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A SURVEY OF FEDERAL FEMALE OFFENDERS

Colleen Gildert

Submitted to the Department of Criminology, University of
Ottawa, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Masters of Arts.



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1.....	5
Literature Review	
Women in Prison	
Native Women	
Alcoholism and Drug Addiction	
Pregnant Women and Women with Dependent Children	
Violent Women	
Programming for Women in Prison	
Chapter 2.....	34
Methodology	
Interviewing Women in Prison	
The Interview Schedule	
The File Review	
Staff interviews	
Chapter 3.....	51
The Discovery of Needs	
The General Sample Profile	
Criminal History	
Psychological counselling	
Violence and Domestic Violence	
Pregnancy and Dependent Children	
Education and Employment	
Job Skills	
Addiction	
Chapter 4.....	77
Correctional Resources	
Addressing the Needs	
Psychological Services	
Addiction	
Job Skills Training	
Further Education	
Violence and Domestic Violence	
Pregnancy and Dependent Children	
Pre-Release Planning	
Correctional Staff	
Classification	
Participation Evaluation	
Program Evaluation	

Selecting Programs

Chapter 5.....	105
Summary and Conclusions	
Appendix	126
References.....	133

List of Tables

Table 1	Length of Aggregate Sentence of Female Inmates Under Federal Sentence.	6
Table 2	Women on Register under Federal Sentence in Provincial Institutions by Region, 1975-1984.	8
Table 3	Major Offence of Women Admitted Under Federal Sentence, by Ethnicity, 1975-1984.	23
Table 4	Length of Aggregate Sentence of Women Under Federal Sentence, by Ethnicity, 1975-1984	24
Table 5	Current Age of Sample.	52
Table 6	Criminal History of Repeat Offenders in Sample.	55
Table 7	Length of Sentence, Repeat and First Offenders.	56
Table 8	Current Offence, Past Abuse and Addiction.	57
Table 9	Reported Physical and Sexual Abuse.	59
Table 10	Mothers and their Children.	64
Table 11	Education Level of Sample, prior to Incarceration.	67
Table 12	Goal Achievement with Corresponding Program Participation.	70
Table 13	Addiction among Sample, by Type of Offence.	73

INTRODUCTION

Female prisoners have consistently been overlooked in criminological research. Only within the last fifteen years has the incarcerated woman been given serious attention. In Canada, approximately 270 women are serving federal prison sentences, and of those, 170 are serving their terms in maximum security conditions. Those who "make it" to the incarceration stage would presumably be the most hardcore offenders, as the attrition of cases - both male and female - through the criminal justice system is considerable. It is estimated that only one out of every 600 offenders is ultimately sent to prison (Hagan, 1985).

Canada's federal female inmates are certainly not a homogeneous group, but at the same time, they are unique in Canada. They are seen as anomalous; manifesting behaviour beyond the realms of social norms and the traditional "feminine" roles of nurturer and homemaker. These women have largely been disregarded by Correctional Services Canada in that few reports have been published focusing solely on the plight of incarcerated women. For this reason, the demographic and criminal profiles of the prisoners at Prison for Women are focused in order to determine who these women are. As the purpose of this thesis is to examine the characteristic needs of prisoners in the Kingston Prison for Women, from this data, the needs of these women have been assessed. Specifically dealt with are those inmates incarcerated for periods of two years or more. Finally, how those needs are addressed in the prison community have been examined with suggestions made for

improvements to the system.

Common threads found to run through the lives of these women are the same characteristics which must be taken into account in determining the most appropriate forms of intervention during incarceration. Thus, by organizing and analyzing as wide a range of data about these women as possible, the needs of these women may be determined and from this knowledge problems in the system can be clarified. Further, progress may be made through informing those who develop programs for these women throughout their confinement as well as during aftercare in society. It is hoped that this research will also provide insights for the prevention of female criminality.

The first step in the study will be to examine the most current data on women sentenced to federal terms in Canada and to determine from that data some preliminary characteristics of those serving their sentences in Prison for Women. From there, the type of offenses women commit and how long their sentences are will be looked at in an attempt to further identify the nature of these women and their plight. This will be followed by a review of the literature on a variety of possible "target groups" for which correctional policy is intended. This, in itself, will be problematic as it becomes apparent that, in many areas, a federal policy per se does not exist. What we can examine are a variety of needs that women who are incarcerated have proven to have.

The literature is quite clear in stating that many groups of women have special needs that are quite distinct from the needs of

men and that these needs are not adequately addressed by correctional policies. The first chapter will review the literature documenting the inadequacies of program-oriented research in its applicability to women. Significantly, many writers have shown that what is known about the female offender has largely been deduced from what is known about the male offender.

Chapter two will describe the methodology for this research. The data collected on women in Prison for Women, was compiled through interviews with the prisoners and correctional staff at Prison for Women. Of the 103 women incarcerated at the time of this research, 30 women were interviewed. The primary purpose of the interviews was to determine the needs of these women as perceived by the women themselves. Nine personnel at the prison were interviewed. The purpose of the staff interviews was to determine how such needs are addressed at Prison for Women.

Chapter three will proceed with the discovery of needs among the women sampled in Prison for Women. It was found that there are a number of issues which must be addressed when considering any type of intervention. Education and job-skill training was found to be needed as well as sexual abuse and addiction counselling. Promotion of a liaison between mothers and their children was also lacking.

An additional aim of this survey was to determine the perceived deficiencies in the existing intervention strategies in order to suggest more appropriate forms of intervention. This was achieved through the prisoner interviews as well as with interviews

with key prison staff. It is believed that the prison staff is the key resource that Correctional Services has in dealing effectively and positively with the female prisoner.

In the fourth chapter, correctional resources will be examined with respect to how the needs of women serving long prison sentences are addressed. The findings of this research suggest that more can be done in the areas of job skills training, psychological counselling and addiction treatment.

In the final chapter, a summary and conclusions will be presented. Specifically, the discovery of needs among women in Prison for Women will be addressed. Along with this, recommendations will be made for programs related to specialized counselling and the development of job skills for the unique population found at Prison for Women.

CHAPTER ONE

A SURVEY OF FEMALE OFFENDERS

Women in Prison in Canada

The number of women sentenced to federal prison terms has fluctuated between 80 and 120 per year over the last decade (Table 1). These figures represent a slight increase since 1975 and also reflect an incarceration rate of approximately one per 100,000 females in Canada. At the onset of this thesis, there were 270 female offenders serving federal sentences, accounting for two per cent of the entire federal inmate population. These figures also included those on parole and mandatory supervision. During the period of January to August 1989, in which this research was conducted, the actual number of women incarcerated in Prison for Women fluctuated between 103 and 113.

Correctional Services Canada's Female Population Profile Report (December 31, 1987) indicates that 54 per cent of all federal female inmates are serving a sentence of between two and five years. Another 17 per cent are serving five to ten years and 16 percent are serving a sentence in excess of ten years (Correctional Services Canada, 1987). The remaining are those women serving a federal sentence of less than two years, reflecting a sentence administration practice, wherein a sentence is recalculated due to either day parole revocation or the inmate being unlawfully at large.

Not all federally sentenced inmates are serving their terms in the federal institution. Currently, approximately 101 federal

Table 1

Length of Aggregate Sentence of Female Inmates under Federal Sentence.¹

Length of agg. sentence	1975	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84
Less than 2 yrs. ²	5	16	12	4	12	8	8	12	7	13
2 to less than 3 yrs.	30	40	22	38	28	32	20	35	34	21
3 to less than 5 yrs.	26	44	46	49	36	34	28	24	37	33
5 to less than 10 yrs.	19	16	12	17	31	18	14	19	25	17
10 to less than 20 yrs.	4	2	2	4	3	0	4	4	3	1
20 yrs. to life.	5	3	7	8	10	5	6	7	11	14
TOTAL	89	121	101	120	120	97	80	101	117	99

Source: Solicitor General Canada. Correctional Services Canada, Offender Information System.

¹ Excludes re-admission by straight revocation of parole. Includes admissions to federal institutions and transfers to provincial institutions.

² Federal sentences of less than 2 years reflects a sentence administration practice wherein a sentence is recalculated due to day parole revocation or being unlawfully at large.

female inmates are housed in provincial prisons through an Exchange of Services Agreement signed with all the provinces except Ontario. The number of women serving federal terms in provincial institutions has increased steadily since the implementation of the agreement in 1973. (Table 2) Generally, the numbers of federally sentenced women from the Pacific, Prairie and Quebec regions indicates that more women are serving their sentences in their home province. The notable exceptions here are the women from Ontario who serve their sentences in their home province but fail to benefit from the advantages of serving time in a provincial institution.

The data reviewed also indicates that the number of women serving sentences of twenty years or more has increased since 1980. By 1984, there were ten women in provincial institutions and 33 in the Prison for Women with twenty year sentences or greater (Johnson, 1986). This has important implications for institutional staff and inmates because as the number of inmates with longer sentences increases, the difficulty of housing them increases also. As there is only one institution for women under federal jurisdiction and few provincial spaces reserved for federal transfers from the federal institution, transfers to facilities with reduced security classifications or to a preferred geographic location, are limited.

It has also been shown that women in Prison for Women are incarcerated for the same type of offenses as women who are serving federal sentences in provincial institutions. In 1984,

Table 2

Women on Register under Federal Sentence in Provincial Institutions, by Region, 1975-1984.

Region	1975	'76	'77	'78	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83	'84
Pacific	--	--	1	3	10	11	19	16	16	13
Prairie	--	--	--	3	7	17	18	22	19	21
Ontario	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Quebec	1	4	7	12	32	51	45	49	49	49
Atlantic	--	--	--	--	1	3	1	--	--	--
TOTAL	1	4	8	18	50	82	83	87	84	83

Total on register June 30th each year.

Source: Solicitor General Canada, Correctional Services Canada, Offender Information System.

31 women were incarcerated in the federal institution for murder and 19 for manslaughter, and approximately half this number were in provincial institutions serving federal sentences for the same offenses. An equal number of women incarcerated in federal and provincial institutions were serving sentences for drug related offenses (Johnson, 1986).

Police statistics support the argument that women are most often involved in offenses which are consistent with their social role of consumer and homemaker. Shoplifting accounts for 26 per cent of all offenses, other theft and fraud account for 12 per cent, and alcohol and drug related offenses account for 38 per cent. Violent offenses committed by women account for less than seven per cent of all crimes committed by women and occur primarily in the domestic milieu. Six out of every ten women charged with homicide were married or living with the victim and evidence supports the claim that many of the women who do kill feel they are doing so out of self defence (Statistics Canada, 1985).

The relationship between female criminality and women's socio-economic position in society is complex. While economic gains have improved the social position of women generally, Statistics Canada data suggest that many women remain in a cycle of poverty. In 1985, one in every ten families was headed by a single parent and the average income of families headed by women was half the income of families headed by men. Furthermore, 45 per cent of female-headed families lived below the poverty line while only ten per cent of male-headed families faced the same plight.

An increased participation in the labour force of women has not produced equitability in the wage earnings of men and women. Half of all women over the age of 15 are working outside the home. Three-quarters of women with paid employment are concentrated in clerical, sales, service, teaching and health-related positions, and of these women, one quarter are employed part-time. Furthermore, increased higher-education of women has not decreased this wage disparity. Women with a university degree earn an average of \$1,600 per year more than those with a high school education (Women in Canada, 1985).

Statistics describing women as economically disadvantaged may suggest an explanation for the propensity of women to commit crimes for monetary gain. What is not known, however, is how the economic status of incarcerated women (prior to their conviction) compares to women in the general population. Even with this knowledge, a single factor, such as poverty, cannot account solely for female criminality. Future studies must examine the consequences of poverty and role expectation, and differential treatment by the criminal justice system as factors in reported criminality and incarceration.

From the preceding discussion it can be argued that many of the crimes women commit are an extension of their social role as consumer, and low-paid supporter of their families.

The number of women committing crimes and subsequently being sentenced to lengthy prison sentences is increasing and this has several implications for the housing of federal inmates. As the

provincial space for federally sentenced women is being depleted, we can expect that either more women will be incarcerated in the federal Prison for Women, or less women will be incarcerated.

The question remains: What distinguishes these women from other women? Before examining the characteristics of the women at Prison for Women we must examine the literature which discusses the characteristics of other incarcerated women.

Available profiles of women incarcerated in Canada agree that generally, upon incarceration, these women were likely to be young, poor, poorly educated and unemployed with few, if any, job skills. Many came from dysfunctional families and up to 70 per cent of them were victims of emotional, sexual and/or physical abuse. Up to half of this population was addicted to alcohol or drugs or both and native women were over-represented (Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies, 1985; Dubec, 1982; Lambert and Madden, 1976; Robertson, Bankier and Schwarts, 1987).

Robertson and her colleagues surveyed women upon admission to the Winnipeg Remand Centre in order to collect data about their personal history, family background and mental health. It is important to note the sample surveyed included 100 women consecutively admitted at the pre-trial stage. Thus none of these women had appeared in court, but all were alleged offenders.

The results found that 68 per cent of the sample were born in Manitoba, and ranged in age from 18 to 58, the mode being 19 and 20. Sixty-six of the women had children. Of these, 25 per cent had one child while 25 per cent had three children or more. Sixty-

one per cent of the women were single, and 76 per cent were single with no previous marriage. Thirty four per cent were under the influence of alcohol upon arrest.

Fifty-five percent of the women did not go past junior high school. Many have a poor work record and 90 percent were unemployed at the time of arrest. Fifty-nine per cent had no formal occupation and 24 per cent had worked in unskilled occupations or in the service industry.

Lambert and Madden (1976) conducted a longitudinal study of 338 women admitted to the Vanier Centre, a provincial correctional institution in Brampton, Ontario. This provincial sample represents all of those whose sentences were for thirty days or more, and whose convictions were neither reversed nor changed. Their findings concur with those noted previously in that the archetypal woman at admission was young, had not completed high school, had a history of unstable work experience, came from a family of low- or middle-socio-economic status and had a history of family instability where alcohol and/or drugs were often a serious problem. The women in the sample tended to have had previous contact with the criminal justice system and almost half reported that members of their families had been in trouble with the law.

An Ontario survey of native women in provincial jails also supports previous findings about women offenders. Dubec (1982) describes the "typical" native female inmate. Of the 33 native women sampled, all were under the age of 25 and had less than a high school education. At the time of arrest, these women lived on

a reserve in poor social conditions and with limited economic opportunities. It was also reported that they were often dependant on social assistance and never had any type of job training. It is significant, for example, that many were imprisoned for non payment of fines. Dubec (1982) also found that the women in her sample were serving time for liquor-related offenses and non payment of fines. A significant number were also addicted to alcohol at the time of the offence. Many of the native women offenders were 18 or younger at the time of their first arrest and had served as many as three jail terms. Forty per cent had been arrested at least 15 times and 21 per cent had been sentenced to jail 17 times or more.

Thus through looking at previous studies, we can make a general prediction concerning women in Prison for Women. It is reasonable to argue that the women in Prison for Women are not unlike their sisters in provincial institutions. They are likely to be young, with poor education and job skills. They are also likely to be addicted to alcohol or drugs. Previous victimization by a family member is probable and their self-esteem is apt to be low. Violence is not predominant among female offenders, generally. In fact, violent offences by women remains at less than ten per cent of all offences by women. However, because women in Prison for Women are serving longer sentences, it is safe to assume that they are more likely to have a charge involving a violent offence.

Theoretical approaches to female criminality tell us very

little about the needs of female offenders or possible intervention strategies to deter or prevent crimes by women. However, discussion of possible intervention strategies is found when we look at the literature examining the possible "target groups" among women who are in conflict with the law. The groups which will be addressed are: native women, women with addictions, female prisoners with children, and violent women. These groups cannot be considered mutually exclusive in that a particular woman may be found in more than one group.

Native Women

As we have already seen, native women tend to be over-represented in the criminal justice system. They are also likely to have a history of addiction to alcohol and experiences of violence in the family (LaPrairie, 1984). LaPrairie (1987) also argues that it is these factors that put native women at risk of conflict with the law.

Trapped in cyclical violence and facing pervasive social inequality and racism, native women are highly exposed to the criminal justice system. LaPrairie, in her 1987 study outlines the likely course a native woman's life might take. Suffering from abuse as a child or being exposed to violence vicariously, a native woman as an adult may retaliate violently against an abusive man. She may, alternatively, "escape" her violent living conditions by migrating to an urban area, where she is in turn discriminated against. This situation is then compounded by her low level of

education and job skills and will likely result in unemployment. Perpetual joblessness thus increases the likelihood of alcohol or drug abuse, or the native woman turning to prostitution. It is the convergence of these factors which expose native women to the criminal justice system (1987:109).

