

MOTHER-CHILD CORRECTIONAL POLICIES: FAMILIAL IDEOLOGY AND THE
PRACTICE OF THE "SOCIAL COSTS" LOGIC OF PUNISHMENT

by

Ashanthi A. Buddhadasa

B.A.(Honours) (Sociology), University of Sri Jayewardanapura,

1984

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
in the School
of
Criminology

© Ashanthi A. Buddhadasa 1991

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

March 1991

All rights reserved. This work may not be
reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy
or other means, without permission of the author.

APPROVAL

Name: Ashanthi A. Buddhadasa

Degree: Master of Arts

Title of thesis: MOTHER-CHILD CORRECTIONAL POLICIES: FAMILIAL
IDEOLOGY AND THE PRACTICE OF THE "SOCIAL COSTS"
LOGIC OF PUNISHMENT

Examining Committee:

Chair: Patricia L. Brantingham, Ph.D.

Simon N. Verdun-Jones, J.S.D.
Senior Supervisor

Margaret A. Jackson, Ph.D.

Karlene Faith, Ph.D.

Dorothy Chunh, Ph.D.

Suzane E. Hatty, Ph.D.
External Examiner
Visiting Professor
School of Criminology
Simon Fraser University

Date Approved: March 20, 1991

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant to Simon Fraser University the right to lend my thesis, project or extended essay (the title of which is shown below) to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or the Dean of Graduate Studies. It is understood that copying or publication of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis / ~~Subject / Title / Title~~

Mother-Child Correctional Policies: Familial Ideology and
the Practice of the "Social Costs" Logic of Punishment

Author:

(signature)

Ashanthi A. Buddhadasa

(name)

March 15, 1991

(date)

ABSTRACT

The main objective of the thesis is to undertake a feminist analysis of existing correctional policies concerning inmate mothers and their children from a group of selected (British) Commonwealth countries. The present study is based on information derived from a standard letter addressed to the appropriate officials in the prison systems of the selected countries, who provided information concerning the relevant statutes, regulations, and policies directed towards both incarcerated mothers, who have young children, and pregnant inmates.

Feminists, who offer a critical perspective on correctional policies and practices, have emphasized the necessity to go beyond the stereotypical approach, habitually embraced by corrections, in order to adopt realistic policies and programs for mothers in prison. However, existing mother-child correctional policies and programs reflect the presumptions of an idealized family unit which underlies prison regimes and society's expectations.

Programs, eligibility standards, and other activities reproduce an officially sanctioned concept of motherhood, and inmate mothers are expected to demonstrate their willingness to accept their primary role as providers of maternal care during, and after, their term of incarceration. Nevertheless, the courts' concerns with "breaking up families" and "protecting the

innocents", are recognized as the social costs of punishment, that directly apply to inmate mothers. Consequently, the inculcation of the norms of "approved" motherhood in jailed mothers has been recognized as an effective way of regaining the social costs attached to the judicial penalty.

The thesis concludes that, without a review of judicial dispositions and an awareness of factors that affect women within the entire criminal justice system, the present paucity of research knowledge will prevent the creation as well as the implementation of effective policies and programs for mothers in prison.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I owe thanks to many others who kindly helped complete this endeavour!

It is with great affection and appreciation that I acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Simon N. Verdun-Jones, my senior supervisor, who provided guidance, encouragement and support throughout my academic life at Simon Fraser University.

Also, I am grateful to Drs. Chunn, Faith, Hatty, and Jackson for their invaluable assistance in writing this thesis.

Aileen, I wish to extend my sincere gratitude for your assistance, especially in word processing and university requirements.

Finally, my deepest affection and appreciation go to my husband Athula for sharing me and my manuscript.

DEDICATION

To my mother and father for their encouragement!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Approval	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgments	v
Dedication	vi
List of Tables	x
List of Figures	xi
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. WOMEN IN THE COURTROOM	9
The "Chivalry Hypothesis"	10
The "Naivete" Concept	11
The Rehabilitative Potentiality	11
The "Practicality" Logic	12
Shortcomings and Challenges of the Chivalry Hypothesis	13
The "Separate Spheres" Ideology	16
Familial Ideology	17
Familial Ideology and the Courtroom Discourse	18
Familial Paternalism	20
The Social Costs Logic	23
III. MOTHERS IN PRISON	25
Historical Notes on Jailed Mothers and their Children ...	26
Living Arrangements for Children	27
Daytime Visitation	29

Overnight Visits	30
Problems with Prison Visitation Programs	31
Alternatives to Visitation Programs	33
Prison Nurseries	33
Community Residences	34
Alternative Sentencing	34
Mother-craft Programs	35
IV. MOTHER-CHILD CORRECTIONAL POLICIES AND PROGRAMS	36
Inmate Profile	36
Existing Policies Regarding Inmate Mothers	50
Programs for Inmate Mothers	52
Mother-Child Contact Maintenance Mechanisms	53
Overnight Visits	54
Extended Visits	54
The Objectives of Extended Visiting Programs	55
The Eligibility Criteria for Extended Visiting Programs	55
The Provisions of Extended Visitation Programs	55
The Alternative Bond Maintenance Methods	56
Child Placement Arrangements	56
Mother-Child Live-in Programs	57
The Intentions of Prison Live-in Programs	57
The Requirements for Prison Live-in Programs	57
Facilities in the Live-in Programs	58
Policies Concerning Pregnant Inmates	58
Programs for Pregnant Inmates	60
Summary	61

V. FAMILIAL IDEOLOGY AND THE PRACTICE OF THE SOCIAL COSTS	
LOGIC	64
Creating a 'Homier' Atmosphere	65
Justification of Familial Contacts	67
Regaining the Social Costs	70
Operation of Familial Ideology	71
Investigation of Maternal Capabilities	75
Mothering in Prison	77
Work Placement	79
VI. CONCLUSIONS	83
APPENDIX A	93
APPENDIX B	96
APPENDIX B	97
APPENDIX C	112
REFERENCES	141

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1 Percentages and Numbers of Female Inmates by Jurisdiction and Average Age	39
2 Percentages and Numbers of Female Inmates by Jurisdiction and Ethnicity	42
3 Percentages of Female Inmates by Jurisdiction and Marital Status	43
3 a Numbers of Female Inmates by Jurisdiction and Marital Status	44
4 Percentages of Female Inmates by Jurisdiction and Educational Level	45
4 a Numbers of Female Inmates by Jurisdiction and Educational Level	46
5 Percentages and Numbers of Female Inmates by Jurisdiction and Employment Status	47
6 Percentages and Numbers of Female Inmates by Jurisdiction and Most Common Offences	49

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	Existing Policies Concerning Inmate Mothers	51
2	Existing Policies Concerning Pregnant Inmates	59

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Women's involvement with the criminal justice system may illustrate the importance of recognizing the social costs of judicial penalties. Indeed, the children of imprisoned mothers may well be seen as the covert victims of a criminal life style (Stanton, 1980). A woman's attainment in parenting is often scrutinized in the sentencing process (Baunach, 1985; Carlen, 1983 & 1985; Farrington & Morris, 1983). With little consideration for the nature of their conviction, jailed women are often considered failures as mothers, wives, and homemakers (Dobash, et al. 1986) simply by virtue of their imprisonment.

Throughout the evolution of Criminology, women have been subjected to disparate, uninformed and stereotypical references. A woman's mere involvement with the justice system raised questions about her capability as a mother and wife. Hence, the "perfect woman" has traditionally been defined as a capable wife and mother at home, and has been expected to be chaste, devout, compliant and oriented towards the family. Thus, judged from middle-class standards, female offenders have been characterized as social and sexual deviants, who require training in femininity.

Feminist scholars have collectively revealed the complex nature of the treatment that women have received in the justice system, and highlighted the disparity between criminal justice

policy and the reality of practice. Feminists have criticized the existing standards, sentencing policies, and the regime in prison, and concluded that the whole system tends to sustain the conventional middle-class model family (Eaton, 1983 & 1986; Daly, 1986, 1987a & 1987b). They have revealed the biased nature of such practices and expectations, and criticized the assumptions underlying the middle-class conception of womanhood.

A cursory examination of the profiles of female inmates may demonstrate how unreasonable it is to expect a similar middle-class orientation on the part of ex-prison mothers (Wilkinson, 1988). Many of them are convicted of petty thefts and property-related crimes, which may be interpreted as an indication of their marginal economic situation (see Chapter IV, Table 6). Moreover, the common picture for such women is that they are unemployed and/or on welfare. Nevertheless, many of the mothers in prison are not only be "breadmakers" but also "breadwinners", and the children may not have a clear relationship with a father figure. Obviously, under such circumstances, inmate mothers are unable to stay at home and attend only to care-giving duties.

