie

0 = No

1 = Yes

Is there rape folklore—like stories about notorious rapists of long ago? r_folk

0 = No

1 = Yes

Is raping an inmate the same as turning out an inmate? r_turn

0 = No

1 = Yes

Has an inmate ever been attracted to you? What happened? s_attrac

0 = No

1 = Yes

FREE LISTS

Do officers try to prevent inmates from having sex? r_preven

0 = No

1 = Yes

SOCIAL DYNAMICS

We've heard that inmates sometime use terms like the ones we use outside for family members. Do people use these terms in this institution? family

0 = No

1 = Yes

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE/RELATIONSHIPS

Do couples in here date like couples on the street? c_date

0 = No

1 = Yes

Ever seen anything in here you'd call domestic violence? c_dv

0 = No

1 = Yes

SOCIAL PROCESS

Do homosexuals have power? h_power

0 = No

1 = Yes

Do homosexuals hold important jobs? h_jobs

0 = No

1 = Yes

STAFF

Do officers try to prevent rape? r_preve

0 = No

1 = Yes

Can homosexuals influence staff to get favors for themselves or others? h_favor

0 = No

1 = Yes

Do inmates ever say they got raped just to play the staff? r_play

0 = No

1 = Yes

Do you know cases of officers and inmates having sex? s_off

0 = No

1 = Yes

Do you know cases of officers raping inmates? r_off

0 = No

1 = Yes

If an inmate is pressed for sex and transfers does that solve the problem? s_trans

0 = No

1 = Yes

If an inmate is pressed for sex and goes to PC are they safe? s_pc

0 = No

1 = Yes

Have you known a case when someone was raped and reported it to an officer?

r_report

0 = No

1 = Yes

Is reporting a rape considered snitching? r_snitch

0 = No

1 = Yes

Have you ever heard officers talking about a rape? r_talk

0 = No

1 = Yes

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

Can the system protect you from rape? r_protec

0 = No

1 = Yes

Are rape guidelines posted on bulletin boards? r_post

0 = No

1 = Yes

PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL ROLES

Of 100 general population inmates,

How many are all-out gay? num_gay

How many are straight and not down low? num_srt

How many are on the down low? num_dl

How many Men/studs are there? num_std

How many Punks/ Femmes are there? num_fem

How many couples would there be? num_cpl