Poverty is also faced by natives within rural native communities. LaPrairie (1984) reviews various reports concerning the plight of native women. For example, LaPrairie observes that the birth rate of registered native women is twice that for non-native women. Unmarried registered Indian women have five times the birth rate of their non-Indian counterparts and lastly, Indian women were more likely to be single heads of households than non-Indian women.

The educational level of native women serving provincial prison terms in Ontario was found to be marginal. Ninety-seven per cent of the sample taken had less than a grade eleven education. Only half of these individuals had achieved grade eight. In this sample, the women also proved to have little or no work experience. Prior to their incarceration, 64 per cent were unemployed and 97 per cent lacked any job skills training (Dubec, 1982).

Thus from this we can see that many natives face a bleak existence both on and off the reserve. The children, if they remain with the family, are likely to repeat the cycle of poverty and violence. Also, native women face a double discrimination in that they are both women and native; two categories of people that have faced general social inequality. As we have seen, they are

predisposed to alcoholism and are extremely vulnerable to the criminal justice system.

Alcoholism and Drug Addiction

As was shown previously, women in conflict with the law are likely to have an addiction to drugs or alcohol or both. Yet the relationship between alcoholism or drug addiction has rarely been tested among women.

James, Gosho and Wohl (1979) conducted a two year study of 268 women. The sample was composed of 68 addicts, 66 prostitute addicts, 70 prostitutes, and 64 unclassified female offenders. This study examined the relationship between female addicts and addiction-related crimes (addict support systems) and the relationship between non-addict female offenders and drug and property violations (non-addict support systems).

James and her colleagues found that addicts were most often arrested on drug charges - the second most frequent group of women charged were addict-prostitutes. Female offenders had high arrest rates for forgery, shoplifting and larceny. Only prostitutes had a significant arrest rate for assault, although women in the other categories were also reported as having committed assaults. Furthermore, 69 per cent of the prostitutes, 43.5 per cent of the female offenders and 34 per cent of the addict-prostitutes cited money as the primary motive for involvement in criminal activities.

In the study, a causal relationship between drug use and criminal activity manifested itself in the early adult arrests of

addicts and addict-prostitutes. Among these women, excitement was the primary motive for drug use.

The authors report that in the adult sample, it was not possible to associate a specific crime with the use of a specific type of drug. Only heroin appeared to be closely associated with crime committed to purchase drugs. The type of crime committed seemed to be determined by opportunity and skill rather than by the type of drug used. Among drug users, low-skill, low-visibility crimes were preferred over those requiring high skill and high visibility. Female offenders and addicts also had illegal support systems such as shoplifting and larceny.

Finally, the type of crime committed by the entire sample related to the speed of the cash return. Drug sales and prostitution were favored as they provided ready cash. Shoplifting and larceny were the second choices because they required an intermediate step to convert property into cash. Forgery provides ready drugs and ready cash but was more risky and requires more skill. Like male offenders, female offenders gravitate to those activities which are easily available, provide a satisfactory return, are within their skills and opportunity, and carry the lowest risk of arrest.

Another American study by Martin, Cloninger and Guze (1982) examined the association of alcohol abuse with criminality and personal, medical and social factors among 66 women felons who were either on parole or probation. This longitudinal study involved a six year follow-up between 1966 and 1973 and had traced the abuse

of alcohol and anti-social behaviour among these women.

Martin and his colleagues found that half their sample were diagnosed as alcoholics. This is fifty times the rate of the general female population. There was no significant association found between alcohol abuse and recidivism. Women diagnosed alcoholic at the time of index were no more likely to be criminally recidivistic than other women offenders during the follow-up.

Compared with other alcoholic groups, the women in the sample experienced the onset of alcoholism earlier and underwent remittance more frequently than non-felons. The similarity between felons and non-felons was that with both, alcoholism was associated with "medical and social consequences" (1982:402).

Finally, the authors also found that alcoholism was more frequent among homosexual as compared to non-homosexual female felons. Moreover, the findings implicate an association between homosexuality and alcoholism in women in that alcoholism is also prevalent among non-criminal homosexual women.

A final article concerning substance abuse and women discusses the treatment needs of female drug offenders that should be addressed while these women are incarcerated. Ramsey (1980) argues that female users must be dealt with differently during treatment as they manifest numerous special features that are virtually non-existent in male drug users. Firstly, the lack of aggressive social conditioning in women is one trait which directly relates to the inadvisability of using an aggressive, confrontational techniques of male-oriented encounter groups. Furthermore, when a

woman is identified and stigmatized as a drug user, every aspect of her being is questioned. The cause of psychological strain is another unique aspect that must be addressed in treatment. Ramsey believes that the patriarchal system, which maintains some level of social esteem for male drug abusers, is largely responsible for the psychological destruction of female drug abusers.

Ramsey also addresses the characteristic tendency of goal depression inherent in female drug offenders, a trait not evident in males. The author argues that women are trained to believe in their own inferiority and to depend on men. Simultaneously, women renounce their own aims, ambitions, and interests and begin to live through the aims, ambitions, and interests of their male partner. Consequently, female drug offenders will enter therapy with a much greater sense of alienation and disorientation than their male counterparts. It is also likely that women will not have long-range, realistically attainable career objectives and will see their future chances for success only in terms of their ability to attract marriage partners and to bear children.

Female drug offenders lack a sense of economic, social and political power, and this is augmented in incarcerated drug abusers. Imprisonment generates a greater sense of personal and emotional isolation for female drug offenders than it does for males, in that when a woman is incarcerated she loses her familial associations: her means of self-identity and social status.

The author concludes, therefore, that treatment programs must address the needs for these women to move out of their positions of

marginal power and to experience leadership and power over others, as well as over themselves. Women must receive 'elementary' and 'complex' training to enable them to exercise authority over their peers, to be responsible for various program functions and to simultaneously upgrade their educational, vocational, political, and social skills that will afford them access to higher circles of power.

Pregnant Inmates and Female Inmates with Dependent Children

A third category of women in need within the criminal justice system are those who are pregnant or have dependent children. It has been shown that women who are pregnant while serving a long prison sentence are at risk of losing their children permanently and also receive poor medical attention throughout the duration of the pregnancy and delivery (Holt, 1982; Berzins and Dunn, 1978; Koehler, 1985).

Koehler (1985) has pointed out that in the mid-nineteenth century, pregnant prisoners in Kingston Penitentiary were able to keep their babies with them until they were weaned. Today, however, alternative care in the form of foster homes or adoption has been provided. The author argues that there are virtually no child care programs or any other encouragement to maintain and develop the mother-child bond. Thus the only way for a prisoner to ensure that her child will not be lost to her forever is for her to make arrangements with friends or relatives to care for her children while she is incarcerated.

Berzins and Dunn (1978) have pointed out that between 1970-72 approximately seven babies were born to women serving a penitentiary sentence. They have suggested that: "The human consequence for these mothers and their newborn infants may far out-weigh in destructiveness the consequences of their criminal act." (1978:section 1X). Bethany House, a Community Residential Centre near Kingston, has assumed care of some of the children born in this period. The authors have suggested that the increasing incidence of women returning to prison after childbirth may be a result of the services provided by the House. Consequently, the need to maintain the mother-child bond is perhaps seen by Correctional Services as less urgent.

Datesman and Cales (1983) surveyed 40 mothers who were incarcerated in an American institution. This study indicated that if contact was maintained it contributed to the mother-child relationship. Mothers with extended or over-night visits reported feelings of a greater sense of involvement in the lives of their children. This was encouraging and afforded the mothers a more optimistic approach to parenting.

It was also suggested in the Datesman and Cales study that while most mothers in prison plan to reunite with their children upon their release, their chances of success are limited if the facility does not anticipate and provide for the needs of inmate mothers. Thus not only must women contend with the difficulties of finding employment upon release and the strain of adjusting to society as a whole, they also must face the possible friction that

may accompany the resumption of the mother-child relationship on a daily basis.

Violent Women

The final group of women which will be examined is women with histories of violent behaviour. In Canada, the research on violence by women is extremely limited. According to the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics (CCJS), crimes of violence accounted for 37 per cent of all female admissions under federal sentences (compared to 44% of males). (Table 3) In addition, admissions of women for crimes of violence have increased since 1975 from 30 per cent to 42 per cent (1984), while admissions for drug offenses decreased to 18 per cent from 37 per cent in 1975 (Johnson 1986). Statistics have also shown that crimes of violence accounted for more than twice the proportion of native (68%) as non-native admissions (31%) under federal sentence (Table 4). Native women were three times as likely to be admitted for murder or manslaughter (34% versus 11%), and four times as likely to be admitted for attempted murder, wounding and assault (17% versus 4%) (Johnson 1986).

Despite the higher proportion of native women admitted for crimes of violence, non-native women generally receive longer sentences. The data indicated that native women are rarely sentenced to a prison term of more than ten years. According to Statistics Canada, between 1980-1985 only two native women have been sentenced to a term of ten years or more. That translates

Table 3

Major Offence of Women Admitted under Federal Sentence¹ by Ethnicity 1975 - 1984.

Offence	1975	'76	'77	'78	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83	'84	TOTAL
Murder/ Manslaughter.	N n ² 3 7	N n 2 6	N n 4 12	N n 6 9	N n 5 8	N n 9 8	N n 5 8	N n 11 12	N n 7 17	N n 4 13	N n 56 100
Att. Murder/ Assault	4 2	4 3	2 -	5 4	3 1	1 6	3 6	- 4	4 7	2 4	28 37
Rape/Sex Offences	- -	- 2	- -	- -	- -	- -	- 1	- 1	- 1	- 1	0 6
Robbery	- 11	2 13	3 9	1 21	4 15	2 8	1 11	2 14	6 16	6 12	27 130
Br. & Enter Theft/Fraud	2 12	1 26	4 19	- 19	7 10	1 16	1 13	1 15	3 11	2 18	22 159
NCA/ FDA ³	- 33	2 41	- 33	2 39	2 43	- 23	- 12	1 22	- 25	- 18	7 289

continued pg. 23a....

¹excludes re-admission by strait revocation of parole and mandatory supervision.
Includes admissions to federal institutions and transfers to provincial institutions.

²N indicates Native; n indicates non-Native

³ Denotes Narcotic Control Act, and Food and Drug Administration Act

Other ¹	- 15	2 17	4 11	5 9	2 20	2 21	4 15	1 17	3 17	- 19	23 161
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>9 80</u>	<u>13 108</u>	<u>17 84</u>	<u>19 101</u>	<u>23 97</u>	<u>15 82</u>	<u>14 66</u>	<u>16 85</u>	<u>23 94</u>	<u>14 85</u>	<u>163 882</u>

Source: Solicitor General Canada. Correctional Services Canada, Offender Information System.

¹Includes infanticide, kidnapping and abduction, criminal negligence, offensive weapons, possession of stolen goods, prison breach, dangerous offenders, habitual criminals, other Criminal Code, and other federal statute offences.

into less than 4 per cent of the total native population versus up to 17 per cent of non-natives. These figures, however, must be read with caution, as native women are not always portrayed accurately in statistics.

Power (1987) writes that in 1986, only a small number of the 250 federal female inmates were considered violent. Only four or five were identified as "management problems". Surprisingly, these women were not convicted for violent offences, but were generally serving terms for property offences.

It has also been long recognized that while a woman may be serving a federal term for a violent offence, she may not be considered a violent person (Archambault Report, 1938; Baker, 1984; Canadian Advisory Council, 1980; Lawson, 1987; Power, 1987). Female offenders are not classified according to their security risks, but rather by their gender. Women do not have the option of a lower security institution and thus all federally

Table 4

Length of Aggregate Sentence of Women under Federal Sentence¹, by Ethnicity, 1975 - 1984.

Length of Aggregate Sentence	1975	'76	'77	'78	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83	'84	TOTAL											
less than 2 yrs. ²	-	5	4	12	5	7	3	1	8	4	-	8	5	3	33	64						
2 to less than 3 yrs.	6	24	4	36	4	18	2	36	4	24	3	29	-	20	5	30	6	28	4	17	38	262
3 to less than 5 yrs.	2	24	4	40	5	41	8	41	5	31	9	25	5	23	5	19	10	27	7	26	60	297
5 to less than 10 yrs.	-	19	1	15	3	9	1	16	1	30	3	15	2	12	3	16	2	23	1	16	17	171
10 to less than 20 yrs.	-	4	-	2	-	2	1	3	2	1	-	-	-	4	1	3	-	3	-	1	4	23
20 yrs. to life	1	4	-	3	-	7	4	4	3	7	-	5	2	4	-	7	1	10	-	14	11	65
TOTAL	9	80	13	108	17	84	19	101	23	97	15	82	14	66	16	85	23	94	14	85	163	882

¹Excludes re-admissions by straight revocation of parole and mandatory supervision. Includes admissions to federal institutions and transfers to provincial institutions.

²N indicates Native; n indicates non-Native

³Federal sentences of less than 2 years reflects a sentence administration practice wherein a sentence is recalculated due to day parole revocation or being unlawfully at large.

sentenced women serve their term in a prison designed to hold maximum security inmates. Lawson (1987) writes that very few women in Canada have violent histories. Instead, many of them turn their anger inward and mutilate themselves. These women were also likely to come from a family ridden with violence.

Lawson suggests that the low incidence of crime and violence among women is due, in part, to social, political and economic structures that socialize women into traditional roles of wife and mother. These roles translate into passivity, dependence, and acceptance. These social structures also set up the behaviour expectations for women in terms of how to deal with anger.

Lawson believes that unresolved feelings of anger are at the root of much violent behaviour. For women, it is far less acceptable to externalise feelings of anger verbally or by striking other people. Women therefore, turn unresolved anger inward. They experience self-hate which manifests itself in mental or physical kinds of illness.

A number of authors suggest that violence occurs cyclically. Many women who demonstrate violent behaviour have experienced family violence throughout their lives. That is, many of these women came from a family where they were victims of physical and sexual abuse or incest. Then they also later they entered into violent marital relationships (Biron, 1987; Darke, 1987; Lawson, 1987; Power, 1987).

Studies on violent women found both a lack of education and the use of drugs to be prevalent among offenders. Darke (1987)

included 30 women in her research on the violent female offender. She found that nearly half of her sample had been physically assaulted as children, all but one of them by their fathers. Eighty per cent were sexually assaulted as children by someone they trusted in a position of power. As adults, 25 per cent were sexually assaulted one or more times. Half of all the assailants were friends or acquaintances and one-third of the sample were repeated victims of sexual assault. Darke argues that a result of repeated victimization is that anger is suppressed until there is an event that triggers some kind of lashing out. Darke further states that some women, however, may allow themselves to express their anger only under the influence of drugs or alcohol.

An American study surveyed 90 women serving terms for violent offences in a maximum security institution in order to determine their sex-role perceptions. This study was conducted in response to the suggestion that the increasing involvement of women in the work force and the identity problems that many women are experiencing have led them to express their frustration through criminal activities. Through the implementation of the Femininity Scale of the California Psychological Inventory, the Attitudes towards Women Scale, and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire, Bunch and her colleagues (1983) found that their sample generally conformed to rather traditional sex roles and were not "liberated" women. It was found that the sample was closer to the general female population in terms of the tested "feminine characteristics" than they were to women involved in atypical careers. In addition,

these women demonstrated a relatively large amount of sex role conformity. Therefore, this research does not support the contention that there is a relationship between a liberated view of sex-roles and the commission of violent offenses by women.

In interviews with 19 women with violent histories, Biron (1987) found that most of the women had a very low educational background. Five never went beyond primary school and only one had made it to grade 12. Of this sample, half started to use drugs in adolescence and developed serious addiction problems by the time they reached adulthood. Health problems including weight loss, shaking, and severe anaemia often accompanied addiction problems.

Programming for Women in Prison

Finally, we will briefly examine the current state of female-oriented research in Criminology. The inadequacy of male-oriented theory to be applicable to females has been well documented, and some writers suggest that studies involving male inmates should not be generalized to include women (Baker, 1984; Berzins and Cooper, 1982; Currie, 1986; Ross and Fabiano, 1986; Wilson and Rigsby, 1975).

Wilson and Rigsby (1975) state that female offenders have so consistently been ignored, that what we do know of them consists solely of what we know about the male offender. In their survey of literature on female offenders, they found that criminological theories have not only excluded empirical testing on female samples but they have also assumed the similtude of male and female

samples.

A national survey of Canadian female inmates found that female offenders have been given second-hand facilities and programs initially designed for men. In view of this, poor and outmoded versions of programs have been hastily provided in inferior facilities at a lower cost. Berzins and Cooper state: "not only is the size of the female offender population not amenable to management categories and economics of scale, but her offence pattern, the behaviour that can be expected of her in institutions and, most fundamentally, her social-emotional-economic identity and role vary considerably from that of the male offender" (Berzins and Cooper 1982:407). Berzins and Cooper argue that this has led to a stalemate in correctional programs. When stumbling blocks are inevitably encountered within the existing 'male model' framework, they are simply ignored. The result, in their opinion, has been a system that does not fit the consumer; a refusal to develop a system that could, and has created a "vacuum of information" in this area (1982:404).