Women in prison are in a financially critical situation. Nevertheless, the system responds in an apparently ignorant manner, and identifies the absence of parenting and child-care skills as the inmate mothers' major deficiencies. Therefore, the programs and policies that are being designed to confer middle-class values and life-styles may not be of any real

assistance to them.

Within prison, inmate mothers are required to display their child-care abilities and maternal responsibilities, and courts order them to practice such skills by creating unrealistic mechanisms (namely day care centers in B.C. and Manitoba) that supply inexpensive labour to the institution. These, in essence, supplement the implementation of cost-effective programs in women's facilities. The eligibility for those programs is defined with reference to their child-care experiences prior to their incarceration and participation in such programs becomes a condition of reunion with their children upon release.

Thus, conducting a research study on prison mothers and their children may be a valuable addition to the literature in light of the dearth of studies on this particular issue. While numerous past studies can only be generalized to a few women's facilities in the U.S., the present research proceeds beyond that narrow focus. The research findings of the present study are based on information received about policies and practices regarding inmate mothers and their children from a selected group of (British) Commonwealth countries. Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and Sri Lanka¹ have been chosen for the present study, in consideration of their initial membership of the Commonwealth.

¹ England and India have been eliminated from the study, because of their failure to respond.

A standard letter addressed to the appropriate officials in the prison system of the selected countries was the primary data gathering technique² (see Appendix A: Sample Letter Sent to Canadian Jurisdictions; Sample letter Sent to England New Zealand, India, and Sri Lanka). The requested information consists of the relevant statutes, regulations, policies and details about the programs (if any) directed towards both incarcerated mothers who have young children, and pregnant inmates. Statistical information, concerning the incarceration of female offenders, was also requested.

Like any other research study in Criminology, this research contains certain limitations. An obvious limitation of the study is the choice of four (originally, six) Commonwealth nations as the sample for analysis. The varying levels of development, and wide range of *per capita* annual income, extensive geographic distribution, various degrees of urbanization and economic growth, broad range of population size, and contrasting socio-cultural settings may impose severe restrictions with respect to generalization.

Since the focus of the present study has been the examination of written mother-child prison policies and programs in a selected group of Commonwealth countries, the other available policies and programs which may address different concerns and needs of women in prison in the same jurisdictions

² The materials from two Australian States (Victoria - R. J. Ford, a memorandum to the chief inspector, September 8, 1989 - and New South Wales) have been received as responses to personal letters sent by the senior supervisor.

studied, have been exempted in order to narrow the focus of the study. On the other hand, little information exists on other programs for women in prison. However, this exemption could be considered as a limitation of the study.

Furthermore, no data have been obtained from the perspective of inmate mothers concerning the available programs, and the received information reflects the official position and viewpoints of legislators and policy-makers. These policies and programs are not necessarily translated into practice; therefore, there can be a disparity between policy and practice.

The selected information received was consistent with the prevailing familial ideology. However, it is important to remember that this information, owing to the nature of this study, was very selective. Therefore, the findings and conclusions concerning mother-child prison policy and practice are only tentative, and should not necessarily be considered reflective of the general correctional policy and practice for women in prison.

In addition to the above cited problems, the research data may be affected by such problems as a lack of clarity in policy statements, inconsistent and/or incomplete statistics, different methods of maintaining records, divergent value systems, and different socio-political ideologies.

The analysis of secondary data may have created another problem in terms of their selective availability and the differing purposes for which they may have been collected. There may be a danger of tailoring the study to the available data. This may affect the validity of the findings. Nonetheless, while this research study is inevitably affected by certain methodological restrictions, they should not undermine its significance. With every study, we learn something new that broadens our knowledge and understanding.

The thesis consists of five chapters. The initial chapter presents the theoretical framework that is applied in the analysis. A feminist point of view has been utilized, although other theoretical approaches may be discussed in order to place the feminist viewpoint within a broader context. The views offered by Mary Eaton (1983 & 1986) and Kathleen Daly (1986, 1987a & 1987b) play a major role in the theoretical review.

Chapter III presents the programs that have been implemented to maintain contact during the mother's sentence which have been discussed in the existing literature. The entire section rests on information discovered with reference to the United States, and this may reflect the abundance of such programs in the U.S.

Visitation has been the most prevalent method of preserving the mother-child bond, while extended visiting and live-in programs have been developed at some institutions. Incarcerated pregnant women have been provided pre- and post-natal care, and some jurisdictions facilitate childbirth arrangements in an

outside hospital. Special housing facilities are provided during the pregnancy, and incarcerated mothers are being offered various child-care and parenting skills.

The information received from the countries selected for the current study is presented in chapter IV. The data in this chapter have been received from various Canadian provinces, the Australian State of Victoria³, New Zealand, and Sri Lanka. The major portion of the documentation received from these countries is from Canada. This fact is reflected in the primary focus of this chapter, which is upon the Canadian materials and information.

The quality and quantity of the received information varied from one jurisdiction to another; however, every jurisdiction included the existing policies and programs (if any) for mothers and pregnant women in prison (see Appendix B: Summary of the Information Received from Selected Commonwealth Jurisdictions).

The policies and programs of these jurisdictions are identified primarily in relation to inmate mothers and pregnant inmates. Then, the techniques for enhancement mother-child contact, child-care and parenting programs, child placement arrangements, medical facilities, pre- and post-natal care are discussed with specific emphasis on their objectives, eligibility standards, and expectations.

³ The material from New South Wales has been discussed in footnotes, because the information has been considered as historical material.

Chapter V includes the application of the feminist perspective and analysis of the research data. While Daly (1986) agrees with Eaton (1983 & 1986) that traditional, class-based, gender role concepts of family life are reproduced in the decision-making process, she highlights the social costs of the sentencing outcomes (Daly 1987a & 1987b). Likewise, training and work placement encouraged and facilitated by mother-child prison policies and programs can be perceived as an instrument supporting the prevailing familial ideology.

Chapter VI presents the conclusions drawn from study. Correctional mother-child policies assume their clients are inadequate mothers, and facilitate their "rehabilitation" through various mechanisms which are designed to instill familial responsibilities and protect the family unit. Given the drastic economic and social circumstances that these women had encountered prior to their incarceration, it will be argued that white, middle-class gender-based familial policies have set unreal goals and expectations for ex-inmate mothers. Therefore, it is important to review the impact of motherhood and other relevant factors on the entire criminal justice system.

CHAPTER II
WOMEN IN THE COURTROOM

Within the criminal justice process, motherhood is examined, challenged and intensified. Women's criminality may be equated with their familial responsibilities, and female offenders can be scrutinized in terms of the performance of their child-care and parenting obligations within the context of an idealized, model family. Approved motherhood has been characterized in terms of the relationships between white, heterosexual couples in a middle-class family setting, and female offenders, who fail to reconcile their own life-styles with these official gender-based expectations, may be sentenced to a punitive setting in order to facilitate maternal training and experience.

Conventional criminology assumed that women were dealt with more leniently than men in the criminal justice system, and they are less likely to be arrested, convicted, or imprisoned (Anderson, 1976; Barnes & Teeters, 1959; Block & Geis, 1962; Cavan, 1962; Mannheim, 1965; Marshall & Purdy, 1972; Moulds, 1978; Nagel & Weitzman, 1979; Pollak, 1950; Reckless, 1961; Reckless & Kay, 1967; Simon, 1975; Terry, 1970). This preferential treatment within the justice system is known as the "chivalry hypothesis."

Feminists researchers questioned this preferential manner of handling, and demonstrated the complex nature of the issue of women's treatment in the justice system (Carlen, 1983; Eaton,

1983, 1985 & 1986; Edwards, 1984; Worrall, 1981). More recent studies of legal processes analyze the practice of familial ideology (Eaton, 1983, 1985 & 1986; Daly, 1986), and the social costs of punishment (Daly, 1987a & 1987b).

The "Chivalry Hypothesis"

The "chivalry hypothesis" has been the popular interpretation with reference to the allegedly preferential treatment of women within the judicial process. The underlying presumptions of women's involvement with the criminal justice system often reinforce the view of women as dependent, emotional, and in need of manly support (Rafter & Stanko, 1982). Those who believe that women and girls are treated more leniently or 'gently' have advanced the theory that this is due to the impact of paternalism¹ on the processes of the justice system. As presumed by Parisi (1982), the argument underlying the chivalry thesis is that society has taught justice personnel to approach women in a fatherly, protective manner, and consider submissiveness and domesticity as feminine inheritances.

¹ According to Moulds (1978), the power relationships between men and women are more accurately described by the term paternalism. This power structure is evident in the traditional patriarchal families. This patriarchal family system is particularly important in explaining power relationships between the sexes, since gender role stereotypes continue to dichotomize most men and women into different power structures in society. These divisions in the family are visible in the courtroom too (Moulds, 1978).

The "Naivete" Concept

Another explanation that has been cited with reference to preferential handling in the courtroom, which is certainly not independent from the chivalry thesis, is "naivete". It has been defined with reference to the lack of experience or informed judgement (Parisi, 1982).

Steffensmeier (1980) proposes a variation in the naivete concept, and argues that naivete comes into play because females are perceived as less capable of committing crimes than male defendants, and generally their criminality is being viewed as less dangerous. This perception can be linked to existing gender role stereotypes of women as weaker, more passive, and more dependent than men as well as the various expectations of conformity on the part of men and women. Furthermore, the male judges' protective attitude towards female clients within the judicial decision-making process is generalized to a belief in women's inability to cope with judicial harshness, their central role as mothers, and the need to protect them from stigmatization (Steffensmeier, 1980).

The Rehabilitative Potentiality

Another assumption that may explain the lenient treatment hypothesis, is the belief in female clients being "susceptible to rehabilitation" (Steffensmeier, 1980). On the one hand, the rehabilitative potential in the female defendants has been mentioned as a way of punitive treatment. The enforcement of

indeterminate sentences and longer periods of probation as well as delaying parole appeals have been mentioned as strengthening this punitive perspective. On the other hand, owing to women's rehabilitative nature, this approach has been considered to impose more lenient penalties for female defendants than their male counterparts (Parisi, 1982). Whatever the empirical basis, the perception of female defendants' sensitivity to reform, favours the discriminatory handling of the female defendants (Armstrong, 1977; Steffensmeier, 1980).

The "Practicality" Logic

Besides the aforementioned explanations of the chivalry thesis, "practicality" is the rationale behind preferential treatment, and it focuses on the women's central role as mothers, specifically their child-care responsibilities (Simon, 1975; Steffensmeier, 1980). Mothers' imprisonment creates issues relating to child-care responsibilities; therefore, it is believed that justice personnel are reluctant to send women with children to prison (Parisi, 1982). Both Simon (1975) and Steffensmeier (1980), emphasize the practical problems of incarceration of women with children, and cite this emotional feeling as a reason for judicial leniency.

Although the previous explanations describe the various attitudes of women's conventional life-styles and the judicial justification for gentle treatment, the chivalry proposition has been exposed to different empirical tests and it has been challenged on the basis of its inherent shortcomings.

Shortcomings and Challenges of the Chivalry Hypothesis

Most of the 1970s and the early 1980s studies on the judicial sentencing process contribute to the debate around the chivalry thesis. As revealed by Edwards (1989, p.169), their interest centered on examining the empirical evidence rather than clarifying the concepts or understanding the underlying reasons. Therefore, these studies are designed to investigate the relationship between gender and the various aspects of the law enforcement process. Where women engage in conventional types of criminal activity, typically property offences, the "chivalry" does seem to mean leniency (Chesney-Lind, 1978; Klein & Kress, 1976; Rottman & Simon, 1975).

The predominant flaw in most research that supports the chivalry notion, is the lack of controls for legally relevant variables, such as seriousness of the offence and the criminal history of the defendants (Baab & Furgeson, 1967; Gibbens & Prince, 1982; Moulds, 1978; Nagel & Weitzman, 1971; Pollak, 1950; Rottman & Simon, 1975; Simon, 1975). Steffensmeier (1980) as well as Curran (1983) consider the absence of controls for legally relevant variables in the research, that is consistent with the chivalry hypothesis, as a great weakness.

Secondly, the criminal justice sanction analyses are, generally, confined to a small number of offences, and usually focus only upon relatively serious crimes. For example, Nagel and Weitzman (1971) studied only grand larceny and felonious assault; Marshall and Purdy (1972) examined the offences of

driving while intoxicated, and Pope (1975) differentiated between felonies and misdemeanours. Since the majority of women and men are arrested and prosecuted for less serious crimes, this may eliminate a large number of defendants.

Past research that was designed to test the chivalry hypothesis, was primarily directed towards the latter part of the criminal justice process (Bernstein, et al. 1977 & 1979; Kruttschnitt, 1981; Nagel & Weitzman, 1971; Moulds, 1978; Rottman & Simon, 1975; Simon, 1975; Swigert & Farrell, 1977). This led to an ignoring of the police phase and the lower courts phase, which precluded gaining a complete view of the allegedly gentle handling in the judicial process. Visher (1983, p.7) comments that a considerable number of offenders have been funnelled out at the initial stages, and this prevents gaining an idea as to the extent of gender bias at the initial points of the law enforcement process.

The chivalry thesis has been countered by research which has shown the sexes are treated in alike manner, when such factors as seriousness of offence and criminal record are being taken into account (Farrington & Morris, 1983; Green, 1961). A further challenge is evidenced with reference to the punitive attitudes towards, and the enforcement of harsher punishments for certain types of criminal women, typically sexually promiscuous female offenders. Several authors have drawn attention to common features in the judicial handling of rape and prostitution, and suggest that the underlying moral and ideological assumptions

about women and their sexuality are similar in both cases (Edwards, 1984; Smart, 1976). They are being perceived as deviants from femininity (Chesney-Lind, 1978; Parisi, 1982; Visser, 1983) and, as Edwards (1989, p.170) comments, the role of the law tends to be regulate the "evil" woman rather than to perpetuate lenient treatment.

Although women are perceived as the beneficiaries of preferential treatment in the courts, it has been revealed that this leniency is applicable only in relation to crimes that are viewed as "female crimes."² As soon as the offending becomes serious or raises a question with respect to their morality, they are likely to be dealt with more retributively than their male counterparts, who commit the same crimes (Edwards, 1983).

Thus, the agents of the law are clearly inconsistent even in their paternalism, and the discrimination that results from judicial paternalism not only enforces a difference between the sexes, but also among members of the same gender. Moreover, this varying degree of lenient practice in the justice system, merely exacerbates the problem of interpretation of the chivalry hypothesis (Box, 1983; Chesney-Lind, 1978; Curran, 1983; Naffine, 1987).

² Although prostitution is viewed as a "female crime", it tends to raise questions regarding women's morality.

The "Separate Spheres" Ideology

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, in the countries that experienced capitalist industrialization, the "separate spheres" ideology became dominant. Men's place was considered to be in the public sphere and they engaged in paid work, politics, law, etc., while women were confined to household and family life; thus to the private sphere. Within the public sphere, men would act as paid workers--providers/protectors, and they were granted the status as creators and formal arbiters of morality and culture. Women's place has been as mothers and guardians of the home and culture--housekeepers, care-givers.

Nonetheless, the "separate spheres" assumption is characterized for white, middle-class, heterosexual couples, and first³ and then second-wave⁴ feminists challenged the separate spheres thinking in different ways, and denounced the domestic sphere as oppressive to women and sought to achieve equality with men in the public sphere. More recent, qualitative studies of legal processes analyze familial ideology (Daly, 1986; Eaton, 1983, 1985 & 1986), and the social costs of judicial penalties (Daly, 1987a & 1987b).

³ First-wave feminism (the "women's movement") arose in the United States and in some European countries in conjunction with the movement to abolish slavery (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988, p.497), and to obtain the vote for women.

⁴ Second-wave American feminists emerged in the mid 1960s in conjunction with the civil rights movement, the new left, and a critical mass of professional women (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988, p.497).

Familial Ideology

Familial ideology refers to certain unexamined assumptions about the family which are linked to the middle-class or bourgeois model of the family. The main assumption concerning the model family is that the nuclear family consists of a husband and wife as well as their dependent children in a monogamous marriage relationship. This particular model has been considered as an ideal, an accepted form of the family, and the gender-based division of labour is assumed to play an important role in keeping the 'normal' family unit conflict-free (Daly, 1986; Eaton, 1983 & 1986). Thus within the model family, women are assigned maternal and care-giving roles and responsibilities, while men fulfill their obligations to the family as providers and protectors (Daly, 1986; Eaton, 1983, 1985 & 1986). Consequently, women's place has been defined as the home-centered, dependent private sphere, and men's place has been identified as the public sphere.