Baker (1984) discusses a number of consequences of a male-oriented corrections system. She relates that security classification categories and criteria for parole eligibility are not appropriate when applied to women, as they are based on scales of male aggressive behaviour and on conduct expected of men. Baker also suggests that policy areas that are more relevant to women than men such as child care have been neglected because it is not a priority to male offenders.

Baker identifies other problems with the correctional system. For example, she suggests that when women are offered a treatment program, it is often too long in duration compared to the length of the sentence a woman receives. There is often not enough time for an inmate to complete the program and therefore the quality of the program and its usefulness may be jeopardized if the program is "tailored".

Ross and Fabiano (1986) provide an extensive evaluation of community and institutional intervention programs for female offenders in their study. They conclude that female offenders have received far less than an equitable share of program opportunities. Furthermore, women's treatment and training programs are distinctively poorer in quality, quantity and variety, and considerably different in nature from those for male offenders (1985:5).

Equity however, is not the aim of correctional services programming, and perhaps, rightly so. As Ross and Fabiano point out, the proponents of equity have given little consideration to the possibility that male-oriented services may be of little benefit for females. Ross and Fabiano argue that striving for equity, that is a term which denotes 'more of the same' will only result in more women receiving more of the same programs that men have and the possibility that programs being sought for women should not be given to anyone is seldom considered (1985:2).

They go on to say:

Policy seems to have been based on sentiment, conjecture, fads and politics. With the

exception of the much-maligned medical model, there appears to be no rational model of the needs of the female offenders which has guided policy and program development (1986:12).

Finally, the authors state that in terms of their socio-economic circumstances and their needs for services and programs, female offenders seem to have more in common with disadvantaged women in the general population than with male offenders. Accordingly, more emphasis should be placed on sharing programs with agencies which provide services for other women.

Currie (1986) goes further in her suggestions concerning policy formation and research tools for the study of female offenders. She summarizes the major problems of female offender research as: a lack of well-developed theory; a need to reconceptualize research priorities in terms of relevance to women's lives; the absence of a range of tests and measurements created specifically for women; the pervasiveness of sex-role stereotyping; and the ongoing comparison of women offenders to the male standard.

In concurrence with Ross and Fabiano, Currie indicates that program development should be based on an objective and realistic assessment of local populations. A survey documenting this type of information could provide a basis for future studies contributing essential data for government resource and policy planning, as well as assistance to non-governmental organizations working with female offenders.

As mentioned in the introduction, the purpose of this thesis is to look at the situation at Prison for Women. This study is in fact very limited in that all programs and approaches under

consideration are already established within the given system. Therefore, when a prisoner is asked for a choice, her frame of reference is quite limited. That is to say, she may be quite familiar with what is available to her in the institution, or in other institutions, but she may not be aware of the wide array of resources that exist in the community. These are community - based resources that are specific to women and are programs that women in prison can greatly benefit from.

As already mentioned, many of the problems that women in prison have are not unlike the problems women in society have. Yet by addressing service delivery through consulting the women in the prison we do not offer real choice. This endeavor, however, should not be seen as an attempt to pacify the prisoner. What is sought here is some way to alleviate a very stressful situation that exists in Prison for Women.

It is not the intention of this writer to argue for the restructuring of the prison facility in order to appease those confined there. This research was conducted with the knowledge that, while recommendations for changing the structure do exist, there is an immediate situation that needs to be addressed.¹ There is a need for making recommendations for change within the given structure of the prison itself.

What follows is a description of the research conducted for

¹ A Federal Task Force was completed in 1990 and recommended the closure of Prison for Women. It is now expected that Prison for Women will be closed by 1995 and be replaced by five smaller institutions placed throughout the country. This restructuring is to include a healing lodge for native women.

the purpose of this thesis is an attempt to identify the needs of women at Prison for Women and determine how these needs are being addressed.

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CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

As stated earlier, the comprehensive study of local populations of female offenders is a vastly unexplored area of research in Canada. This, no doubt, is due in part to the difficulties of conducting research involving prison inmates. Also such research not only raises ethical questions but it also involves overcoming many logistical barriers. Sample selection, for example, involved seeking co-operation from several groups and individuals.

To promote research on female offenders, Currie (1986) furnishes suggestions for a methodological approach which would guide a researcher in an attempt to overcome some logistical barriers in order to gather information through a comprehensive survey of female offenders. Her aim was to provide a guide for developing an information base that would serve as a foundation for effective policy and programming research in more focused areas. This approach has also been recommended by Chapman (1980), Berzins and Cooper (1982), Jones (1985) and Smart (1976).

To emulate Currie's approach in this research, interviews were conducted with both prisoners and staff members. Thirty prisoners were interviewed, and their files were reviewed at a later date. Nine personnel were interviewed, including: the Deputy Warden; Coordinator, Case Management; two Case Management Officers; Coordinator, Social Development; the Social Cultural Development Officer; and the Social Development Clerk. Interviews also took

place with a staff psychologist and a group leader for a pilot project which took place in the duration of this research. These personnel are key figures in the overall delivery of programs in the Prison for Women and are Correctional Services' most vital resource.

Interviewing Women in Prison

The primary purpose of collecting data through inmate interviews was to obtain information from the women themselves regarding their needs as they perceived them. That is, delivery of services to any population must be in accordance with what that particular population feels is wanting or needed. Any service delivery which is not welcome or is perceived to be inappropriate is offered in vain. This does not imply, however, that any one population is homogeneous or is entirely knowledgeable in what is most appropriate for the group as a whole. Let it suffice to say that the target population must feel that their perceptions are not disregarded in the development of intervention programs.

Taking into account the offenders' perceptions in criminological research is legitimate, in view of some current theoretical perspectives. In the interactionist perspective of criminological study, it is maintained, however, that it is not possible to understand crime merely by studying criminals, in that crime must be seen in the context of the entire "criminalization process". Thus this perspective accounts for the definition of what deviant behaviours are and also the social reactions to the

behaviours in question.

George Herbert Mead (1934), for example, emphasizes not only the role of social conditions in the origins of human behaviour, but also the role of the individual in responding to, interpreting, and interacting with those conditions. That is, an individual is seen as both the creator and the product of their environment. Mead, speaking in the masculine gender, stressed that the 'self' is a social construct, and that the way in which an individual acts and perceives himself is in part a consequence of the way other people perceive and react to him. Mead also emphasizes how the 'self' develops from a process of social interaction: 'I' is the response of the organism to the attitudes of others; and 'Me' is the organized set of attitudes of others which are internalized. The attitudes of the others constitute the organized 'Me', and then 'I' reacts towards the perception of 'Me'.

Cooley, (1902) describes this concept as "the looking glass self", and believes that only through a process of "sympathetic introspection" can one determine the true meaning of an action for the actor. The technique of sympathetic introspection requires that the criminologist enter into the criminal's world in order to see the meaning of crime from the criminal's perspective. This approach entails understanding the criminal's definitions of him/herself, his/her situation, and his/her society. Thus, this perspective requires a strong reliance on the use of the criminal's own words.

From this interactionist view, the individual is never

considered in isolation from those with whom he interacts. It is argued here, that this is also applicable within an institutional setting. An inmate will, and must, react appropriately to the perceptions and reactions of those who control him/her. Also, an inmate may face many ambiguous situations and each is a potential source of conflict. Finestone (1976) writes:

The more complex and differentiated a society,
and the more sensitive individuals become to their
group identifications, the more problematic become
the social encounters among individuals of competing
groups. Those who work with deviance must ask the
questions: Who says a particular act is deviant?
Who has the power to make this concept of deviance
stick?

Finestone indicates that the criminal perspective must be taken into account in research. Both in prison and beyond its walls, perceptively, most criminals live in a very different world: a world that dictates a different set of codes and laws from those of society. Finestone signifies that in order to come to a full understanding of criminals and the microcosmic world they inhabit, one must adopt an amoral, broadminded perspective.

Maruyama (1981) offers a cautionary note to those who wish to research the perspectives of the prison inmate. He argues that the attitudes of prison inmates being interviewed are far from positive. The researcher and his/her purpose in doing the research are totally irrelevant to the inmates. The latter feel exploited by the researchers and develop sophisticated phoney answers to minimize the intrusion.

Jones (1985) writes that this issue is particularly pertinent

to those instances where researchers want data that interviewees would regard as too sensitive or difficult to reveal unless there were good reasons for doing so. Those who see no intrinsic relevance or purpose in the research may equally see little reason to give good data to an outsider who can offer no benefits. Equally, however, some may value the possibility that what they have to say could have some impact on policies affecting them and they may feel rewarded by knowing that the interview is important to the researcher.

Manheim and Rich (1986), also discuss specialized interviewing with regards to prison inmates. With a prison population, the researcher can not assume that they and their respondents share a common vocabulary. Therefore, attention must be paid to slang terms that the respondents may use or conventional words used in special way which the researcher may not understand. In this research however, what must also be considered is the reverse.

The researcher may wish to avoid "official" terminology used by prison staff which may be seen as offensive or degrading to the respondent. For example, in this research the word "inmate" was initially used, but was later avoided throughout the interviews; the researcher was informed that certain women in the prison felt that this word implied that they were guests at the institution, and that "prisoner" was the word by which most appropriately defined their position. "Offender" was also a word which was avoided throughout the interviewing period, as this word implied that the women were "continually offending". Preference of

terminology, however, varied among the women.

A second distinctive feature of specialized interviews is that the interviewers often can not assume that respondents can read or have the ability to reason or follow a line of argument that would be expected of an average person in the culture. Thirdly, while the general population of respondents may regard interviewers largely as equals who can be trusted to a degree and treated cordially, specialized subjects may view interviewers as authority figures or may be hostile and suspicious. In these circumstances, communication can be difficult and thus the validity of responses can suffer. Therefore, interviewers have to carefully establish a basis for communication and then check to be sure that communication is occurring.

The Interview Schedule

To obtain the perceptions of the inmates in this study, open and closed-ended questions were used throughout the interviews where deemed most appropriate. Open-ended questions provided enriched information, whereby the women were free to express their feelings and beliefs. The women were also encouraged to elaborate on their responses whenever they felt comfortable to do so. Set questions were asked during the interview that addressed the woman's socio-economic background; her income and education; her medical and mental health; and her criminal history (See Appendix A).

When conducting research using an interview schedule,

particular attention must be paid to choosing the appropriate type of questions in order to elicit the desired information. In the interview, for example, a researcher may choose open- or close-ended questions, depending on what he/she is looking for.

Close-ended questions were used when the range of possible answers was exhaustive and thus included all possible responses that could be expected (for example, age and home province/country). Secondly, the answer categories had to be mutually exclusive, in that the respondent could choose only one of a list of possible responses.

For the purpose of this research, close-ended questions were used only when the information sought was clear cut, i.e. age, type of offence, length of sentence and number of children. Open-ended questions which allowed the respondent to provide her own answer were used more frequently as this research sought perceptions and experiences that presumably would vary greatly among the respondents. Close-ended questions would not have allowed for the variety of experiences that could be elicited from the respondents.

Whenever open-ended questions were asked, the responses were recorded exactly as given. No attempt was made to summarize or paraphrase. As Babbie (1979) points out, this exactness is important because the interviewer may not know how the responses will be coded in the processing of the data. In other words, information may not be seen as significant until all responses have been combined and studied. Another reason for the recording of exact responses is that the respondents may be so inarticulate that

the verbal replies are too ambiguous to permit immediate interpretation.

In addition, the essence or meaning of a response may be conveyed through a respondent's gestures or tone. Thus, in order to ensure that such things of possible significance were not overlooked, notes on the general nature of the interview were made. Noted were things such as: if the respondent was comfortable, nervous, rushed, distracted, or if perhaps, there were any particular questions which elicited a particular reaction. These notes were essential as it is not difficult to forget contextual data which can greatly affect the interpretation of interview content. Interviews were not tape recorded. This decision was made because it was felt that the presence of a recording instrument would be too intrusive to enable the respondents to be open in the discussions.

Each set of questions was designed to elicit information on three specific subjects. These were: the woman's needs, her perception of the effectiveness of programs in meeting these needs and finally, her plans for the future and what she hopes to accomplish while she remains in prison.

As mentioned earlier, issues dealt with during the interview were divided into four categories: socio-demographic; employment and education; medical and mental health; and criminal history. Within each category, a series of related questions also were designed to probe the areas in which each woman may require advocacy or intervention.

The socio-demographic section focused on place of origin, child care arrangements if applicable, and general "homelife". Ethnic background and place of origin were discussed in order to identify cultural and social distinction and the need for diverse services, as well as to identify needs regarding visiting and correspondence with family members and the difficulties of pre-release planning. Child care arrangements were discussed to identify the need mothers in prison may have regarding alternate custody arrangements and possible pre- and post-natal care.

Employment and education histories were discussed in the second section to identify the interests and achievements of the women and to determine the range of education levels in the sample.

Identifying the interests and work experience of the women is essential as this information may indicate the types of job skill development which would most likely succeed if offered to the women in prison. The women were also asked if they were satisfied with their education and employment opportunities while in prison. Such an approach was taken to identify work projects that were well received and could be expanded and those that provided little interest and which perhaps could be replaced or re-organized.

The third section, which deals with the medical and mental health of the prisoner, probes possible substance abuse and any physical or psychological disorder already identified in the prisoner. This set of questions attempts to identify the women's specific needs for medical and psychological services as well as some of the concerns they have regarding their general health and

well-being. In this section the women were asked to discuss the quality of the counselling they had received and the programs they had participated in which addressed these needs.

Finally, in the fourth section, the women were asked to discuss their previous involvement in crime and the circumstances surrounding their most current offence. This section was aimed at identifying the need for specific types of intervention such as the development of coping strategies which would assist in preventing certain types of criminal behaviours.

Initially, Correctional Services Canada, Research Division, was approached for their assistance in this research. Under the supervision of the Director of Research, this department within Correctional Service co-ordinates all research projects involving the federal correction system. Therefore, although this research was not commissioned by Correctional Services, it had to be approved by the Director. After some time, the Director of Research assisted with obtaining access to the files at the Prison for Women and assured staff co-operation within the institution.

As Bulmer (1982) points out, there is a tendency among the commissioners of policy-related research, whether in government or other organizations, to view research as primarily being concerned with the gathering of facts. Objective information is to be gathered on the basis of which informed policy decisions about specific policy problems can be made.

While facts do have to be clear, program delivery involves much more than what is offered to whom and when. Effectiveness

measuring requires interpretation of the interactions involved. Glaser and Strauss (1967) argue that theory about the social world which 'fits and works' is that which is generated inductively from gathered data. This research supports this view and accordingly, conclusions drawn about the social world have been firmly grounded in the concepts and theories of the persons inhabiting and acting in it.

Also, in this research, conceptual categories were developed from existing literature on female prisoners. However, in comparing and contrasting the literature and the interviews, broader concepts were formulated which were not identical to those previously expounded. It is significant to note, however, that such discrepancies may have resulted from their relevance to the specific group studied. With this in mind, connections were made between the concepts in the literature and the data collected in ways which could confirm, elaborate, modify or reject previous theory. Thus, the level of analysis extended beyond the quantitative data.

As a preliminary step to the onset of research, the Inmate Committee was approached to determine whether the inmate population would be amenable to participating. The response was cautious but relatively positive. Following this, an informative letter about the proposed research was distributed to each of the prisoners at Prison for Women (N=103). Included with this letter was a response sheet and an addressed envelope. The purpose of this letter was first, to determine whether anyone in fact would be interested in

participating in the research and second, to encourage the women to do so as their knowledge and experience were valued. They were asked to indicate in their response whether they were interested in 1) assisting the investigator in this research; 2) requesting additional information on this research; or 3) being excluded from this research. They were also asked to respond within ten days. These letters were initially withheld by the warden and were not circulated until ten days after the first visit. In the subsequent month, forty-five responses were received. Five indicated that they wished to be excluded, six requested additional information and 34 indicated their willingness to be interviewed.

Once all of the responses were received, prison administration was notified that the interviews could be conducted within a five-day period. Arrangements were made to schedule 40 women for interviews. Of the 34 positive responses, one inmate was transferred to a provincial institution, one was in the Regional Treatment Centre during the interview period, one was convalescing after surgery, and four had changed their minds. Also two of the women who wished to be interviewed were not in the institution during the day and therefore, could not be interviewed. Of the six requesting additional information, only one agreed to be interviewed. Finally, during the interview period four women who had not responded previously indicated their willingness to participate. In total, 30 women were interviewed in a five day period at the Prison for Women.

Pre-testing of the interview was conducted on four women; two

from Ottawa, and two from the prairies. The "pilot" subjects were all women who had been in conflict with the law in their home province. Minor modifications were made as a result of the pre-test and again later, during the week of the interviews. Pre-testing was done first to ensure that the research instrument was responsive to cultural interpretation, levels of literacy and the sensitive nature of some of the questions that needed to be asked, and second, to determine the duration of the interviews.

The interviews, which lasted between 30 and 90 minutes, were conducted privately in interviewing rooms in the case management section of the Prison for Women. Each woman was assured complete confidentiality. The recorded interviews were assigned coded numbers to assure anonymity. Each interview schedule was followed in its set format. The interviews themselves were not recorded on audio tape as it was felt that this would be seen as obtrusive. Therefore, all responses were recorded by hand on the interview schedule.

The File Review

Files containing all relevant information on each inmate are kept at the Prison for Women. These files contain all the "paper work" necessary for assessment and evaluation of the prisoner. The files of all the inmates interviewed were reviewed. The primary purpose of this review was to enhance the data collected from the interviews. A secondary purpose was to verify the offence and sentence of the offender and also to determine actual program participation. In general, it was found that the women interviewed

were truthful in their discussion of their experiences with the criminal justice system.

The minor discrepancies between the file and the interview were level of education, usually off by only one year, and the nature of previous employment. The files, in some cases, provided more detail about the actual offence, the family background of the woman, and disciplinary sanctions the woman may have experienced while incarcerated. In the latter case, this was only noted if the sanctions limited or prevented the inmate from participating in the various institutional programs.

An example of a sanction limiting program participation is as follows. If a woman is charged with an institutional offence for which she is sent to the segregation unit, she is being physically isolated within the institution and is, therefore, prevented from participating in any program. This isolation also may impede her continued participation in a program upon her subsequent re-integration into the prison population.

During the file review, particular attention was paid to the Progress Summary, the Force Field Analysis of Needs and Case Management Strategies (CMS). The purpose of the CMS is to provide the Case Management Officer (CMO) with a procedure for assessing, planning, supervising, and evaluating the offender's progress while incarcerated. An inmate is evaluated by her CMO and classified according to the five distinct strategies that an individual may fall into. The four parts of the CMS instrument are: attitude interview, objective history, behavioural observations and the

CMO's observation of contributing factors. For most part, the CMS determines what programs a woman should be recommended for.

The file review was completed several months after an initial analysis of the interviews. The interviews with the staff members of the prison were also conducted at this later date.

The Staff Interviews

The Case Management team is the vital resource that the institution has for dealing effectively and positively with the inmates. The members of this staff were asked questions relating to their involvement with the offender in the development, delivery and evaluation of programs in the Prison for Women. For this research, it was essential to determine both, how needs assessment was carried out and how these needs, once identified, were addressed within the institutional setting. It was hoped that each link in the chain of program implementation could be understood, from the program's conception, to its implementation and evaluation.

The most "front-line" worker is the CMO. He or she is the primary communicator with the offender. If the offender has concerns with a program or is interested in a particular program, she should contact this person. Conversely, if there is a program that seems well suited to a particular offender, the CMO contacts the offender with this information.

The Co-ordinator, Case Management, has functional supervisory authority over the case management team and ensures

that Correctional policy and procedures are adhered to. She also ensures that all the necessary paper work is completed. For example, it is the Case Management Co-ordinator who ensures that a prisoner is seen within 48 hours of her admission and that a Case management strategy is completed within 30 days. .

The Deputy Warden is the over-seer of all programs offered to the women in the institution. Part of his job is to evaluate the relevance of each program offered and to make recommendations about current programs and possible future programs at Prison for Women.

The Social Cultural Development Officer and the Social Cultural Development Clerk both work with the Co-ordinator of Social Development to ensure that all programs offered are being utilized to their utmost advantage. They act as liaisons between the co-ordinator and the offender with respect to prison programs. The Co-ordinator of social programs is responsible for all programs which provide leisure activity. He is to ensure that the needs and interests of the women are met through the available programs and that these programs will enable the women to leave the institution with productive social skills.

Psychological Services are provided through a team of three part-time psychologists. One psychologist at Prison for Women is hired through personal services contracts to provide counselling for victims of assault and survivors of incest. Staff psychologists have also provided staff training on the effects of child abuse and how to respond sensitively to its effects.

These personnel are not all the people who interact with the

offender regarding program participation. Resources did not allow for the interviewing of all relevant staff members. When specific information was required, phone calls were made to fill the voids.

What follows in the next chapter is the information obtained from the prisoner and staff samples.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DISCOVERY OF NEEDS

As stated previously, the primary purpose of this investigation is to determine the needs of women serving federal prison terms. This chapter systematically describes the needs which emerged during the interviews and file reviews. It begins with a brief review of the sample profile and continues with issues in the general categories of demographics, criminal history, child care, employment and education, and addiction.

The General Sample Profile

Profiles of 30 women were obtained from prisoners at Prison for Women. This sample includes one native woman and one woman who was mentally retarded. The average age of the women was 30.6, with a mode and median of 28, and a range between 21 and 45 (Table 5). Nineteen of the women were single, four were married, four were separated or divorced and three were widowed.

All but one of the women in this sample were residing in Canada at the time of their most recent offence. Three women were from the Maritimes; two from Nova Scotia and one from Newfoundland. Also three women were from Quebec, thirteen from Ontario, one from Manitoba, five from Alberta and four from British Columbia. The one non-resident was from an Asian country. Finally, of the Canadian residents, three were not originally from Canada: one was an American citizen and two were South American.

Almost half of the women in the sample were from Ontario. Therefore, a majority of the women were hundreds of miles from their homes and families. This demonstrates the uniqueness of the Canadian female federal prisoner. The distance from her location to her home not only presents problems for her pre-release planning and her eventual re-integration back into main stream society, but also, has the possible effect of permanent displacement. That is, if a woman is serving a life sentence, she may not even be considered for re-assignment to a provincial institution due to the extreme length of her prison term. If, in ten years, she is considered for pre-release planning, her gradual release into the community may be problematic in that the community into which she is released may not be the one she plans to return to.

Therefore, one can argue that comprehensive and flexible pre-release planning is necessary and must be involved in any intervention strategy that occurs during incarceration. While this is true for all prisoners in Canada, it is the women in Prison For Women who are more likely to find themselves imprisoned out-of-province. The extent to which this problem is addressed in Prison for Women will be further discussed in the following chapter.

Criminal History

Regarding the criminal history of the sample, it was found that nineteen of the women had no criminal record as a juvenile. Of the eleven who did, six had less than five offenses and five had

more than five; eight had also served time as a juvenile as a result of these offences.

Two-thirds of the sample indicated that they had a prior record as an adult. Three had never served a prison sentence before and seventeen had served at least one previous prison term. Of the latter, eight served more than five sentences and nine served less than five previous prison terms (Table 6).

Ten women, including one woman who had a juvenile record, indicated that they had no previous criminal record as an adult. Among these first-time offenders, eight (73 per cent) are serving sentences of ten years or more. In comparison to the remaining 20 in the sample, only six women (32 per cent) are serving prison terms in excess of ten years. In short, more first time offenders are serving longer sentences when compared to repeat offenders found in Prison For Women, and, as mentioned in Chapter One, this has serious implications for the federal system and the housing of female offenders (Table 7).

The types of current offences committed by this sample are shown in a simple table in the categories of: first degree murder, second degree murder, manslaughter, armed robbery, fraud, and drug-related offences. A total of 24 of the 30 women surveyed were in prison for violent offences (Table 8).

As one can see from this table, the incidence of violent crimes in this sample is quite high. Over two thirds of the

Table 6

Criminal History of Repeat Offenders in Sample.

	Convictions		Confinements		No record	TOTAL
	< five	> five	< five	> five		
As a Juvenile	6	5	6	2	9	20
As an Adult	8	11	9	8	1	20

Table 7

Length of Sentence, Repeat and First Offenders.

		Length of Sentence (aggregate years)					
		<2	2-<3	3-<5	5-<10	10-<20	20+life
no. of women	6						OO OO
	5			XX XX			OO OO
	4		XX XX	XX XX	XX XX		OO OO
	3		XX XX	XX XX	XX XX	XX XX	OO XX OO XX
	2		XX XX	XX XX	XX XX	OO XX OO XX	OO XX OO XX
	1	XX XX	XX XX	OO XX OO XX	OO XX OO XX	OO XX OO XX	OO XX OO XX

OO first-time offender
 OO
 XX repeat offender
 XX

Table 8

Current Offence, Past Abuse and Addiction.

Current Offence	Total in Sample		Past Abuse	Addiction
	whole sample	first offenders	all types	drugs <u>or</u> alcohol
1st degree	3	2	3	0
2nd degree	6	4	5	4
manslaughter	7	2	7	5
armed robbery	7	0	6	6
fraud	3	0	3	1
Drug-related	3	2	1	3
Other*	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	30	10	25	20

* mischief (with violence)

sample are presently serving their sentences for violent crimes. Therefore, it is safe to argue that there is a need for programs which address violent behaviour in women.

As mentioned earlier, empirical studies on violence by women are rare. Much of the recent literature suggests that women who display violent behaviour do so out of self-defence in reaction to repeated and/or prolonged victimization. There is often the written assumption that a majority of these women have also been sexually assaulted or molested as children (Biron, 1987; Larson, 1987; Darke, 1987). In this study, the evidence supports these findings. When asked to describe her home life at the time immediately prior to the offence, one woman simply stated:

"My common-law was very unstable." (Prisoner Interview #53)

Another woman said:

"I was with my daughter and my ex common-law. It was very violent and we needed everything." (Prisoner Interview #16)

Finally, one lifer spoke of her marriage:

"I hated the whole situation. I lived through 20 years of an alcoholic marriage....[the offence] was very traumatic." (Prisoner Interview #21)

Past sexual and/or physical abuse, as a child or an adult, are prevalent among the women in the sample (Table 9). Notable is the strong correlation between past abuse and violent behaviour. Out of the 24 violent offenders, 21 of the women were victims of some type of abuse. One-third of the abused women are currently serving a term for manslaughter.

Table 9

Reported Physical and Sexual Abuse.

Offence	Type of Abuse					
	Physical		Sexual		Incest	None
	as adult	child	adult	child	child	
1st	3	1	1	1	1	0
2nd	3	3	2	1	1	1
man.	5	4	1	4	3	0
armed rob	2	5	2	3	2	1
fraud	2	3	2	3	2	0
drug	1	0	0	1	1	2
other	0	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	16	16	8	13	10	5

The causes of violent behaviour, however, cannot be explained by one factor alone. Violence can be learned through witnessing violence, as well as through victimization. The majority of the women in this sample have both seen and experienced violence.

Psychological services for women in Prison for Women must address the issue of past abuse. The actual long-term effect of early abuse is still uncertain; however, the high correlation found here cannot be disregarded. Psychological services which deal with the experiences of violence must be available to all survivors of abuse. Learning to survive and cope with violence of the past may allow an individual to rebuild self-esteem and develop pro-social behaviour.

Psychological Counselling

A majority of the women interviewed were receiving or were waiting to receive psychological or psychiatric counselling. Seven of the women also had received counselling prior to committing the offences which lead to their incarceration. In prison, a large proportion of the counselling addressed physical and sexual abuse, incest and addiction.

Much of this counselling was in the form of group participation in programs such as Brentwood. In the Brentwood program, the approach to group discussion was confrontational. It focused on the individual's role in the behaviour in question and, therefore, with past sexual assault and molestation, the 'role' of the victim was inappropriate.

In this survey, half of the women stated that they had experienced some form of abuse in their life; however, according to the files, the incidence was much higher. Through the file review, it was determined that no less than twenty-five (or 83 per cent) of the sample had experienced some type of abuse (Table 9). Although it is recognized by the Commissioner's Directives that abuse counselling should be available, many women expressed frustration, in the interviews, over the lack of services actually available to them in this area.

From these findings one can not conclude that there is a causal link between domestic violence and behaviour; yet there does seem to be a positive correlation between the presence of previous abuse and/or domestic violence and subsequent violent behaviour.

Violence and Domestic Violence

Generally among the sample, a vast majority of the women who were sentenced for a violent crime did suffer from repeated victimization previous to their offence. Yet, the link between experiencing abuse as a child and demonstrating violent behaviour still remains tenuous. It is clear, however, from this study that there appears to be some correlation between victimization and subsequent violent behaviour.

In taking a closer look at the actual offence, it was found that eleven of the offences involved another member of the woman's family, either as an actor in the offence or as a victim. Five women indicated that a member of her household was involved in the

commission of the offence. Another five stated that the victim was a family member. This did not necessarily mean, however, that the offence occurred at home.

It was determined that six offences out of the twenty-four violent offences occurred within a domestic situation. This finding does not support the argument that women who commit violent offenses do so at home, as only one-quarter of the sample did. Also, ten women in the sample were living in a violent domestic situation at the time of the current offence and yet, only one of the ten battered women in the sample was involved in a non-violent offence.

Thus, as previously stated, there was a notable correlation between the presence of domestic violence and the nature of the offence. The data suggests that battered women were generally found to be involved in second degree murder or manslaughter at their place of residence; none of the offences of first degree murder took place at home. Also significant is the fact that half of the women who were living in a violent domestic situation at the time of the offence were serving sentences for their first offence.

The high incidence of victims of violence committing violent offences does not support the argument that the increased participation of women in crime is due to the emancipation of women, but may rather reflect on the quality of their domestic milieu. That is, "traditional" (ie. theft and prostitution) offences for women were not prevalent among this sample. A note of

caution is that this finding likely reflects the uniqueness of this federal prison and its population rather than a characterization of female offenders generally.

Pregnancy and Dependant Children

In the sample, 18 of the women had a total of 35 children, and twenty five of these children were under the age of 16 at the time of the most recent offence (Table 10). Of the 18 women who had children, 13 had at least one child in her custody at the time of her most recent offence. This figure includes a total of 11 children and an additional two children who were yet to be born.

Three of the 18 women with children in the sample gave birth while incarcerated in prison. Two of the children were cared for through the foster family program at the institution and one was put in the care of her paternal grandparents. None of these women were married at the time of the birth, and two of the fathers were serving prison terms. In one woman's case, a child was born during a previous incarceration and, therefore, the child was not included as a child born in custody for the purpose of this study.

In total, nine women were single parents, the majority of whom were solely responsible for providing for their child or children prior to incarceration. This figure includes those

Table 10

The Children of the Women Sampled.

<u>Ages of children</u>	<u>In mother's Custody</u>	<u>Total no. of children</u>
born in custody	2	2
less than 1 yr. old	3	3
1 to 5	6	9
6 to 10	2	6
11 to 15	1	5
16 and older	1	10
Total	15	35

women who were living with a family member (excluding a common-law male or husband) from whom they had received some support; for example, a mother or sister. These mothers required substantial assistance to support their families.

Only a minority of the mothers had any meaningful employment at the time of the most recent offence, not unlike other women in the prison sample. Here, the difference lies in the responsibility the mothers had of providing for dependant children. As seen from the general profile of women in Canada, many women have the full burden of child care. The other extreme is that women in prison, who have very limited contact with their children, are especially vulnerable to permanent loss of custody.

The significant issue here is that many mothers in the prison are well aware of this vulnerability, to the point where it was often a preoccupation during the interviews. These women were often very concerned about the quality of care and the distance between their child(ren) and themselves. By being incarcerated, these women lost not only their children, but also, their own motherhood.

The sentencing of women, imprisoned for a federal offence, does not leave room for child care responsibilities and many of the women expressed distress over the long-term separation from their children. Generally, women serving federal sentences will serve their term in the federal prison. It is up to the province to decide if the woman can stay in her home province, and as it was shown earlier, provincial space for federal women is very limited.

Therefore, what is required is flexible and innovative programs to foster interaction between mother and child. Facilitated private family visits are required if any sort of family bonding is to be maintained. Finally, financial assistance is required to enable family members to travel great distances.

Some of the women had regular visiting time, in the Family Visiting Unit (FVU), for visits with their family or for "solo visits"; with family visits given the priority. This will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Education and Employment

In looking at the educational level of the women in the sample, it can be seen that three women had only a grade eight education or less, at the time of their most recent offence (Table 11). Also, although 70 per cent (n=21) of the women had at least some high school education, only seven of these women had completed high school and ten had completed only one year or less. Twenty percent (n=6) of the women had some post-secondary education, including two who had a college or university degree at the time of incarceration. These figures indicate that the need for comprehensive schooling is apparent.