The impact of familial ideology has an extremely important influence not only on women who commit crimes, but also on legal and policy personnel who make decisions concerning female inmates. Criminal justice agents view their policies and programs for female offenders as a means of assisting them to fulfill their gender-assigned roles as mothers and care-givers in the family. Therefore, familial ideology does not function in a direct manner to influence policies and programs for women in prison; rather, it has an indirect effect on policy-making.

bodies. Consequently, justice personnel do not consciously implement policies and programs for women in prison that perpetuate female inmates' subordination and dependency (Eaton, 1986).

Familial Ideology and the Courtroom Discourse

Mary Eaton (1986) focuses her attention on a contemporary family life that has serious implications for the position of women in society. She describes how middle-class magistrates judge working-class defendants, and concludes the practice amounts to a perpetuation of women's home-centered subordinated role. Eaton's (1983 & 1986) argument is that the familial ideology reinforces gender divisions and promotes the class structure.

Eaton's (1983 & 1986) courtroom observations, interviews with London Magistrates and investigations of social inquiry reports revealed that justice personnel would be influenced by the presence of children, and the defendant's responsibility for child-care. However, the direct impact of these circumstances is not clear. Nevertheless, legal agents operate on the basis of un-examined ideological assumptions about women (and men). The offender's recognition of her responsibilities and duties will be stressed to assess the defendant's "normal" membership in society. If the defendant has been identified as a person who plays an appropriate role in relation to other family members, such as a spouse or a child, the court will view the current case as a temporary aberration (Eaton, 1983).

Furthermore, Eaton (1983) identifies pleas of mitigation as a model of the social world, in which behavior is commonly measured on an accepted set of values, with particular reference to the family. As a consequence of this criterion, each defendant is checked for her conformity to the accepted role. In other words, female defendants are being scrutinized for their dependency on others and for financial and emotional support (the support should take place within the conventional family unit, in which the female defendants play their assigned roles as wives, mothers and daughters) (Eaton, 1983). Eaton (1983) elaborates this expectation:

"Through family circumstances the defendant is explained, excused and given hope for the future.... The predominance of the family in these pleas is an acknowledgement of the role which it plays in the socialization and control of members of society" (Eaton, 1983, p.397).

Eaton (1983) concludes that the pleas of mitigation are one way of revealing and reinforcing the prevailing ideology within the courtroom, which relies on a shared and undisputed social world in the family.

Eaton (1983) confirms the argument, that the traditional gender role of women within the family entails

"... a degree of unofficial but effective control which the courts seem to recognize when passing sentence" (Eaton, 1986, p.30).

The differential treatment of women in the courtroom, that results from the gender-based role assigned to them within the family, reveals and reinforces prevailing patriarchal ideologies within the family. Therefore, women's role in the family, not

their gender *per se*, is influential in sentencing (Eaton, 1985 & 1986; Thomas, 1979). The endorsement of stereotypical gender roles in courtroom dialogue may be viewed as an effective way of preserving the traditional family-oriented role of women in society. Thus, within the model family, men are being considered as "breadwinners," while women are viewed as dependent and domestic (Eaton, 1986).

Familial Paternalism

While Daly (1987a & 1987b) supports Eaton's (1983 & 1986) proposition that conventional and gendered concepts of work and family life are reconstructed in the process of judicial decision-making, she views women as care-taking dependants, and identifies this point as a more significant source of informal social control in women's lives. This has led Daly (1987a) to emphasize the impact of familial relationships with reference to the number of dependants rather than women as dependent on others.

Daly's (1987a) social control/social costs framework revises the Kruttschnitt (1981, 1982 & 1984) and the Kruttschnitt and Green (1984) social control debates. The Kruttschnitt and Green social control argument contends that women have more informal social control in their lives than men and, owing to this, they are subjected to a lower degree of formal social control.

Daly (1987a & 1987b) argues that the Kruttschnitt arguments need to be modified; since the focus of informal social control is mis-specified and gender differences in judicial responses are insufficiently clarified. Thus, Daly (1987a & 1987b) concludes that the Kruttschnitt-Green social control model does not consider "gender divisions in work and family life" (Daly, 1987b, p.154); consequently, it fails to explain distinctions in the process of judicial handling between men and women (Daly, 1987a & 1987b).

Daly's (1987a) interviews with court officials reveal that the sanctioning process is structured to protect men's and women's labour for families and those who are dependent on the defendants; in short, to protect family life. Daly (1987a) identifies the practice as "familial paternalism," and assumes that this concept explains gender-based disparities in the sentencing process.

Therefore, Daly (1987a & 1987b) identifies "familied" and "non-familied" defendants in order to explain their treatment in the courtroom. The court perceives that the familied defendants' social control derives from the family members who are dependent on the defendant, and the non-familied defendants' social control comes from those upon whom the defendant is dependent, or "someone [who will] be at home to keep an eye on the defendant" (Daly, 1987a, p.276).

Daly (1987b) reveals that the application of social control by court officials is based on the strength and the locus of

informal social control enforced through "having dependants," and assumes that "women care for others and men's economic support for families are different types of dependencies in life, and they elicit different concerns for the court" (Daly, 1987b, p.154). In a footnote, Daly (1987a) clarifies the courtroom meaning of the two categories. A familial man is married, with or without children; whereas a familial woman has children with or without a spouse, but having dependants is common to both.

These differing connotations reveal specific gender-assumed dependencies in the family life. It is assumed that familial female defendants deserve greater leniency than familial men, because women are generally responsible for child-caring, and judges view this care-taking job as keeping women occupied while enforcing informal social control. Legitimacy is, therefore, granted to lenient treatment for familial defendants and at the same time, court officials remind themselves of the negative consequences that may emerge in families by imprisonment of familial defendants. Thus, in contemplating jail time, judges state that they do not want to "inflict a hurt on society" (Mann, Wheeler & Sarat, 1980, p.488), by jailing familial defendants. Daly (1987b, p.155) recognizes the "hurts on society" as social costs attached to the punishment imposed on familial defendants.

The Social Costs Logic

With reference to familial defendants, Daly (1987a & 1987b) points out that court officials practise the social costs logic in sanctioning familial defendants. That is to say, that for an economically marginal family, a fine may cause hardships, but a probation sentence may give time for the job or child-care. This practice merges with the idea that familial defendants require less formal social control in order to encourage law-abiding behaviour. As perceived by Daly (1987a), principles of social control and the social costs logic do not compete with each other to rationalize differences in the treatment of familial and non-familial defendants; rather the two inseparable aspects incline to justify each other.

Daly (1987a) identifies the social costs logic in two ways; ideological and economical. As a way of preserving social order, the courts reason that families should not break up, and for the sake of justice one should only punish the guilty defendant, not the innocent family members or dependants. The courts' concerns with "breaking up families" and "protecting the innocents" (Daly, 1987b, p.156), directly apply to familial women, and care-taking labour is recognized as more essential for women than economic support in maintaining the family.

On the other hand, the judicial references to financial reasons indicate that there are various economic outcomes to the state. Thus, when female familial defendants are imprisoned, the

state may incur added costs for replacing a care-taking figure (foster care and institutionalization costs) than the female familied defendants' economic support for the family. According to Daly's (1987a) perception, the loss of a breadwinner is more easily replaced by state resources (namely, the Aid to Families with Dependant Children in the U.S., housing allowances, and food stamps) than the loss of parental care.

Since the dominant model of the middle-class family is reflected in and reinforced by the courtroom discourse (Daly, 1986; Eaton, 1983 & 1986), female defendants are examined for their care-taking dependency role and are sentenced on the calculation of the social costs of judicial penalties (Daly, 1987a). Accordingly, women in prison may be viewed either as deviants from their care-taking expectations and/or failing to accomplish the gender specified roles outside the familial territory. As a result, within prisons, different policies and programs are adopted to perpetuate middle-class mothering in jailed mothers.

CHAPTER III
MOTHERS IN PRISON

Throughout the history of the penal system, women's pivotal place in society has been as wives/mothers at home. Although the treatment within the system underwent significant changes, the maintenance of strong family ties has continued to be viewed as the greatest single factor in female inmates' successful adjustment following their release (Bonfanti, et al. 1974; DuBose, 1975; Markeley, 1973; Zalba, 1964). Consequently, rehabilitation has meant training and inculcating domesticity and dependency in women prisoners.