The need to improve the educational level of the female prisoner must be given a priority. In particular, a majority of the women in prison are single and are not dependant on a spouse for financial support. It is hoped that, upon release, these

Table 11 Education Level of Sample prior to Incarceration.

no. of women	10		XX						
			XX						
	9		XX						
			XX						
	8		XX						
			XX						
	7		XX						
			XX						
	6		XX						
			XX						
	5		XX			XX		XX	
			XX			XX		XX	
	4		XX			XX		XX	
			XX			XX		XX	
	3	XX	XX	XX		XX		XX	
		XX	XX	XX		XX		XX	
2	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX		XX		
	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX		XX		
1	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	
	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	
	< 8	9	10	11	12	13	some Univ.	grad. studies	
	Grade level of education								

women will obtain gainful employment. They therefore require at least secondary schooling.

Nineteen women (63 per cent), a majority of who stated that they had little or no employment history, indicated that they were unemployed at the time of the most recent offence. Of the remaining 11 women, two had service-oriented employment, five had clerical employment, two were skilled labourers, and two had professional employment. Providing employable skills must be seen as a priority in order to successfully re-integrate incarcerated women back into the work force.

Job Skills

Along with questions concerning employment and education, the women were asked to discuss their goals and their use of the job-skills which they possessed. They were also asked about the job-skills training and education they had acquired while at Prison for Women. The women in the sample expressed interest in a variety of employment opportunities. They also, however, expressed frustration over the utility of what was available to them, in these areas.

Of the entire sample, 19 women completed 27 programs. A program here is defined as those interventions which require the participants to commit themselves to the set mandate and goals of a particular set of duties in a specified time frame.

A simple table can illustrate the discrepancy between the actual goals of a woman and her achievements in relation to those

goals (Table 12). The Goal column indicates the actual goal of the woman, and the corresponding program column represents participation in a program that is directly related to helping her achieve her goal. The discrepancy is found where the goals of the women are not met with corresponding program participation. For example, if a woman wishes to become a mechanic, those programs which provide an opportunity to study mechanics in the classroom or provide hands-on experience are considered "corresponding programs".

The findings indicate that a majority of the women are not participating in programs which help them achieve their goals. For example, one woman was interested in auto mechanics and had experience in this trade prior to incarceration. While at this prison, the woman had taken some high school education and woodworking (cabinet-making). While appreciating what she gained through this, the woman questioned its 'use-ability' once she left the prison. This concern was raised by many other women in similar circumstances.

There is a need for challenging, hands-on experience in non-traditional employment fields. The women expressed a need to participate in programs or jobs which they could attain pride, self-esteem and self-worth. Auto mechanics was the trade of choice for those who had a labour-oriented goal.

Professional work in the field of Social Science was the goal expressed by 13 women in the sample. In this field, seven of the women felt that they had taken some initial steps towards

Table 12

Goal Ambitions with Corresponding Program Participation.

Goal	Total	% of sample	*corresponding program	discrepancy
Service ¹	2	6.7	2	2/2
Professional ²	13	43.3	7	7/13
Labour (trade) ³	8	26.6	3	3/8
Office/Clerical ⁴	3	10	3	3/3
Retired	2	6.7	-	2
uncertain	2	6.7	-	2
TOTAL	30	100%	15	15/30

¹) eg. waitressing, hairdressing etc.

²) eg. teaching, social work, health care, etc.

³) eg. mechanics, shipping/receiving, etc.

⁴) eg. secretary, word processing, etc.

achieving their goal while in prison. These initial steps were upgrading their education and taking appropriate post-secondary courses.

The findings also suggest that, if a woman's goals are service-related, she has a better chance of achieving them than if they are in a professional or trade field. Food service and cleaning work were readily available but only two expressed an interest in service-oriented work. Primarily, this work involved institutional cleaning and kitchen service.

In contrast to the emancipation theories of Adler (1975) and Simon (1975), there was no indication from any of the women in the sample that the offence had occurred at the workplace, and that employment provided an opportunity to commit an offence. In only one case did the occurrence or nature of the offence involve the work place. In this case, the woman was arrested at work but the offence was an unrelated violent event.

Contrary to this, many of the women expressed frustration over the fact that they were not working at the time of the offence. One woman stated:

"I was layed off, but the bills kept coming. What was I supposed to do. This is what we decided. It wasn't the right choice, but what were my options?"

Another woman discussed the financial motive for her offence:

"Mainly, we were all broke...I just wanted to leave with my kid"

And yet another woman gave a different perspective:

"This may sound strange, or whatever, but I always wanted to rob a bank. I did. So I got a friend of mine, and we did it".

One can argue, therefore, that Prison for Women should provide opportunities for women to develop marketable skills. The acquisition of such skills not only would allow the women to earn a sufficient wage, but also, would provide the opportunity for these women to be involved outside the home, independently.

Addiction

As with reports that link violence with past sexual abuse, there have been some inconclusive studies which also link the use of alcohol and drugs to past abuse and victimization among women. In this study, there is some evidence which indicates that these two factors may be related.

In the sample studied, the use of alcohol and drugs among female offenders was pervasive. When questioned on drug and/or alcohol addiction, 14 women (48 per cent) indicated that they considered themselves addicted to alcohol and/or drugs. Eleven of these women stated that they had an addiction to alcohol. Thirteen of the women indicated that they had an addiction to drugs, and only one woman stated that her drug use could not be considered addictive use. However, when reviewing the files, 20 of the women were considered to be addicted to alcohol or drugs (Table 13).

Among the self-admitted drug users, seven stated that cocaine was the drug used, one stated an addiction to both cocaine and heroin, and one woman indicated that heroin was the only drug she was addicted to. Finally, another three women

Table 13 Addiction among Sample, by Type of Offence.

Offence	Not Present	Presence of Addiction			Total
		alcohol	Present drugs	both	
1st degree	3	-	-	-	3
2nd degree	2	1	1	2	6
manslaughter ¹	2	2	-	3	7
armed robbery	1	1	2	3	7
fraud/theft	0	-	1	2	3
drug-related ²	2	-	1	-	3
Other ³	0	1	-	-	1
Total	10	5	5	10	30

1.includes negligence causing bodily harm

2.includes possession, conspiracy to traffic and importing.

3.Includes mischief (with violence)

stated that they were addicted to prescription drugs. In this category, all but three of the women were taking part in an addiction program at Prison for Women.

According to the files, among the 15 drug-users, seven of the women were addicted to cocaine, two were heroin addicts and one used both drugs. Three of the women were abusing prescription drugs and finally, the drug of choice for two women was undetermined.

Among the women who were addicted to alcohol or drugs, most (16) were involved in a violent offence. Eleven of the 16 had committed murder, manslaughter or armed robbery. Violent behaviour, however, did not necessarily indicate addiction. Seven, among the entire sample who were not addicted to alcohol or drugs were involved in a violent crime, including all those convicted of first degree murder. If the reader refers to Table 8, one can see that addiction is more strongly correlated with the history of physical or sexual abuse rather than any particular type of offence.

Therefore, one can argue for addiction counselling on the grounds that a majority of the women sampled were addicted to a controlled substance, regardless of the type of criminal behaviour involved. Furthermore, with this data one could gain some insight into other factors, such as past abuse, which may be appropriately addressed in addiction counselling.

Important to note is the difference between self-admitted and institutionally-defined addictions. That is, the file review

indicated that there was more of a presence of addiction among the prisoners than was admitted to during the interviews. This may mean one of two things. First, it may mean that some of these women, who did not have an addiction, had been improperly diagnosed by the institution, perhaps, because of a history of use. A second possible account for this difference may be refusal on the part of the prisoner to admit to herself or others the existence of an addiction. Regardless of the possible reason for this discrepancy, the discrepancy itself presents a problem for the institution in addressing the issue of addiction. This will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Summary

It has been shown in this chapter that there is a wide range of needs that must be met among this sample. A majority of the women are from out-of-province and are isolated from their family, friends and community. The need for innovative and flexible pre-release planning is apparent.

More first-time offenders are serving longer sentences. If the trend continues, the increase will create a burden on the federal system, as the spaces for federal female offenders is limited. Alternative housing must be found for federal women before there is an over-flow in the system.

A majority of the sample was involved in a violent offence. Intervention which addresses violent behaviour among women is required. The causes of violence by women still remain uncertain,

however, a strong correlation between violence and past abuse was found and must be addressed through psychological services.

The form of abuse which these women have experienced varies. Both physical and sexual abuse as a child and as an adult was pervasive. Counselling services must be provided in order that these survivors can learn to cope with these violent experiences.

Over half of the women in the sample had children. Visiting by family members is costly and forbidding due to distances travelled. Innovative and flexible programs for mother-child relationship advocacy are necessary.

Upgrading education and employment skills must be considered a priority. Any successful re-integration back into the community must involve gainful employment. Without appropriate job skills and sufficient education, working and surviving in the community will be extremely difficult for these women.

Finally, addiction was found in two-thirds of the sample. Substance abuse programs and counselling for women facing an addiction problem must be provided.

In the following chapter the efforts made by Correctional Services Canada to address the needs of the women in Prison for Women will be examined.

CHAPTER FOUR

CORRECTIONAL RESOURCES

Addressing the Need

Correctional Services Canada's Commissioner's directives state the policy on which correctional services are based. In the section entitled "Case Management Special Needs, Federal Female Offenders", it is stated that the policy objective is "to ensure that the needs and problems [which are] prevalent among female offenders are dealt with through appropriate special programs" (Correctional Services Canada, 1987). The directives further state that female offenders shall have access to all services and programs provided through Correction Services and that strategies for addressing incest and sexual assault, cross addictions, pregnancy and sole responsibility for child care shall be set out in writing and reviewed annually.

Based on interviews with various correctional staff and internal memos provided, this chapter examines how, under current circumstances, the needs of women in the Prison for Women are addressed.

Psychological Services

As seen in the previous chapter, psychological services are needed by the women at Prison for Women. This is attested by the high proportion of women who have been victims of past abuse. Over half of the women in the sample have survived sexual and physical violence and abuse, and approximately two-thirds of the women at Prison for Women have requested one-to-one therapy.

As mandated through the Commissioner's Directives, counselling to victims of child abuse and incest survivors is available in Prison for Women. At the time of this research, the psychology team at Prison for Women was comprised of three half-time psychologists. There has always been one full-time psychologist and one psychology clerk employed at the institution. In 1983, one part-time psychologist was hired on a contractual basis to provide one-to-one therapy twenty hours per week. Thus, currently there are three half-time psychologists and one clerk servicing the psychological needs of women in the institution. In addition, there is one psychologist hired on a contractual basis working eight hours per week.

Upon arrival at Prison for Women, an inmate is required to undergo a "reception assessment". This involves interviewing and testing the individual in order to identify her psychological needs and make recommendations for her treatment. However, this type of assessment has not been done on a regular basis, due to chronic under staffing and time constraints on the staff members (Personal Interview, Staff Psychologist).

General administrative psychological services are provided by two of the psychologists. Work is prioritized in the following order: crisis intervention, release assessment, and liaising with other institutional staff. A large proportion of time is spent by these two staff members to provide assessment for passes and/or parole. This evaluation includes recommendations for release and possible referrals to community resources. This is seen as a

crucial task in facilitating the social re-integration of the prisoner.

Intermittent "crisis" counselling from any of the three psychologists has also been made available to the prisoners. That is, if in the course of a day a crisis occurs, a counsellor is available on an emergency basis. While no provisions have been made for 24 hour crisis intervention, psychologists, in the past, have agreed to be available in an emergency, outside of regular working hours (Staff Psychologist).

One psychologist is available three day per week to provide on-going one-to-one therapy for the prisoners. This individual-based counselling is generally available to all the prisoners, and as mentioned earlier, has been widely requested by the women in the institution. At the time of this study, there was an individual therapy caseload of 45 women, as well as a waiting list that was eight months long. This therapy generally focuses on surviving past physical and sexual abuse, with priority offered to survivors of incest.

A sexual abuse counsellor explained that, as a result of the new one-to-one approach to therapy in Prison for Women, increasingly more women were requesting individual counselling. The extent of the numbers of women who had suffered abuse became apparent and C.S.C. finally saw the "extreme need" for services for these women to address this issue in a concrete fashion. At the time of this research, an invitation to tender was sent to various agencies to offer an opportunity to qualified personnel who would be

able to facilitate sexual assault counselling groups for incest survivors at Prison for Women, as a "pilot project" (Personal Interview, Sexual Abuse Counsellor). With C.S.C. providing the funds, the Sexual Assault Support Centre in Kingston, together with the Kingston Elizabeth Fry Society, started up two sexual assault groups; one for native and one for non-native women.

This comprehensive project consisted of seven weeks of staff training for two hours a week, followed by 14 support group sessions, with both groups running concurrently. The purpose of the staff training was to instruct the staff in what to look for and how to respond knowledgably and sensitively to any reactions the women might have, following group sessions.

As one group leader stated, the raison d'être of the groups was based on the belief that healing requires sharing experiences of pain and anger and sorting through experiences with others. Most of the women had never had such support and, thus, it was the first time for most of the women to share their past and painful experiences. It was felt by the group leaders that, by providing groups of this type for the women, the participants could share their experiences. Through this sharing, an internal support network would be developed for times when the staff could not be available (Personal Interview, Sexual Abuse Counsellor).

This type of project was especially new to many native women who had never had any type of previous therapy. Before these sessions, many of the women, both native and non-native, could not admit that they were survivors of such abuse. With the support of

their group, they could face their past and develop a new awareness and feel support, often for the first time. It was crucial that the group leader for native women be accepted by the group, and that she preferably be native, or at least sensitive to and knowledgeable about native tradition. Suitable people, prepared to discuss sexual abuse, were not as available to native women as were non-native staff to non-native women at the time of this research. Native women had requested such a group for years (Personal Interview, Sexual Abuse Counsellor).

The methods of the groups were multi-faceted. They primarily involved discussion, but exercises were also added to help promote stress reduction, anger release and healing. For example, one method of achieving these goals was through yoga exercises. Such exercises have a relaxing physical effect on the individual which enables an increase in physical, mental, emotional and spiritual awareness. Also, during group sessions, safe anger release was directed through physical activity, using the institution's gym facilities. While physical activities did not focus on the release of anger per se, it was felt that such activities provided a safe outlet for such feelings.

At the completion of the 14 sessions, an evaluation based on an open-ended questionnaire was completed by all participating staff and group members. According to the group leader, the feedback from the Warden was positive and it was agreed, on all levels, that the project was successful and needed. With these results, a new proposal was submitted to C.S.C. but, at the time of

this writing, no further funds were made available for subsequent groups (Personal Interview, Sexual Abuse Counsellor).

Furthermore, there has been no increase in the availability of one-to-one counselling with the sexual abuse counsellors, in the interim, to deal with issues brought to the surface by the original pilot project. It was felt, by both the group leaders of the pilot project and staff psychologists, that a combination of both individual and group therapy would be required in order to deal with the number of women requesting therapy, and the lack of funds or staff would impede any further progress that may be achieved by the women.

The notion that a majority of the women, who are incarcerated in Prison for Women, are survivors of incest, and that this may have contributed to the behavioural and emotional problems that some of these women have displayed, gives credence to the demand that programs, designed specifically to address this issue, must be offered. It is imperative that issues of past abuse be dealt with. Lack of recognition of this fact will only serve to frustrate victims and deny their experiences. The lack of initiative in this area is a great disservice to these women and, indeed, will impede any progress that otherwise, may be achieved.

Addiction

It has been shown that approximately half of the sample of women at Prison for Women have been addicted to drugs or alcohol.

Substance abuse is being addressed through group and individual programs available in the institution. Three programs that are worthy of note are weekly meetings of Alcoholics Anonymous, New Women in Sobriety, and Brentwood Recovery Program.

The Brentwood program is a holistic, intensive confrontation and counselling group which provides a "disciplined" process of group and individual feedback to help participants gain self-respect and control of their addiction. Currently, the program at Prison for Women is on-going and requires the participants to live together in "B" Range, a living unit in the institution that holds up to 25 prisoners (Compendium of Treatment Resources and Programs).

All that is required for admission into Brentwood is a willingness to deal with the addiction and a strong commitment to the program. Brentwood also provides a community-based program in Windsor, Ontario, for women who, upon release, wish to continue in the program.

The reviews of the Brentwood program from the prisoners interviewed have been mixed. While Brentwood is a relatively popular program in the institution, some have criticized it on its approach to dealing with women. Brentwood is a non-critical program in that it does not respond to the condition of women as a whole in society, but rather, individualizes their behaviour and situation. For example, in accepting the status quo, Brentwood reinforces submissiveness to the group, ignoring the development of independence, and therefore, can be negative for incest and sexual

abuse survivors. Brentwood does not examine social factors which may contribute to the behaviour of these women, therefore disregarding possible causes for their actions.