According to the female prisoners' perspective, it has been revealed that one of the significant problems encountered by female inmates in the United States, is the separation from their children (Baunach & Murton, 1973; Baunach, 1975; Burkhart, 1973; Ward & Kassenbaum, 1966). Between 50% to 70% of women in prison have one or more dependant children who lived with them prior to their incarceration (Baunach, 1985). The available studies have indicated the necessity of facilitating means to retain contact between prison mothers and their children during the mothers' confinement (Bonfanti, et al. 1974; DuBose, 1975; Lundberg, et al. 1975; McGowan & Blumenthal, 1978; Zalba, 1964). These mechanisms have ranged from general visits to overnight visits, and some institutions in the U.S. have arranged to house the newborn in prison. Moreover, some women's facilities have implemented mother-craft programs in order to teach maternal

skills for inmate mothers.

Historical Notes on Jailed Mothers and their Children

Historically, women's prisons were specifically established to instill concepts of motherhood and sobriety in the inmates (Gibson, 1973). Various jurisdictions throughout the world have created different methods of coping with imprisonment and family solidarity; however, the existing literature has provided limited information about the historical arrangements in various countries (see Appendix C: Table 1).

When examining the historical relationship between maternity and incarceration in the U.S., incarcerated women were customarily allowed to care for their children on the premises (see Appendix C: Table 2). It was clear that some of the preceding statutes in the U.S. permitted child-care within prisons, and later those were amended without any rationale, so that infants were removed from their mothers immediately upon their confinement (In 1918, Virginia, Va. Acts 276, replaced by *Va.Code Ann.* 53-285 (1978), repealed by 1982 *Va. Acts* 636 and the *Kansas Criminal Procedure Code Ann.* 76.205b, amended by 1970 *Kan. Sess. Laws* ch.339, 3. cited in Deck, 1988, p.697).

Subsequently, the children of inmate mothers in the U.S. have been cared for in prison through different visitation and live-in programs. However until recently, the arrangement has been the most common placement of the children with relatives,

and where relatives were unable to care for the children, welfare officials decided that state care was needed, and the state placed the child in a foster home or in a state institution (see Appendix C: Table 3).

Living Arrangements for Children

The greatest problem for inmate mothers has been the placement of children prior to their imprisonment (Baunach, 1985). When none of her relatives or friends assumed responsibility for the care of the children, they might be placed either in a foster home or in an institution (Bonfanti, et al. 1974). Quite often, inmate mothers themselves have had the bitter experience of these placements, and certainly, they do not want their children to undergo the same trauma (Burkhart, 1973). In either case, the mothers may have felt that their children have been punished as much as they have, and have thereby been faced with a double penalty (Baunach, 1985).

Traditionally, neither foster care nor institutionalization has been an adequate alternative for the parent lost due to imprisonment. A child in state custody is likely to be placed in an institution only when no placement could be found, since it has been well recognized that institutionalization could be extremely detrimental to a child's emotional development. Injury has resulted in large part, because most institutions could not provide the continuous and individualized care by a single care-giver that a child has needed. As a result,

institutionalization has often left a child confused in its ability to receive and return affection, to control its impulses, and to use its mind (On prisoners and parenting: Preserving the tie that binds, 1978).

In recognition of the shortcomings of institutionalization, child-care agencies have attempted to place a child who has temporarily been separated from its natural parent in a foster home (see Appendix C: Table 3). The population of imprisoned mothers with children in foster care has comprised anywhere from 7% to 12 % of female prisoners (Baunach, 1985; Grossman, 1985; McGowan & Blumenthal, 1978; Stanton, 1980).

Although foster care is supposed to replicate the conditions of normal family life, this model has seldom achieved in practice. Children in foster care have often relocated several times. Each such relocation has further disrupted the continuity and stability needed for the child's optimal emotional development and deprived the child of a needed parent figure (On prisoners and parenting: Preserving the tie that binds, 1978).

A common fear that has been shared among many incarcerated mothers is that their children would become attached to their caretakers during their imprisonment (Baunach & Murton, 1973; DuBose, 1975; Fox, 1984; Henriques, 1982). Moreover, some children were fearful of repeated separations from their mothers, and some viewed their mothers as weak authority figures (Hoffman, 1977; Stanton, 1980).

It has been revealed that the recurrent mother-child separations have caused children to express a strong fear that their mothers would leave once again (Stanton, 1980). Thus, the children of imprisoned mothers have experienced a two-way separation; the separation from their mothers and the separation from their siblings. Although the thesis does not deal with this aspect of the separation, the two-way separation has an important impact on the children of inmate mothers. According to Stanton (1980), as a consequence of these separations and placement arrangements, the children of jailed mothers have experienced changes in schooling and financial support. Therefore, upon reunion, a degree of instability and anxiety could be developed in the children, and Stanton (1980) identified the reunited mother-child unit as an unstable family unit. However, Stanton (1980) believed that visitation may play an important role in helping to maintain the mother-child bond, and the frequency of visits as well as the quality of contact have been assumed to be important factors.

Daytime Visitation

During a mother's incarceration, the most apparent method of preserving ties with her children has been through visits (Baunach, 1985). Goodman and Price (1967) recommended weekend visits for the older children of inmate mothers. Visits have facilitated many functions; they have maintained parental connection and have minimized children's alienation from their mothers (Markeley, 1973; Wolfram, 1973), while permitting

children to identify successfully with their mothers and care-takers (Beckerman, 1989).

Owing to the high degree of structure and regularity in most institutions, the practice of visits has been developed into specific programs (see Appendix C: Table 4). Visitation may mitigate total isolation; however, decisions regarding mother-child visits have typically been subjected to the discretion of correctional personnel, child welfare agency staff and the attitudes of the caretakers.

Overnight Visits

Some institutions have gone beyond the daytime visits, and have facilitated overnight visits with children sleeping in the institution (see Appendix C: Table 5). The underlying assumptions have been that overnight visits assured communication with each other, bridged the separation gap, dispelled conventional ideas of prison and created a realistic idea of the mother in prison (Neto & Bainer, 1983).

When considering visits within the prison compound, it has been assumed that the institution offered less privacy, and infrequent visits tended to give insufficient support towards building a strong family relationship (Driscoll, 1985). Furthermore, prison overcrowding and lack of funds may have precluded efforts to expand visitation programs.

Therefore, some institutions have arranged visitation programs outside prison facilities (see Appendix C: Table 4),

that have given the inmate mother and her child a chance to interact with each other in a more relaxing way for an extended period (Baunach, 1985; Neto & Bainer, 1983). Moreover, Neto and Bainer (1983) viewed such visitation as an encouragement for the mother to develop self-esteem and responsibility.

Problems with Prison Visitation Programs

Mothers may have ambiguous views and feelings over prison visits. One woman who took part in a study done by Datesman and Cales (1983) viewed the visits as "a carrot on a stick," because visits have acted as an incentive to adhere to institutional rules.

"...I go around here putting my hands in my pockets to keep from fighting, so that I don't get in trouble, because if I get in trouble my visits get cancelled..." (Datesman & Cales, 1983, p.149).

Some inmate mothers believed that to see their children in prison was a selfish desire, and advised relatives or friends caring for their children not to bring them to the institution under any circumstances, since they were convinced that a visit to the institution would be a harmful experience for their children (Zalba, 1964).

A small number of women in the study conducted by Datesman and Cales (1983) felt that the institution was not a suitable place for their children to visit. A woman had commented:

"I don't want my kids here. I don't feel like I want my kids to come up here and see two women kissing each other or guards always walking around. I just don't want them to know that their mother can't leave and come as she gets ready" (Datesman & Cales, 1983, p.147).

This mother thought that the open lesbianism and the appearance of guards would have harmful effects on her children.

For some women, more frequent contacts with their children may have intensified their feelings of guilt, shame and concern over their children's welfare (Baunach, 1985). Others have emotionally been unable to handle the situation, and when mothers have been upset and emotional outbursts occur, then the children may have become disturbed (Baunach, 1985; Stanton, 1980). Furthermore, these immediate contacts may have reminded them of their forced separation, and may have made them dwell on their own fears and feelings of inadequacy concerning the resumption of the maternal role upon their release (Baunach, 1985).

On the other hand, programs have contained restrictions which mainly stemmed from lack of transportation as well as security considerations. These limitations not only have precluded the children's participation, but also, that of inmates. In order to counter the adverse effects, Lundberg, et al. (1975) proposed the investigation of alternatives such as nursery care within prison or the maintenance of the family in a small unit in the community under close supervision.

Alternatives to Visitation Programs

Prison Nurseries

The findings of Klaus and Kennel (1976), suggested that individuals who have missed the "bonding" experience that takes place between an infant and its mother, during the first year of life, are less likely to develop normal relationships with other individuals in later life (Bowlby, 1958; Daehlin & Hynes, 1974; Haley, 1977; Hounslow, et al. 1982; Zalba, 1964). Based on such inferences, some women's facilities have opened their doors to infants.