The confrontational approach taken by Brentwood may have a negative impact on some women who are just beginning to face the trauma of their past sexual abuse and incest. Primarily, Brentwood was designed for male participants, where such trauma was not overwhelmingly present¹. When traumatic issues do surface among the women at Brentwood, they are not dealt with in a supportive way. Also, the current Brentwood program does not have, as an integral component to its program, drug or alcohol education, nor does it address the distinctive needs of the native population (Personal Interview, Staff Psychologist). Significant modification has to be made to this program in order for it to address some of these crucial issues.

On the other hand, it is believed that the program does work in that it increases successful sobriety. While some members of the Case Management team praise the impact of Brentwood and its influence on the participants, no empirical evidence to support this claim was available regarding the participants in Prison for Women. Follow-up sessions for Brentwood were provided to the participants in Windsor, Ontario, if the participants chose to take advantage of these upon release. At the time of this research, it was still too early to determine how many of the participants would

¹The author recognizes that this type of abuse may also be prevalent among male prisoners.

follow through with the program.

New Women in Sobriety (NEWS) is a self-help group, oriented to the problem of substance abuse from a woman's perspective. The program objective is to provide women, sentenced to federal terms, with knowledge and coping skills to maintain sobriety. In this group, discussion within a supportive milieu focuses on the physical and mental effects of addiction. NEWS believes that abuse of alcohol and drugs is aggravated by the variety of social and psychological stresses that led to dependency. Together, the group learns new ways of dealing with problems that arose before dependency and continue to affect women in sobriety (Do We Have NEWS for You. New Women in Sobriety, 1988).

Meetings consist of open discussions of matters of personal concern, alternating with topic meetings focusing on one of the eleven 'acceptance statements'. However, meetings do not follow a strict format and, therefore, members are free to talk about what seems important at any given time. Members help themselves and each other by responding to their own needs as they see them. NEWS presently meets twice a week on an on-going basis. Contributing to the effectiveness of this program is the network support of the community (PFW Program List).

Finally, Alcoholics Anonymous is a community-based, self-help program for alcoholics. Educational material, group support and the opportunity of sharing personal experiences are provided to participants. Meetings are held on a regular basis in the institution with community volunteers. In some cases, federally

sentenced women are given the opportunity to attend meetings in the community through the temporary absence program (PFW Program List).

Individual substance abuse counselling is also available to federally sentenced women. This service is provided by both staff psychologists and one substance abuse counsellor, from the Alcohol Referral Centre in Kingston, who is hired by contract to work four hours per week in the institution. Referrals to this program are co-ordinated by Psychological Services and priority is given to federally sentenced women who are unable to get temporary absences to receive services in the community.

Assessment and counselling is carried out by a staff psychologist. The women's needs for counselling are evaluated during an Addiction Referral Centre/ Addiction Research Foundation (ARC-ARF) structured interview, the duration of which totals three one-hour sessions per client. This assessment package is aimed at highlighting a variety of areas related to substance abuse and other factors, including social and economic background and related health issues. Post-assessment counselling is also provided on an as-needed basis. Currently, up to eight women are on the caseload and there is currently a waiting list (Compendium of Treatment Resources and Programs).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the offering of any addictions program in an institutional setting is problematic. If a prisoner does not acknowledge an addiction when the institution has determined that a problem exists, the following questions are

raised; Should the prisoner participate in a program?, and perhaps more importantly, what if she does not? This dilemma demonstrates the power of control of a prison administration over a prisoner. By defining that a problem exists, regardless of the inmate's views, the institution may coerce the individual into behaviour (for example, program participation) which would elicit the desired response from the institution (for example, a positive assessment for parole). Such coerced participation from a prisoner is of little benefit, and, arguably, it may be unethical. All participation in any group must be done on a voluntary basis.

Job Skills Training

Of the entire sample of 30, 19 women completed 27 programs. A program here is defined as those interventions which required the participants to commit themselves to the set mandate and goals of a particular set of duties in a specified time frame.

A majority of the women had few jobs skills and little or no employment history. Programs offering basic job skills were available in some capacity at Prison for Women and at a nearby institution. The major obstacle to participation in programs was that access to the other institution was limited.

A re-occurring issue was that the training the women were receiving was outdated. At the time of this survey, many of the women in the institution had taken 'Automated Data Processing'. This program was little more than developing typing and word processing skills - skills not very marketable on their own.

Furthermore, future employment achieved from the acquisition of these skills could only be in clerical positions: a female-dominated area with generally lower pay and little upward mobility.

With such limited resources, one must wonder why such a program was offered to these women as, in the long run, they could benefit so little from such skills. Also, many women in the sample expressed an interest in non-traditional areas of employment and did not have clerical aspirations.

While women in this sample generally expressed an interest in 'non-traditional' job-skills training, very few programs of this sort were offered. It was found that if a woman's goals were service-related she would have a better chance of achieving them than if they were in a professional or trade field. Generally, the women expressed frustration at the fact that what they actually wanted was not made available to them. For example, approximately one-third of the women expressed interest in mechanics, which was offered at another institution, but they could not get access to the program as the institution was in an area which the women were sporadically denied access to for security considerations. The situation, however, was not completely bleak as some prisoners were given an opportunity to attend trades training programs at Bath Institution. Such trades included auto mechanics, auto body repair, carpentry, machine tools and small business machine repair.

Thus, although it would seem that there is ample opportunity for women to become involved in trades, there was little concurrence of this among the women interviewed. For example, as

mentioned earlier, many women requested some sort of mechanical training, such as is offered in Collins Bay, but were seldom able to participate in these programs.

In addition to a lack of availability of programs for the women at the prison, there was also a problem regarding ongoing participation in programs that were available. For instance, even though continued participation in some programs in male institutions did not necessarily require daily participation, regular access to these programs could not be guaranteed. Also, when the women were required to attend a program outside the prison, they faced another obstacle. It was necessary that the women be escorted to the area by Corrections personnel every morning. Yet the charge was made by an inmate that often no one would be available to escort the women to the facility from the prison. Thus, while there was a program in place, and there were women who were eligible to participate, these women were being denied this program due to inadequate staffing. This was confirmed in the file review where it was stated that if an escort was not available, the program, for the particular individual(s), would simply be cancelled.

To be eligible for such a program, a woman would be required to obtain a "gate pass". This would allow her to leave the prison escorted for a specified number of hours. She would only be able to apply for such a pass if she had been "free" of institutional charges for six months. This meant that the woman would have to tread lightly in the prison, as an institutional charge could be as

minor as swearing at a guard.

It is important that programs offered to the women in Prison For Women be offered on a consistent basis. The reason behind this is that it may be difficult for a prisoner to become enthusiastic or motivated towards participating in a program if they do not know from one day to the next if they will be able to attend. Again, this frustration could be compounded by the inmate knowing that program choice also is not in her control due to lack of accessibility.

Further Education

Generally, all women incarcerated at Prison for Women may further their education, regardless of their level and language of choice. There are, however, some restrictions.

All prisoners, if suited, are entitled to Adult Basic Education (ABE). This program is designed to enable prisoners to learn English and Math up to the end of grade eight. ABE is offered through the Kingston Learning Centre under the Ontario Ministry of Education. A similar program is available to Francophone women through the Quebec Ministry of Education.

A core program for the Ontario Secondary School Graduation Diploma is available in the prison school. To receive her Diploma, a woman must earn a minimum of 30 credits. Compulsory courses are taught by teachers from the Kingston Learning Centre. Elective courses, taught in the vocational shop, are offered by CSC staff and include woodworking, upholstery and industrial sewing

(Compendium of Treatment Resources and Programs).

Both college and university courses are offered to women at Prison for Women through correspondence. Also, Queen's University provides instructor taught courses at Collins Bay Institution which the women at Prison for Women may attend. Generally, there are no special requirements that prisoners must meet to be eligible for correspondence courses. An interested student may register for those offered by any university across Canada¹. The admission requirements are lax in that any interested student may be admitted, without necessarily meeting the general requirements. The notable exception is Queen's University in Kingston, where the University Admissions requires that prisoners meet the same admission requirements as other students. This is done to reduce the otherwise high drop-out rate of less qualified students.

Apprenticeship programs are offered by CSC staff in Prison for Women and include cooking, baking, meat cutting, carpentry and electricity. Hairdressing is also offered by contract staff and is taught in the prison beauty parlour. This shop provides training in hairdressing and cosmetology. The trainees provide these services to the inmate population and after an apprenticeship of 1200 hours of practical work and theory can write the provincial examination. Successful candidates are awarded a hairdressing licence.

1)Currently, inmates at Prison for Women are registered at Queen's, Waterloo, Athabasca, and Guelph University.

Violence and Domestic Violence

It has been found that a large proportion of the women in the sample were incarcerated for a violent offence. It was also discovered that a large proportion of the sample had experienced abuse as a child or an adult, or both. Yet, the link between experiencing abuse as a child and demonstrating violent behaviour later in life still remains tenuous. It is clear, however, from this study that there appears to be some correlation between victimization and subsequent violent behaviour.

It was found that 13 of the offences involved another member of the woman's family either as an actor in the offence or as a victim of the offence. Just over one-third of the sample were living in a violent domestic situation at the time of the current offence, and only one of the ten battered women was involved in a non-violent offence. The data suggests that battered women were more likely to be sentenced for first degree or second degree murder than non-battered women. Moreover, two of the three women sentenced for first degree murder were living in a violent domestic situation and, for two, it was their first offence.

In light of this fact it would seem likely that Prison for Women would provide counselling to address domestic violence, either through a support group for battered women or through individual counselling. Neither is offered within the prison. This was one notable void which a prisoner mentioned: "There isn't anything for us here... We don't need any of that childhood stuff". While many of the staff have concerns about the effectiveness or

appropriateness of support groups within prison, this is one area in which a support group would be ideal. Across the country, hundreds of support groups are available for battered women. Group leaders in the Kingston area could be available for a battered womens' group in Prison for Women. The lack of initiative on behalf of Correctional Services in this area may serve to deny or minimize the experiences of battered women.

Pregnancy and Dependant Children

According to the Commissioner's Directives, comprehensive counselling and assistance shall be provided to pregnant inmates and that counselling shall include, where appropriate, explanation of the laws pertaining to abortion, adoption and temporary placement, and information concerning available community social service agencies.

As stated earlier, three women out of the sample of thirty had given birth to a child while incarcerated as a federal inmate. Two in the sample gave birth while in Prison for Women in Kingston. In these circumstances, pre-natal and post-natal programs are of the utmost importance. While it has been reported that, in the United States, pregnant prisoners have given birth in a prison institution, in Canada, it is a rare occurrence.

Two of the women who delivered babies while in prison shared a similar experience. At the onset of labour, the women were taken to a hospital to give birth. One women described how she was handcuffed to her bed so she would not try to escape. Both women

stayed in the hospital for three days, at which time, the children were put in the care of temporary guardians. The women were then returned to the prison. In some instances, they could not see their children for a long period of time. One child was placed in the custody of the paternal grandparents and one was put in foster care in Kingston.

The third woman who gave birth while serving a federal term did so while serving a previous sentence and chose not discuss the circumstances of the birth in the interview.

As already seen, the majority of the federally incarcerated women have children, and the type of advocacy required by mothers varies greatly. The Commissioner's Directives state that:

since female inmates are centralized in one institution, thus hindering communications with family and significant others, opportunities for extraordinary communications, including audio-visual exchanges, shall be developed where feasible (Commissioners Directives 171, 1988).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the two major considerations for mothers are access to their children and temporary or long-term custody of their children.

The most frequent concern was the lack or frequency of visits. Unlike any other prison in Canada, a large proportion of the prisoners are from out-of-province. Families are not assisted financially for the cost incurred in visiting a family member in prison; thus, visits from out of town are a rare occurrence. What is most startling is that there are groups organized by the John Howard Society and the Salvation Army which provide transportation and support to families of male prisoners in federal and provincial

institutions. The H.O.P.E. program is geared mainly to assisting women who have loved ones on the "inside" and provides same-day transportation for a nominal fee to and from the Kingston area prisons. While families of female prisoners are not excluded from participating in this program, there is no similar program exclusively for federal women when, arguably, the need is greater. The Elizabeth Fry Society in Kingston does not offer any similar program for children of female prisoners.

The dynamics of a family broken by incarceration are different for men and women. When a father/husband is sentenced to a long term, the wife will tend to wait for her husband's release. She will maintain the household and provide child care. When a woman is incarcerated, the family often dissolves. Usually, there is no father to provide child care and the children are put in foster homes or are cared for by other family members. In some cases, a woman may lose legal custody of her children and may never see them while incarcerated. For the most part, this is the case of the women in this sample.

There is no formal intervention done by Correctional Services on behalf of the women to see their children. Phone calls are arranged so that women (who have telephone privileges) may speak with their children on a regular basis, but there are no special programs or funds put in place to arrange visits or transportation for the children whose mothers are in prison. There are no special provisions made even for inmates' children who are cared for in Kingston.

To complicate the matter further, some of the children are entangled in custody disputes which may involve inter-provincial complications as well. While some mothers pursue the fight for custody against the father or other family members, others recognize the helplessness of their situation. These situations are beyond the scope or mandate of Correctional Services and, therefore, rest in the hands of those in the legal profession and social services departments. The mothers' lack of control over the situation, as well as the absence of any liaison between mother and child, will almost certainly put these women in helpless and distant circumstances.

Often, it is assumed that because a mother does become involved in criminal activity, she is an unfit mother, even though her criminal behaviour did not directly involve her children or her behaviour towards them. If, however, her crime was child-oriented, separate supervisory conditions would be considered if they were to be considered at all. It should be noted that one woman in the sample was serving a sentence for negligence in causing injury to her child and she has not been given access to the child since the time of the offence.

Noteworthy is an ad hoc program the prison chaplain introduced a few years ago which provided a video camera for the women so they could send video recordings to their families. This was not a formal program but did provide some quasi-personal family contact. At the time of this research, this program was not being utilized (Social Cultural Development Co-ordinator. Personal Interview,

March 1989).

There is, on the prison grounds, a "little house" which serves as the family visiting unit. This house is provided for women who are eligible for private visits with their families. To be eligible to apply for family visits, the woman must have been in Prison for Women for a minimum of 6 months, and be charge-free. After this time, she may put her request in to the 'house' coordinator. The application is then forwarded to the prisoner's Case Management Officer (CMO) for approval. The CMO may then forward it, with or without recommendations, to the Inmate Training Board for review, and finally, the request is sent to the Warden for final approval or refusal.

A prisoner, once approved, may apply for regular visits and is eligible for one family visit every two months for up to one year. On the first family visit the prisoner is allowed a maximum of 45 hours. Depending on the distance travelled by the family, the CMO may recommend an extra day. If the visit is successfully completed, the prisoner will be allowed 72 hours for all subsequent family visits. Visits in the Family Visiting Unit are considered a privilege and visitation privileges can be revoked due to institutional charges (Social Development Clerk. Personal Interview. March 1989).

Pre-Release Planning

A structured pre-release program is conducted through the Elizabeth Fry Society of Kingston, contracted by CSC on a year-to-

year basis. This program is offered three times a year for up to ten women at a time. It runs for four weeks, two hours a day, from Monday to Friday, for a total of forty hours per session. Women eligible to participate in the pre-release program are contacted by mail to inform them of the start date. Any woman may participate, however, those close to their possible release dates have priority. This program has three phases.

The first phase of the program is to inform the women of the structural constraints and conditions of release. This includes informing them on the role of the case management team in pre-release planning and the functions of the National Parole Board. The prisoner is made aware of what to expect at the hearing and what the parole board expects from the prisoner. They are given an opportunity to address questions that may be asked of them and are able to familiarize themselves with the physical setting of the parole hearing.

The second phase of the pre-release program focuses on the search for housing and employment. Participants are able to become more knowledgeable of the legal rights of tenants, and, as well, are presented with an overview of halfway houses for women in Canada, along with addresses and contact persons. This phase also involves the teaching of: job search techniques; application and resume writing ability; job interview readiness; the importance of having a job; and elements in keeping it.

Budgeting and financial resources are also discussed in phase two. Participants are informed of government subsidies and their

legal rights to them. They are also taught the importance of money management. Lastly, retraining and educational resources as well as sources of funding for education are discussed, with possible guest speakers from employment centres and community programs.

The third phase involves discussions on a broad range of issues which women may face in the community. Areas such as family relationships, addictions, health, and violence against women are examined, along with information on community resources which provide support in these and other areas. Participants also learn the importance of reintegration into the community. Finally, the stages of grieving are examined. Discussions on saying good-bye and on building on and internalizing what has been learned in order to make a successful reintegration into society serve as a closure to the program.

The overall goal of the pre-release program is to make to women aware of their potential in the future and to provide them with the necessary skills to seek out assistance when needed as they foster a new sense of autonomy.

Prior to release, a prisoner may also be eligible for unescorted temporary absences (UTAs), as stipulated by the Parole Act. Since 1978, The National Parole Board has had exclusive jurisdiction and absolute discretion to grant or refuse to grant parole or, pursuant to the Penitentiary Act, to grant UTAs. According to this Act, all federal prisoners must be advised, in writing, of their eligibility date for UTAs. UTAs may be granted for administrative reasons which may include "visits for evaluation

purposes at Community Correctional Centres or Community Residential Centres, and for interviews with prospective employers...in preparation for a release plan for submission to the Board or for release on mandatory supervision" (Policy and Procedures Manual, National Parole Board).

Correctional Staff

The process of program development, participation and evaluation was reconstructed from the staff interviews. The prison staff are perhaps the most vital resource of Correctional Services Canada, in being the most involved with the prisoner. Their interaction with the prisoner is crucial to the quality of intervention.

It is required that a new prisoner upon arrival at Prison for Women be seen within 48 hours by the Case Management Officer (CMO) assigned to her case for the purpose of classification. The prisoner, at this time, is given an assessment according to Case Management Strategies. A Force Field Analysis of Needs and a Correctional Treatment Plan would also be done. These take into account any information the prison may have on the offender, including a police report of the details of the offence and any psychological and medical reports that may have accompanied the offender to the prison.

Classification

The Case Management Strategies (CMS) is the primary tool for

the classification of female offenders. This instrument serves to classify the offender according to offence, family history, social background, education and employment history, as well as by a self-evaluation by the inmate in the areas of personal interests and insights into the offence. On the basis of this evaluation, the inmate is classified into a security level. The security rating a woman is given will determine the degrees of freedom and privilege she will have within the institution. This system is somewhat different than in institutions for men because, generally, male institutions have a uniform level of security. Prison for Women is a "multi-security" institution, and thus, the prisoners must be classified into the scheme of prison management.

Once the assessment is completed, the CMO formulates a correctional treatment plan for the prisoner which includes the treatment stages which prepares the prisoner for her eventual release. Here, the Case Management Officer recommends to the prisoner the programs that are most suitable for her. She may then choose (or not choose) to participate in any number of the programs recommended.

In order for a woman to participate in a program, she must approach the supervisor of the particular program; that is, the person who is actually facilitating it. Often, this is a member of the institutional staff, or it can be someone contracted by the institution. The supervisor's consideration of whether a woman may or may not participate in a group mainly depends on the program's compatibility with the prisoner's treatment program. Conversely,

it must be ensured that the program will continue to function effectively with the new member. If the prisoner and the group are compatible, and if there is space for the woman in the program, she will be allowed to participate in the group.

Often, commitment to a group is flexible to encourage continued participation in the group. Also, there are, in some instances, programs, not offered on a continual basis, which allow 'breaks' for the participants. For instance, a program may be offered three times a year for ten to twelve weeks. In this situation, an interested prisoner would be put on the list for the next available session.

A likely scenario is as follows. A new prisoner arrives at Prison for Women and is given a work duty. This may include, for example, North Wing cleaning, tunnel cleaning or kitchen duty. If she attends school and another program, for example, she will do one in the morning and the other in the afternoon. The woman may choose not to participate in any work programs or courses but her program participation will eventually be reviewed for classification or parole reviews, and the absence of any sincere participation will not be viewed as favourable.

Participation Evaluation

Once a woman is participating in a program she is monitored by the supervisor of the program, who is required to inform the CMO of her participation. The degree of participation in any program will vary from program to program, so it is the supervisor who is

primarily responsible for the quality of her participation. Only recently, however, has the prisoner's actual attendance been closely monitored. This monitoring is overseen by the Social Development Officer who co-ordinates all programs within the institution.

Program Evaluation

The quality of a program is the responsibility of the Deputy Warden. He is responsible for the types of programs available in the prison and their ongoing evaluation. When asked about program evaluation, he indicated that, although it varies from program to program, written evaluations are done by the supervisor and the participants on an ongoing basis. Issues such as utility, interest and effectiveness are addressed. For example, whether the program achieves its stated purpose, or whether or not there seems to be a genuine interest from the participants in the program are two issues addressed.

Selecting Programs

The institution becomes aware of, and gains access to, available programs in a number of ways. An agency from the community may contact the institution or the regional headquarters if they have a program which may be of service at the institution. If it corresponds to the inmates' needs, the Deputy Warden will consider it. Institutions may also 'share' program by opening them up to prisoners in other institutions, such as microfilming at Bath

Institution and university courses at Collins Bay Institution. If prison staff hear of programs existant in the community, the appropriate personnel may contact the agency to see if the program is viable in an institutional setting and if interest and resources exist. Finally, a prisoner may hear of a program through her 'contacts' in the institution such as through an Elizabeth Fry worker, a volunteer or a social worker. She may then approach her CMO or the Social Development personnel with the idea and the name of the contact person within the community.

The overall considerations for a program are: available financial and personnel resources in the institution; interest among the prisoners; its overall relevance (basket weaving vs. addictions counselling) and finally: the logistics of the program delivery, such as the space in (or outside) the institution and the security considerations that must be accounted for.

It can be seen that attempts have been made by Correctional Services to provide programs for women in Prison for Women. There is, however, still a need for additional resources within the prison as well as a need for more extensive use of resources the community has to offer. While all the resources that Correctional Services provides have not been reviewed, some areas can be identified where resources are not provided, although vitally needed. In the concluding chapter some of these areas will be identified and some approaches to delivering additional programs at Prison for Women will be recommended.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Women in Prison for Women

Of the sample interviewed at Prison for Women in Kingston, it can be said that the women generally fit into the preliminary characteristic profile. Before incarceration, most were poor and unemployed. Even those who were employed at the time of the offence (11 of 30) were economically disadvantaged as they had few job skills and, as a result, low paying jobs. Also, eighteen women in the sample had a total of 35 children and nine of the mothers had the burden of single parenting.

The average age of the women in the sample is 30 and all but one of the women are residents of Canada. The age is slightly higher than found in the literature review; however, this may be due to the length of sentence one serves in a federal institution and the number of repeat offenders in the sample. One third of the sample consists of first time offenders, six of whom are serving life sentences. Twenty-three in the sample are serving their terms for violent offences.

Among the sample, approximately two-thirds of the women are addicted to alcohol or drugs and over eighty per cent of the sample are survivors of physical or sexual abuse.

Native Women

Native women were clearly under-represented in the sample. They were not systematically excluded in the selection of women for interviews, but instead, were under-represented because self-selection was used and only one native agreed to be interviewed. As this was the case, generalizations concerning native women in prison could not be made from this research. This is unfortunate as native women, generally, are over-represented in prison and, indeed, were in Prison for Women at the time of this research.

It has been stated previously that although a disproportionate number of natives are sent to prison, they are often over-looked in criminological research and correctional policy. Clearly, more research must be done concerning native inmates. Research involving natives, and particularly native women, must address the "revolving door" syndrome and the never-ending cycle of dependency. Family violence and social inequality are also two issues that must be considered when one addresses the needs of the native inmate. Finally, the rights of natives to practice their own religion must be taken into account when developing native correctional policies.

Education and Job Skills

The educational level of the women in the sample is higher than one may expect. That is, twenty-one women in the sample have completed elementary school (grade 8) and had entered high school. Furthermore, six have some post secondary education. The higher educational level, however, may not be representative of the

general prison population. It may be a reflection of the sampling procedure used, as the sampling method utilized required that the woman had at least some reading skills in order to read the information concerning the research and to volunteer to be interviewed.

In this study, the educational needs of the women in the prison were examined. It was determined that while, in this sample, women were more likely to have achieved at least some secondary school than those found in other profiles, continuing their education was a concern of two-thirds of the sample. The method used by those who strove to further their education, varied and often reflected the limited options available to them. Usually, a level of at least grade ten was required in order to be considered for other opportunities within the prison. Upgrading, achieved through either correspondence or classes in the prison "schoolroom", was necessary for many who chose to participate in the more-advanced programs. For example, participating in the data processing and computer fundamental program at Prison for Women required that women had an equivalent of a grade ten education. A broad spectrum of high school courses was available to the women who chose to enrol in them. The same could not be said, however, for those to chose to further their education at the post-secondary level. Many courses were offered in Social Sciences and Arts, and, although these can be considered noble pursuits, there was a notable absence of courses offered in the areas of Natural Science and Maths.

As stated previously, upon incarceration, only eleven women had been employed. Therefore, it is safe to argue that a majority of the women required job skills training. It was determined in the research that while several women did partake in a job skill programs, the benefits they received from them were limited. That is, many women received training for service-oriented jobs such as "cleaning maintenance" and hairdressing, but only one of the women who completed the program expressed an interest in that line of work upon release.

It was noted in the literature review that many women aspired to unattainable goals upon release. When this sample was questioned on their goals, 45 per cent of the women expressed an interest in a professional career, and another 28 per cent expressed an interest in a labour-oriented field. This accounted for 75 per cent of the surveyed population, but the training available in these areas was virtually non-existent or very restricted. Thus these women were unable to achieve their desired goals and saw little hope of doing so.

Several of the women expressed an interest in auto mechanics or other forms of skilled labour. However, only a few had the opportunity to participate in training in these areas. Compared to other training opportunities offered to women in the institution, such as for typing and cleaning positions, women interested in non-traditional occupations were much more restricted in their opportunity to participate in that training.

The selection of choices for programs offered in Prison for

Women is clearly a reflection of the traditional thinking of what the appropriate roles are for women in the workforce are. By offering programs which are primarily focused on teaching service-oriented skills, the correctional regime is reinforcing the outdated idea that women should not aspire beyond traditional roles. Therefore, these women are still not seen as breadwinners, and are consistently being relegated to lower paying jobs through correctional programming.

Women leaving a correctional setting are doubly disadvantaged if they have been absent from the workforce for a significant amount of time and have only skills which are suited to lower paying jobs. Therefore, women in Prison for Women must be given the opportunity to acquire non-traditional, employable skills. Such an opportunity not only will help these women achieve a higher standard of living in the financial sense, but also, it will help them acquire a greater sense of purpose and well-being.

The prospect of these women entering the workforce in such fields directly from an institutional setting, even with the educational training, is perhaps unrealistic. However, opportunities could be offered in the prison to bridge the gap between theory and practice. Releases into the community on day passes for the purposes of job placement may serve to ease these women into gainful employment.

Such job placement would be an extension to what is already provided at Prison for Women and would also render an opportunity for incarcerated women to successfully re-integrate themselves into

the community prior to day or full parole. Furthermore, success in such a field placement would enhance the success of parole, as it would enable the women to save money in order to gain independence as well as allow for contact with support networks in the community.

Pre-Release Planning

Prison for Women houses women from all across the country. Forty-five per cent of the sample are from Ontario. This group of women is particularly disadvantaged in that they are required to serve their entire term in Prison for Women, a maximum security institution, regardless of their security rating and their release date. Non-violent or minimum security inmates from other provinces have the option (albeit limited) to serve their federal sentences in a reduced security provincial institution.

Pre-release planning is difficult when an inmate is incarcerated far from the community to which she plans to return. The Elizabeth Fry Society of Kingston provides a two week program, three times a year, to women approaching their release dates. Out-of-province women are sometimes at an advantage because as they near their release date they may be considered for transfer to a provincial institution thereby better connecting them to community resources and spending the remainder of their sentence in a reduced security setting. Ontario women are not transferred to lower security institutions before release because of the absence of an exchange of services agreement between CSC and Ontario, and

may be released directly from Prison for Women.

An option available to most women prior to release is Escorted and Unescorted Temporary Absences (ETA/UTA). The eligibility for such a pass varies with the length of sentence. A woman serving a life sentence is eligible 3 years before her full parole date; an inmate serving less than a life sentence is eligible in one-half the period of time required for full parole, or six months, whichever is greater (Parole Act). As a part of pre-release planning, a prisoner may apply for these passes and it is often required that the inmate successfully complete at least two UTAs prior to full parole, as determined by the National Parole Board. However, the National Parole Board Policy and Procedures Manual states:

The fact that an unescorted temporary absence has been granted carries no commitment that additional leave will be granted or that day parole will be granted or considered in the future (Policy and Procedures Manual 1985).

Therefore, successful participation in the community may not be conditional to an impending release onto parole, nor does it ensure the granting of parole. What is needed is a community-based approach to the release of a prisoner. As with women from other provinces, women from Ontario must be given the opportunity to serve their final months in a reduced security setting, not as an extension of their sentence or parole, but rather as part of their sentence prior to parole. Also, there must be a commitment that successful participation in the community will lead to release.

Pregnancy and Dependent Children

Out-of-province prisoners, sentenced to Prison for Women, face a myriad of difficulties. Primarily, they are thousands of miles from home, where they may or may not have children. Visits by family members are severely limited or impossible, financially or otherwise, and Correctional Services does not assist family members with transportation in any way. While there are organizations which co-ordinate visits from the outside in, there is no matched support from CSC for visits, co-ordinated from the inside out.

We have seen that, if a family member is able to visit, the family visiting unit is made available. Children of women may also visit, provided they are legally able to do so. That is, often they are caught in custody battles and live out of province. Such legal entanglements certainly inhibit frequent visits, and it is arguably beyond the mandate of CSC to respond to this specific need of female inmates. However, CSC can not disregard this issue which touches the lives of many of the women found in Prison For Women.

A facilitator, or an advocate, knowledgeable in the areas of family law who could inform the women of their rights as parents is needed at the prison. The role of the advocate would be to liaise between the women and social service networks. The advocate would have to be sensitive to the powerlessness of the mothers and acknowledge it. Also, such a role would have to be adopted with caution to ensure that he/she would not be seen as yet another controlling agent within the institution. The advocate would have to work for, not direct, the women in validating the apprehensions

they have regarding the custody and care of their children.

When discussing child-care issues in a correctional milieu, one also must consider the fact that a mother may not wish to retain custody of her child(ren) upon release, or may choose to do so, only to realize that she is unable to cope with the responsibilities of single parenthood.

If women were sentenced to institutions in their home provinces, they could have a greater opportunity to visit with their children. However, there is a price to pay for serving a long sentence in a provincial institution, not the least of which is severe limits to programs. For instance, there are two unique in-house programs for the children of women in provincial institutions, but they are both initiatives of provincial corrections. Furthermore, neither program has been fully evaluated for the long-term effects that this type of child care may have on the child, the mother or the family unit as a whole. Therefore, much work has to be done in the area of prison child care.

One possible solution could be extended visits by children with their mothers. Visits extending past 72 hours could go a long way to re-introduce the child to the parent as well as to begin a closer bond within the family. Furthermore, it may provide the parent with skills which will help her cope with the responsibilities of parenting.

A second possible solution could be to set up a nursery program within the institution where children can interact with their parents on a daily basis. A qualified Early Childhood

Education co-ordinator could facilitate activities and provide valuable support to parents within such a day care arrangement.

Finally, a third possible solution could be a mother-child wing within the institution, allowing mothers to live with their children while serving their prison terms. In this scenario, a home-like environment could stimulate full time child care by the parent. Perhaps more importantly, such an arrangement would avoid the mother-child separation experienced by mothers forced to give up their children when they give birth while incarcerated, and would allow the mothers to nurse their newborns if they chose to do so.

Women who give birth while serving federal sentences often lose custody of the child a few days after the birth, only to return to Prison for Women to recover. While physical custody of the child is arranged, the split of mother and child is none the less very traumatic. The creation of such programs which provide an appropriate setting within the institution for the young infants of inmate mothers is recommended. While not all mothers would be suitable candidates for this type of intervention, many surely would benefit.

Such intervention would go a long way to address the very difficult separation that would occur not given these alternatives. While the effects that this bonding would have on the child would remain unknown, it would not produce the stress and anguish that the mother otherwise goes through from immediate separation.

Criticism of these types of intervention certainly exists.

The argument for incarcerating a child with his or her mother is difficult to justify. However, there is justification. If a child could stay with the mother for a brief period of six months, the mother would have time to make decisions about the long-term care of the child. In addition, health care staff could monitor the care of the child while and provide parenting skills to the mother. As in institutional nurseries which have been established in the United States and Europe, Canadian inmate mothers could also be permitted to care for their children. Such programs in Prison for Women would provide mothers with the opportunity to observe child development and also would enable these mothers to improve their parenting skills. At the same time, the program would provide them with useful work while incarcerated, and may help them develop greater feelings of self-worth and self-esteem.