Possibly the most debatable example has been the prison nursery program, a nursery for young infants which is physically them contained on the prison grounds (see Appendix C: Table 6). Eyman (1971) recommended that inmates should be the primary persons responsible for the care of the children. Prison nurseries have been viewed as suitable for those inmates who may not be eligible for a low security residential program, since the mothers have not been physically removed from the prison premises (Deck, 1988).

However, the restrictions of prison nurseries may have affected a mother's feelings, and she may have come out with negative feelings toward her own child. Moreover, the general community may have assumed that prison nurseries are mentally and physically harmful for children, and may have denounced legislative proposals to create more of them (Deck, 1988). As

revealed by Deck (1988), prison nurseries have disadvantages which are lacking in the community residence programs. In a community residence, for example, the mother has never been locked away from her child.

Community Residences

Community residences have addressed some of the inherent problems in the prison nursery model, but have not met the needs of all inmate mothers and their children (Barry, 1985a). The failure of many state governments to implement the mother-infant programs in the United States, has given the opportunity for private organizations to fill the gap (see Appendix C: Table 7). It has been believed (Deck, 1988), that community residences are flexible and cost effective.

Alternative Sentencing

Alternative sentencing has been another way that provided the opportunity for incarcerated mothers and their newborn children to remain together (see Appendix C: Table 8). This has been perceived as a mean of permitting pregnant inmates to deliver their babies outside prison. Except in California, however, inmates have to return to prison leaving their newborns with care-takers outside the prison walls.

While these programs may have assisted in relieving overcrowding, they may have also assisted in overcoming total separation from inmate mothers and their newborns. Furthermore, these programs may have fulfilled the state's rehabilitation

goal by instilling maternal responsibilities in prison mothers.

Mother-craft Programs

The primary objectives of the mother-craft programs at a number of U.S. women's facilities have been the facilitation of visits with their children, re-establishment of the family upon their arrival in the community, and above all the inculcation of parenting and child-care skills in inmates (see Appendix C: Table 9). Neto and Bainer (1983) explained the importance of parenting courses for relatively young inmate mothers, so that they could relate more positively to their children at the reunion upon their release (Hunter, 1984; McGowan & Blumenthal, 1978).

The available literature on policies and programs for inmate mothers has indicated that the majority of mother-child correctional programs are from the U.S. Based on the assumption that mothers in prison are "deviants" from socially approved motherhood, the correctional system has adopted policies and programs to assist them in gaining their appropriate role in the community. Consequently, the mother-child correctional policies and programs of the selected Commonwealth jurisdictions have adopted similar provisions that perpetuate familial ideology. Hence, such provisions clearly announce the criminal justice system's confidence in the facilitation of familial contacts for inmate mothers throughout the process of correctional reformation.

CHAPTER IV

MOTHER-CHILD CORRECTIONAL POLICIES AND PROGRAMS

Women before the criminal courts are scrutinized for their maternal capabilities, and prison policies and programs are designed to enhance their care-giving skills within a simulated 'homier' environment. Since female offenders' anti-social conduct raises questions regarding their care-giving role, inmate mothers are viewed as 'failures' in this role. Therefore, the agents of the justice system assume that it is their responsibility to instill maternal skills.

Besides regular visits, the selected Commonwealth jurisdictions under study for this thesis have created overnight and expanded visits, while some of the Canadian provinces have arranged prison live-in programs so that the children can stay with their inmate mothers for a considerably longer period. Pregnant inmates are provided with medical care and the delivery is arranged in an outside hospital. In addition to these provisions, the women's institutions in B.C. and Manitoba encourage and provide child-care related jobs, and training in maternity.

Inmate Profile

Given the scarcity of statistics concerning inmate mothers, any information about this group has to be analyzed in relation to the entire body of female inmates in the various

jurisdictions studied. Canadian, British and Australian researchers assert that 50% to 70% of jailed women have borne children (Rogers & Carey, 1979; Hoyle-Howienson & Reger, 1984. cited in MacLeod, 1986, p.11), and the 1988 New Zealand Prison Census reveals that 46.7% of female inmates have dependent children (Prisons in Change, 1988, p.386). The Rogers and Carey study (1979) revealed that 4% of the sentenced women in the sample were pregnant (cited in MacLeod, 1986, p.11).

Canada is the only jurisdiction studied, that has a federal and a provincial correctional system. Of the 250 federal female prisoners, 135 have been accommodated at the Prison for Women, the only federal prison for women in Canada, in Kingston, Ontario (O. Ingstrup, personal communication to the senior supervisor, February 16, 1990). Any of the 250 federally sentenced female inmates, who are serving their federal terms in provincial institutions, are doing so through federal/provincial Exchange of Service Agreements (O. Ingstrup, personal communication to the senior supervisor, February 16, 1990). These women are classified as federal prisoners, because their prison sentences are two years or more (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988).

The received figures indicate that the majority of the imprisoned women are less than 30 years of age (see Table 1, p.39); this is an age group that has a high fertility rate. However, 31.5% of the total number of women prisoners in Sri Lanka (1988), are 30 to 40 years of age, and the high percentage

in this age group is unique to this jurisdiction. Perhaps, this characteristic is compatible with the types of crimes for which the women prisoners in Sri Lanka have been sentenced to prison (see Chapter IV, Table 6). Although prostitution is a common offence among Sri Lankan female offenders, the received figures do not include this offence category. On the other hand, prostitutes who come before the courts are detained not in the main prison, Welikada Prison, but in a detention house. Furthermore, according to the cultural standards in Sri Lanka, women stay with their parents until they get married. Perhaps, this has an informal effects of social control over Sri Lankan women's lives while they are with their parents.

Another obvious characteristic in the prison data, is the over-representation of minority ethnic groups among the female inmate population. Under the federal-provincial agreement for exchange of services, federal female inmates in Canada are permitted to serve their sentences in their province rather than at the Kingston Prison for Women (P4W). However, Johnson (1987, p.43) asserts that three-quarters of the Native women who receive federal sentences are from the Pacific and Prairie regions, and 70% of them serve their sentences at the Prison for Women in Kingston, Ontario. As a negative effect of the isolation from families, and poor support from their homes during their term of incarceration, it has been argued that the majority of these women tend to have their parole revoked (Hann & Harman, 1986, cited in Johnson, 1987, p.43).

Table 1: Percentages and Numbers of Female Inmates by Jurisdiction and Average Age

Jurisdiction	30 years of age or less	Total
CANADA		250 ^a
Alberta	47.3% (1593)	3366 ^b
Saskatchewan	67.0% (520)	776 ^c
Manitoba	56.5% (161)	285 ^d
AUSTRALIA		651 ^e
New South Wales	67.5% (152)	255 ^f
Victoria	53.7% (66)	123 ^g
NEW ZEALAND	65.7% (265)	338 ^h
SRI LANKA	44.1% (179)	406 ⁱ

a O. Ingstrup, personal communication to the senior supervisor, February 16, 1990. (Except the total number of federal female inmates, no other figures were available).

b Source: Demographic Characteristics of Female Offenders Admitted to Alberta Adult Correctional Centers, 1988/89, Figure 2.

c Source: Annual Provincial Correctional Centre Statistics, 1988/89, Saskatchewan, p.29.

d Source: Manitoba Community Services, Annual Report, 1987/88, p.65.

e Source: Walker, 1989, p.19 & 20.

f Ibid, p.20.

g Ibid, p.20.

h Source: Prisons in Change, 1988, p.139.

i Source: Admission of Convicted and Unconvicted Women Prisoners According to the Age.

Furthermore, the Task Force on Federally Sentenced Women in Canada recommend that the Kingston Prison should be closed and replaced by five regional centers¹ and by a special facility for Native women in a Prairie location. Two of the goals of these arrangements are to facilitate the inmates' proximity to their families and home communities, and to address the need for labour skills (Community Action, 1990).

According to Table 2, the percentages of Native female inmates in Saskatchewan and in Alberta were 88% and 47.9% respectively, for the 1988/89 fiscal year. In 1987, 57% of female inmates in New Zealand were Maori women, and these women have been identified as the most severely disadvantaged group in New Zealand. Western Australia represents the highest number of Aboriginal female inmates (see Table 2, p.42). In contrast, Aboriginal female inmates in NSW and in the State of Victoria, are respectively, 10.6% and 5.7% of the total inmate population (see Table 2).

The available demographic information also reveals that the majority of the women in prison are never married. However, Table 3 indicates that the percentage of married inmates in Sri Lanka (79.3%) is higher than in any other jurisdiction. In Manitoba, 21.7% (1987/88) of the women have had common-law relationships, and this can be viewed as an unusual practice in Sri Lankan society. Owing to its cultural values and standards,

¹ Federally-sentenced women are to be housed in new regional facilities in Halifax, Montreal, central/southwestern Ontario, Edmonton and the lower mainland of British Columbia.

there exist only two choices; either a woman should get married or live as a spinster. However, most of the Sri Lankan women are married.

The typical female offender has less than a high school education. In New Zealand, 89.8% of the total female inmate population had no formal education, and 61.4% (249) of women prisoners in Sri Lanka belong to this category. Table 4 and table 4 (a) reveal that almost half of the women in prison had gained their education only up to grade nine.

Owing to their low educational level and lack of skills, the employment rate of female inmates is extremely low. Table 5 indicates that 90.9% (705) of the female inmates in Saskatchewan are unemployed (source: Annual Provincial Correctional Centre Statistics, 1988-89, p.33); 33.1% (257) of Saskatchewan female prisoners are homemakers (source: Annual Provincial Correctional Centre Statistics, 1988-89, p.35), and only 4.8% of the total number of female inmates of this jurisdiction have had a 'full-time' job (source: Annual Provincial Correctional Centre Statistics, 1988-89, p.33). Although the statistics from the State of Victoria and New Zealand do not clarify the employment data in such a detailed manner, the percentages of employed female inmates of these jurisdictions are only 17.9% and 13%, respectively (see Table 5).

**Table 2: Percentages and Numbers of Female Inmates by
Jurisdiction and Ethnicity**

Jurisdiction	Native/Aboriginal	Non-Native	Total
CANADA			250 ^a
Alberta	47.9% (1613)	52.1% (1753)	3366 ^b
Saskatchewan	88.0% (653)	12.0% (93)	776 ^c
AUSTRALIA	16.1% (105)	82.9% (540)	651 ^d
NSW	10.6% (27)	88.6% (226)	255 ^e
Victoria	5.7% (7)	93.5% (115)	123 ^f
W.Australia	38.0% (41)	62.0% (67)	108 ^g
NEW ZEALAND	57.0% (193)	43.0% (145)	338 ^h

a O. Ingstrup, personal communication to the senior supervisor, February 16, 1990. (Except the total number of federal female inmates, no other figures were available).

b Source: Demographic characteristics of Female Offenders Admitted to Alberta Adult Correctional Centers, 1988/89, Figure 2.

c Source: Annual Provincial Correctional Centre Statistics, 1988/89, Saskatchewan, p.34.

d Source: Walker, 1989, p.24.

e Ibid.

f Ibid.

g Ibid.

h Source: Prisons in Change, 1988, p.140.

Table 3: Percentages of Female Inmates by Jurisdiction and Marital Status

Jurisdiction	Single	Married	Common-law	Other ^a
CANADA ^b				
Manitoba	50.1%	8.4%	21.8%	19.6% ^c
AUSTRALIA	44.4%	31.2%	-	15.4% ^d
NSW	44.3%	32.5%	-	22.0% ^e
Victoria	42.3%	30.9%	-	26.0% ^f
SRI LANKA	17.9%	79.3%	-	2.7% ^g

Note. The only jurisdiction that has been sent figures on "common-law relationships" is Manitoba.

a Includes widowed, divorced, and separated inmates.

b No figures were available.

c Source: Manitoba Community Services, Annual Report, 1987/88, P.64.

d Walker, 1989, p.36.

e Ibid.

f Ibid.

g Source: Admission of Convicted and Unconvicted Women Prisoners According to Marital Status, 1988, Sri Lanka.

Table 3 (a): Numbers of Female Inmates by Jurisdiction and Marital Status

Jurisdic.	Single	Married	Common-law	Other*	Total
CANADA					250 ^a
Manitoba	143	24	62	56	285 ^b
AUSTRALIA	289	203	-	148	651 ^c
NSW	113	83	-	56	255 ^d
Victoria	52	38	-	22	123 ^e
SRI LANKA	73	322	-	09	406 ^f

* Includes widowed, divorced, and separated inmates.

Note. The only jurisdiction that has been sent figures on "common-law relationships" is Manitoba.

a No figures were available.

b Source: Manitoba Community Services, Annual Report, 1987/88, p.64.

c Source: Walker, 1989, p.35.

d Ibid.

e Ibid.

f Source: Admission of Convicted and Unconvicted Women Prisoners According to Marital Status, 1988, Sri Lanka.

Table 4: Percentages of Female Inmates by Jurisdiction and Educational Level

Jurisdiction	No Formal Edu.	Up to Grade 9	Grade 10 +
CANADA ^a			
Saskatchewan	2.5%	58.5%	39.1% ^b
Manitoba	0.7%	43.5%	46.3% ^c
AUSTRALIA	18.3%	32.1%	6.6% ^d
Victoria	7.3%	72.4%	12.2% ^e
NEW ZEALAND	89.8%	-	- ^f
SRI LANKA	22.2%	39.2%	38.6% ^g

a No figures were available.

b Source: Annual Provincial Correctional Centre Statistics, 1988/89, Saskatchewan, p.32.

c Source: Manitoba Community Services, Annual Report, 1987/88, p.64.

d Source: Walker, 1989, p.40.

e Ibid.

f Source: Prisons in Change, 1988, p.386.

g Source: Admission of Convicted and Unconvicted Women Prisoners According to Literacy, 1988, Sri Lanka.

Table 4 (a): Numbers of Female Inmates by Jurisdiction and Educational Level

Jurisdic.	No Formal Edu.	Up to Grade 9	Grade 10 +	Total
CANADA				250 ^a
Saskatchewan	19	454	303	776 ^b
Manitoba	2	124	139	285 ^c
AUSTRALIA	117	204	43	651 ^d
Victoria	9	89	15	123 ^e
NEW ZEALAND	-	-	-	338 ^f
SRI LANKA	90	159	157	406 ^g

a O. Ingstrup, personal communication to the senior supervisor, February 16, 1990.

b Source: Annual Provincial Correctional Centre Statistics, 1988/89, Saskatchewan, p.32.

c Source: Manitoba Community Services, Annual Report, 1987/88, p.64.

d Source: Walker, 1989, p.39.

e Ibid.

f No actual numbers were available, except the total number of female inmates.

g Source: Admission of Convicted and Unconvicted Women Prisoners According to Literacy, 1988, Sri Lanka.

**Table 5: Percentages and Numbers of Female Inmates by
Jurisdiction and Employment Status**

Jurisdiction	Unemployed	Employed	Other*	Total	
CANADA				250	a
Saskatchewan	90.8% (705)	6.8% (53)	2.3% (18)	776	b
AUSTRALIA	32.3% (210)	14.1% (92)	53.6% (349)	651	c
Victoria	66.7% (82)	17.9% (22)	15.4% (10)	123	d
NEW ZEALAND	87.0% (-)	13.0% (-)	-	338	e

Note. "Other" include missing, unknown, and house wives.

a O. Ingstrup, personal communication to the senior supervisor, February 16, 1990.

b Source: Annual Provincial Correctional Centre Statistics, 1988/89, Saskatchewan, p.33.

c Source: Walker, 1989, p.37 & 38.

d Ibid.

e Source: Prisons in Change, 1988, p.386.

Without any training and skills in vocations, finding a job is certainly an arduous task. Owing to their failure, they are compelled to discover alternative means for supporting themselves as well as their dependants. Hence, it can be considered that female criminality is, to some extent at least, an outcome of their questionable social and economic conditions.

Given the high unemployment rate prevalent among the female inmate population, it is not surprising that many women in prison are guilty of property-related offences, especially petty theft. In New Zealand, 46% of women are jailed for offences against property, and the 1988 New Zealand Prison Census Report indicated that 78% of the women prisoners' major income had been social welfare benefits.

The situation in Sri Lanka is somewhat different, and the percentage of females convicted of theft is 3.4%; instead, the most common offences among female inmates in Sri Lanka are excise offences (38%) and brothel management (24%). Similarly, these offences are consistent with Sri Lankan women's critical economic situation, as well as their home-centered role.

In addition to property offences, female inmates are sentenced for drug-related crimes. Perhaps, this trend also depicts the marginal situation of women in prison. On the other hand, the usage of drugs may reveal their efforts to find relief from their desperate life circumstances.