On the other hand, one can argue that allowing the child to remain with the mother would simply delay the inevitable. That is, eventually the child would have to be removed from the institution. Furthermore, monitoring of the child and mother could arguably be seen as an extension of patriarchal control by the institution. If one thinks back to traditional controls over women and the family, the incarcerated woman, who has already been labelled deviant for her criminal actions, also now will be controlled in a different capacity - that of a mother.

As with any intervention strategy, the benefits must be clear and the harm diminished. Although it remains uncertain if such an intervention strategy could be possible in the bleak setting of a

prison, the option for mothers and expecting mothers should be made available. By offering nothing, Prison for Women will never avoid the hardships experienced by its inmate mothers in the loss of custody of a newborn child.

Criminal History

Among the sample, eleven, over one-third, are first-time offenders. Eight of the eleven are serving terms for first degree murder, second degree murder, or manslaughter. The three other first-time offenders are serving terms for armed robbery. Six of the first-time offenders were serving life sentences.

There are two striking facts in this finding. First, there is a seemingly high proportion of violent offenders among the sample: 24 out of 30. This figure contrasts the findings in the literature review which reveal that, generally, the majority of female inmates are serving time for minor, non-violent offenses. This difference is due to the type of prison from which this sample was selected; a federal maximum security prison, not a regional detention centre or a provincial institution.

There is also a high proportion of first-time offenders serving life sentences. If one refers back to Table 7 in Chapter 3, one can see the marked contrast between repeat and first-time offender sentencing trends. While the length of sentence mode for repeat offenders is three to five years, most of the first time offenders are serving a life sentence. This finding is an indication of an occurring trend which is resulting in a much

higher proportion of 'lifers' in Prison for Women. This makes one question the long-term consequences of this trend; where are these women to be housed? With an increasing number of women entering the system for longer periods of time, and relatively stable numbers serving shorter sentences, eventually the majority of the prison's population will be serving life sentences. This trend also will give the prison population a dichotomous character which may make any broad-based form of programming difficult.

When contemplating the arguments for the closing of Prison for Women, one must consider that alternatives to keeping the prison open are not hopeful as they would entail building new structures for sentenced women. A structure most suitable for long-term prisoners must provide the opportunity for women to rehabilitate themselves in a non-coercive setting.

Sentencing a first-time offender to Prison for Women may appear extreme. However, depending on the nature of the offence and the parameters of the penal code with respect to that offence, placing a first-time offender in Prison for Women is often necessary. More often than not, the inmates, in these cases, have exhibited violent behaviour, and thus, this behaviour must be addressed. Prison for Women should offer programs that address violent behaviour. However, at the time of this research, there was no anger management program per se in the institution.

It should not be surprising that so little research has been done on the topic of violent women. Traditionally, women rarely were seen as being capable of violence; so in keeping with this

view, it was beyond comprehension as to how to appropriately address the issue of violent women. A great deal of research needs to be done on this topic to deal with the problem effectively, in order to help these women as well as those people they are in contact with. For instance, a fine line separates helping and controlling these women in any correctional setting and thus, to curb violent behaviour effectively, correctional staff must be cautious not to deny the experiences in the lives of these women that lead to the behaviours that harm them or those with whom they interact. It has been stated that most of the women found in Prison for Women are not considered to be dangerous, and that they are often more dangerous to themselves than to others. If this is indeed the case, more rigorous research must be done to determine why this is so, and how to best intervene in a correctional setting and beyond.

Violence and Domestic Violence

It was found that a majority of the women sampled were involved in violent offences. This sharply contrasts the literature on female offenders, generally. There are many possible explanations for this discrepancy. First, since Prison for Women is the only federal institution for women, it is likely that the most "hardcore" of women offenders will be found there. Secondly, it is more likely that violent offenders will be found in Prison for Women because women serving long sentences for violent crimes are less likely to be transferred to provincial institutions, which

are not set up to house long term or high risk prisoners.

While this concentration of violent prisoners provides CSC with ample opportunity to address violent behaviours, there are currently no programs which deal with anger management and the sources or causes of violent behaviour among women. This negligence seems to be a lost opportunity for correctional services. Unfortunately, the exact roots or causes of violent behaviour in women have remained largely unexplored. Therefore, further studies into the area of violence by women are necessary.

Psychological Counselling

Past sexual assault, child abuse and incest are sources of unresolved anger among many women incarcerated at Prison for Women. These issues must be dealt with, and model programs must be created which will guide more programs to deal with the effects of abuse (e.g. addiction, violent behaviour and self-injurious behaviour).

As was brought out in the literature, it is believed that a majority of the women who were involved in a violent offence came from a violent domestic situation. This theory was supported in this study. Nine of the twenty women sampled that were involved in violent offences were victims of domestic abuse. Furthermore, a majority of these offenses involved a family member either as a victim or as a actor in the offence. It could be asserted, therefore, that domestic violence may be a contributing factor to violent offenses by women, but not necessarily the primary

triggering factor or cause of the violence. Any one factor can not in itself explain the etiology of female criminality. One may speculate that many of those who committed crimes of violence were themselves once in violent domestic situations. This may indicate the cyclical nature of this type of violence. That is, most of these women were likely to have grown up in an "assaultive" environment. Therefore, in order to overcome tendencies toward violent behaviour, these women, through programs, must address violent childhoods as well as violent adulthoods.

It would seem then that the "private" violence that women participate in, as victims, may lead to "public" violence in which they participate as offenders. This re-confirms the cyclical nature of violent behaviour found among women both in and out of prison. Perhaps it is the extreme degree of violence that is reflected in this particular sample. Very little is being done at Prison for Women to break this cycle. Even one year after the pilot project for sexual abuse survivors and a Federal Task Force report urging such support, nothing new has been offered at Prison for Women.

One also must also recognize that women face other, non-private forms of violence. Sexism, racism and discrimination are all found in society and, arguably, have a significant impact on the interpretation of and response to the behaviour of women. Furthermore, one may also argue that the justice system offers little protection to women who face these forms of oppression.

Responding appropriately to this kind of coercion may be

difficult, if not impossible, for some women. Also, such forms of oppression are not recognized by all women, and the responses may include anger, frustration, depression or simply a feeling of hopelessness. Women act out resistance differently, and responses displayed may be a reflection of their powerless position within patriarchal capitalism (For example, see Messerschmidt, 1986). It is possible that those who can no longer endure the patriarchal social order may rebel through violent behaviour directed to those closest to them or even themselves.

Clearly, more specialized programming must be made available for the vast majority of the women found in the correctional system. By offering no program or support group to survivors of domestic abuse, the correctional regime again reinforces traditional views of women. Patriarchy is embedded in the socialization of women, and is reinforced within the prison structure. Thus far, correctional intervention, with few exceptions, denies the existence of such abuse, imbedded within the social structure itself, and, secondly, it denies the damage it causes to a woman's autonomy and self-worth. Sensitive programming, offered by genuine and caring people, must be implemented if Correctional Services is serious about "rehabilitating" female offenders.

Addiction

Substance abuse was found in two-thirds of the sample. Of the women who admitted to substance abuse, 75 per cent had an addiction

to alcohol and 75 per cent had an addiction to drugs. This, however, accounted for only 50 per cent of the entire sample. It can not be argued conclusively, therefore, that substance abuse is a contributing factor to crimes by women, although substance abuse is found far more frequently among this sample than in the general population. There is a strong correlation between substance abuse and criminal behaviour, but the relationship cannot be fully explained with these data.

There may be an even stronger correlation between addiction and past physical and sexual abuse. Among survivors of past abuse, the rate of addiction is quite high. Of the 25 women who reported physical or sexual abuse, 20 were addicted to alcohol or drugs (80%). In such cases, alcohol or drugs may be used to block out painful memories and emotions which haunt survivors. Therefore, the high rate of addiction among the sample may be a result of the past physical and sexual abuse and, thus, the addiction must be addressed accordingly.

Through taking a closer look at the correlation between addiction and past abuse, one can see that, in all but three categories of offences, past abuse is far more prevalent than addiction. In the three cases of first degree murder, all of these offenders experienced past abuse and none were addicted to alcohol or drugs. In drug-related offences, one woman experienced past abuse and all three had an addiction to alcohol or drugs. In the category of other, there was no indication of past abuse and the woman did have an addiction. Finally, in the category of armed

robbery, the number of women who experienced abuse and those who had an addiction equalled in number; six of seven in both variables.

Thus, when considering the types of intervention strategies that would be most appropriate for this population, one must take into consideration these two variables. The experience of physical and sexual abuse and the presence of addiction are arguably two variables which have profound impact on the life experiences and the social condition of women. Both may result in social isolation and likely will result in the limiting of resources available to them to negotiate through the patriarchal social order. However, these are only two of many possible variables which must be examined when assessing need and intervention strategies.

As stated previously, CSC addresses addiction in a variety of ways; through weekly and daily group sessions. One-to-one counselling is also provided on a limited basis. But one can not help but notice the discrepancy between admitted addiction and addiction determined by correctional staff as reflected in the prisoners' files. This discrepancy has implications on the delivery of and participation in addiction programs.

For any program to be effective, there must be explicit agreement between prisoner and program staff that there is a 'problem' (for example, addiction). Forcing a prisoner into treatment for an addiction certainly limits effective information. In order for treatment to be effective, the prisoner would have to acknowledge the problem and be willing to address it.

If we define addiction as use of a controlled substance to the point where one's life is out of her control, this definition will show itself as problematic in a prison setting, where one's life is strictly beyond her own control, within set institutional parameters. The coercive and patriarchal nature of a prison setting may impede the voluntary approach needed for the success of any addiction program. Often when a Correctional Treatment Plan is completed by a Case Management Officer, addiction treatment is recommended. However, requiring a prisoner to participate in an addiction program will do little to change an uncooperative participant.

Addressing the Need

Prison for Women is a unique prison which houses unique inmates with characteristic needs. By discussing these needs and determining a suitable approach to addressing them one can determine how Prison for Women can best be utilized until alternatives are available.

The development of programs must be based on objective and realistic assessment of the specific population, taking into account the very specific and compelling needs of the identified population, although discovering what these needs are is difficult. Within a prison regime there are those who work with the prisoner through programs and case management, and there are those who focus on the security of the institution. Although providing a balance of rehabilitation and control within the institution is dubious,

attempts must be made. Helping inmates in a coercive setting demonstrates the prison dilemma. How do you control and assist concurrently? It would appear that while the knowledge exists, in that Correctional Services appears to be aware of the specific needs of imprisoned women, they have not taken the initiative to address the problems which exist in many areas. The voids must be filled appropriately. Clearly, solutions must be found.

APPENDIX

Inmate code # _____

Date: _____

Time: _____

This interview consists of four parts. Each part consists of related questions concerning socio-demographic; employment and education; medical and mental health; and criminal history.

All questions require personal information. If at any time you wish not to answer a question or to stop the interview for any reason, please say so and the interview will stop.

Do you have any questions?

Preliminary Information

Where was your place of residence at the time of your most recent offence?

city?

province?

What is your present age?

How long is your sentence?

time served?

What was your most recent offence?

What is your marital status?

Do you have any children?

How far did you go in school?

What is your classification?

Part 1 Socio-demographic

- 1) Where are you from?
 . city? province? country?
- 2) What was your age at the time of your most recent offence?
- 3) What is your ethnic origin?
- 4) What was your marital status at the time of your most recent offence? Any previous marriages?
- 5) Were you pregnant at the time of your most recent offence?
- 6) Do you have any children?
 If so:
 What were their ages at the time of your most recent offence? _____ _____ _____ _____
- Were the children in your custody at that time?
- Where are they now? city_____
- Who has custody of them?
- How often do you see your children?
- Is this arrangement satisfactory to you?
- Would you like to re-establish custody of your children upon your release?
- 7) Did your criminal history directly involve any of your family members?
- 8) Can you describe your home life at the time immediately prior to your offence?
- 9) Where would you like to move upon release?

Part 2 Employment and Education

1) Were you employed at the time of your most recent offence?

If so: What type of employment did you have?

If not: How long had you been unemployed?

2) What were your sources of income? _____

3) How far did you get in school?

4) What were your reasons for stopping at that point?

5) Did you have any specialized training or Diploma for employment?

If so: what was it in?

Did you ever receive employment which made use of any specialized training?

6) What kind of job would you like to have?

7) Would you like to continue your education in the future?

8) Have you learned any job-skills while in prison?

9) Have you taken any school courses while in prison?

10) Are these satisfactory to you?

Part 3 Medical and Mental Health

- 1) How would you describe your general health?
- 2) Have you ever had a prolonged medical illness?
- 3) Did you require prescription drugs to cope with any illness at the time of your most recent offence?
- 4) were you using alcohol or non-prescription drugs to cope with your situation at the time of your most recent offence?
alcohol_____ drugs_____

If so: Would you consider yourself addicted to drugs_____ to alcohol_____

Have you ever gone through any treatment programs for these addictions? in prison_____ on conditional_____ outside?

Can you describe these for me?

Did you attend any other programs for anything else? (eg. eating or sleeping disorders?)

Can you describe these for me?

- 5) Have you ever experienced long periods of depression?
- 6) Have you ever had a nervous breakdown?
- 7) Were you given a medical or psychological evaluation at the time of your arrest? Medical _____ Psychological_____
- 8) Have you ever contemplated suicide?

If so: have you ever acted on your suicidal feelings?

- 9) Have you ever been a victim of:
physical abuse_____ as an adult_____ as a child_____
sexual abuse _____ as an adult_____ as a child_____
incest_____

If any: Did this victimization involve any member of your family or household?

Was any legal action taken against the abuser?

Did you ever receive counselling to help you cope with this abuse? _____ in prison_____ not in prison _____

10) Is there anything else you would like to comment on concerning your health or medical background?

Part 4 Criminal History

- 1) Did you have a criminal record as a juvenile?
 If so: How many convictions did you have?
 less than 5_____ more than 5_____

What type of offenses were they?_____

Did you serve time for these offenses?
- 2) Did you have a criminal record as an adult prior to your present conviction?
 If so: How many convictions did you have?
 less than 5_____ more than 5_____

What type of offenses were they?_____

Did you serve time for these offenses?
- 3) Did you ever commit illegal acts for which you were not arrested? If so:
 As a juvenile: less than 5_____ more than 5_____
 As an adult: less than 5_____ more than 5_____
- 4) What was your role/degree of participation in this offence?
 (i.e. did you initiate, did you act alone, did you assist?)
- 5) What were the circumstances that lead to your involvement in criminal activity?
- 6) Do you see anything positive resulting from your prison sentence?
- 7) What would you like to result from your prison sentence?
- 8) Do you thing you have been treated fairly by the police, courts, corrections?
 pol. crts. corr.
- 9) Do you think you deserve to be where you are?
 Why or why not?
- 10) Is there anything else you would like to comment on with respect to your involvement in crime?

Do you have any questions relating to this research?

TIME _____

At this time I would like to thank you very much for your participation in this research. Your co-operation was very much appreciated.

I would also ask that you do not discuss the questions and your interview with the other prisoners until I complete all the interviews.

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Personal interviews with various correctional staff and
counsellors were also conducted throughout the duration of this
research; from January, 1989 to August 1989. Some follow up
interviews were also conducted in the following six months.

Those interviewed were:

Lada Tamarack, Sexual Abuse Counsellor (August 1989, February,
1990)

Heather McLean, Staff Psychologist (September 1989, March 1990)

Rolly Carrier, Case Management Officer (August 1989)

Estele Champagne, Case Management Officer (August 1989)

Maureen Blacklure, Case Management Supervisor (August 1989)

Matthew Gavinter, Co-ordinator, Social, Cultural Development
(January 1989, August 1989)

Chris Nicholson, Social, Cultural Development Officer (August
1989)

Ruth Quibelle, Social, Cultural Development Clerk (August 1989)

William Gladu, Acting/Deputy Warden (August 1989)

Melissa Caplan , Elizabeth Fry Councillor (Pre-release Program),
(September 1989)

ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to determine the needs of women serving prison terms at Prison for Women, the only female federal institution in Canada. The population housed there is unique in that they have a variety of specific needs, needs that can be identified through interviews with the prisoners and staff.

Interviews were conducted with a sample of thirty prisoners at Prison for Women to determine what they felt their needs were and how they perceived these needs were being addressed during their incarceration. Correctional staff members were also interviewed so it could be ascertained how current programs were being delivered. From the information gathered, discrepancies between what were found to be the needs, and how these needs were being addressed were then discussed and from this some recommendations for improvements have been made.

It was found that while Correctional Services does recognize some of the unique needs that this population has, often they lack the initiative to develop and deliver the required services. This was especially true in the area of past sexual and physical abuse.

Although inadequacies in the system do exist, it is not the purpose of this thesis to call for the closing of Prison for Women. Contrary to this, this paper argues that since this is the only institution we have for women and since the needs of the population can be identified, we can determine how to address these needs appropriately in the given setting, for lack of any alternative.