Table 6: Percentages and Numbers of Female Inmates by Jurisdiction and Most Common Offences

Jurisdiction	Property-related Offences	Drug Offences	Total
CANADA			250 ^a
Saskatchewan	29.3% (227)	4.0% (31)	776 ^b
Manitoba	32.6% (67)	7.3% (15)	205 ^c
AUSTRALIA	51.0% (333)	16.1% (154)	651 ^d
NSW	52.5% (134)	21.2% (54)	255 ^e
Victoria	61.7% (76)	12.2% (15)	123 ^f
NEW ZEALAND	46.0% (155)	10.0% (10)	338 ^g
SRI LANKA	3.4% (14)	7.9% (32)	406 ^h

Note. "Property-related Offences" include robbery, break and enter, fraud and misappropriation and other theft. "Drug Offences" include possession, use, trafficking, and manufacturing drugs.

a O. Ingstrup, personal communication to the senior supervisor, February 16, 1990.

b Source: Annual Provincial Correctional Centre Statistics, 1988/89, Saskatchewan.

c Source: Manitoba Community Service, Annual Report, 1987/88, p.66.

d Source: Walker, 1989, p.44 & 49.

e Ibid.

f Ibid.

g Source: Prisons in Change, 1988, p.137.

h Source: Admission of Convicted and Unconvicted Women Prisoners According to the Highest Number of Offences, 1988, Sri Lanka.

It is quite clear that the existing justice statistics deal almost entirely with a general inmate population, and those figures give no indication as to whether there is a relationship between their motherhood and their incarceration. This statistical inadequacy has customarily been shared by almost every jurisdiction. Notwithstanding, they have developed different policies and programs to instill 'approved' principles of motherhood in imprisoned mothers.

Existing Policies Regarding Inmate Mothers

Despite the unavailability of justice figures concerning motherhood, many of the Commonwealth jurisdictions have developed policies to deal with inmate mothers' child-care responsibilities. On the whole, correctional policies applicable to incarcerated mothers can be categorized into two groups; namely, policy directives regarding inmate mothers, on one hand, and pregnant inmates, on the other.

Although mother-child bond maintenance methods, child placement arrangements and child-care and parenting programs and policies directly apply to inmate mothers, the same policy directives are relevant to pregnant inmates upon the birth of their infants (see Figure 1).

Arrangements for inmate mothers appear to recognize the significance of mother-child contact during the mother's imprisonment, and have provided visits and other mechanisms to

retain the contact. Moreover, many of the jurisdictions studied have opened the doors for infants, and have organized various parenting and child-care programs to give training in mothering (see Appendix D: Table 1).

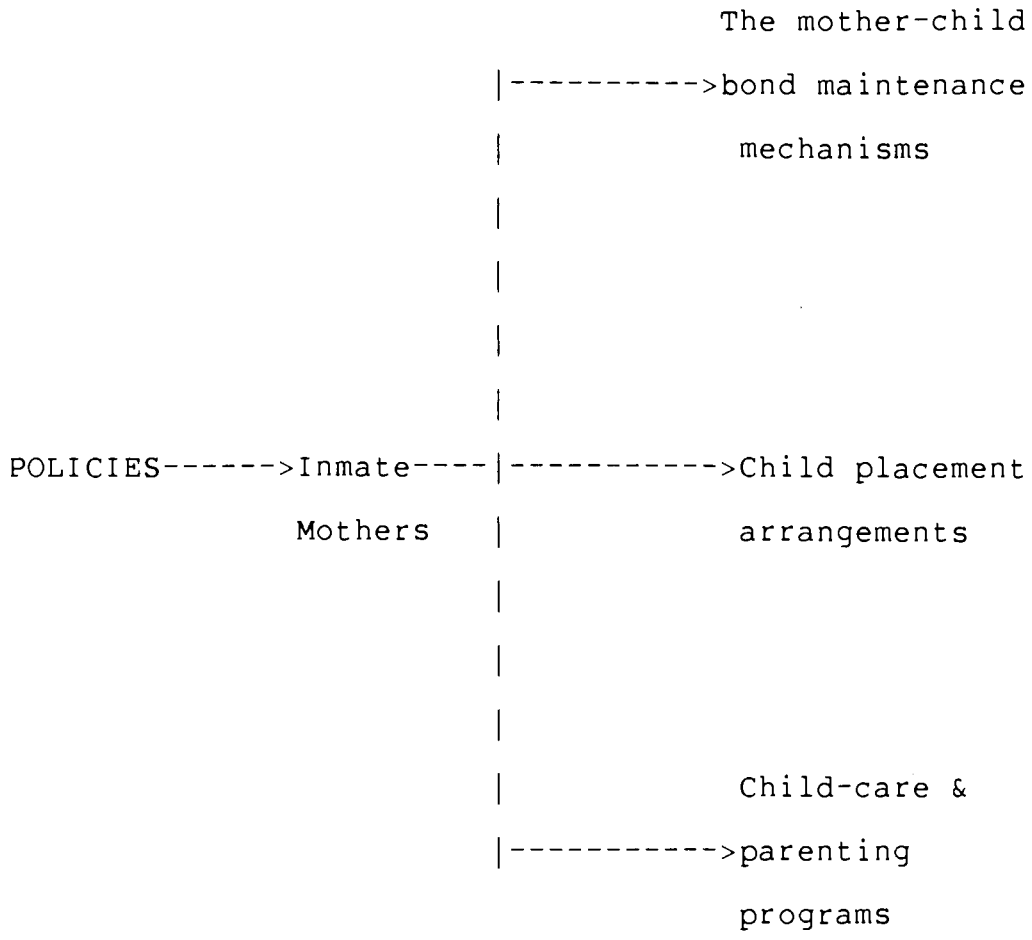


Figure 1: Existing Policies Concerning Inmate Mothers

Two of the Canadian jurisdictions, the North West Territories and Prince Edward Island, have no specific policy directives relevant to incarcerated mothers. Co-correctional programs in the province of Alberta provide equal access to

correctional facilities, and correctional institutions where the women are housed, provide specific programs through the community. There are no specific mother-child prison programs in Sri Lanka; however, if the child is at the breast, it is permitted to come to prison with its inmate mother. Other jurisdictions have recognized the significance of familial contacts, and have established various programs to preserve the relationship between inmate mothers and their children (see Appendix D: Table 1).

Programs for Inmate Mothers

Inmate mothers' familial contacts, especially with their children, are recognized in correctional policies and visits, and prison live-in programs have been implemented to maintain the contact between the mothers and their children (see Appendix D: Table 2).

Prison programs for inmate mothers in most of the Commonwealth jurisdictions studied, advise and train them to become maternal care givers in accordance with the assumptions made on the model family. However, similar programs and arrangements are not in Sri Lankan prisons; although, visits are permitted they are not specifically designed for the children of inmate mothers. In other jurisdictions, various mother-craft programs are created as a part of the bond maintenance programs, and some jurisdictions have developed day care centers, and inmate mothers are encouraged to take over child-care related

jobs on their release (see Appendix D: Table 2).

Mother-Child Contact Maintenance Mechanisms

As in the United States, visitation seems to be the most popular method for preserving contact between inmate mothers and their children. Based on the duration, visits vary from regular visits to expanded visits. Generally, regular visits last for a few hours, while expanded visits continue for more than a day (see Appendix D: Table 3).

Almost every jurisdiction in the study, has created some kind of visits by the children of inmate mothers. Prison visits in Alberta have not developed specifically for children, yet they can be participants in family visits. The reason behind this is that there are co-correctional programs in this jurisdiction, and visits are not limited only to their children, but may also include all the other approved visitors.

Extended visits have been introduced at the Federal Prison in Kingston (extended visits in the Family Visiting Unit), as well as in women's facilities in Alberta (the Extended Family Visiting Program), and the Maison Tanguay in Quebec, ("Continuite Famille" Program). These Visitation programs allow the children to stay with their inmate mothers for more than 24 hours.

Overnight Visits

Overnight visits have been facilitated at Fort Saskatchewan Correctional Institution in Alberta (Women in Custody, undated), Pine Grove Correctional facility in Saskatchewan (R. J. Till, personal communication to the senior supervisor, December 7, 1989), and Portage Women's Institution in Manitoba (Manitoba Community Services, undated). The only other jurisdiction that has been provided overnight visits for inmate mothers and their children, is the State of Victoria. The Fairlea Prison and the Tarrengower Prison in Victoria hold overnight visits in the Family Unit facility, and in the Children's Farm, respectively. Except at the Portage Correctional Institution in Manitoba, overnight visits with children take place in a separate facility.

Extended Visits

Three of the Canadian jurisdictions have developed expanded visits for inmate mothers and their children (The Extended Visiting Program, undated). However, in Alberta, the extended visits are designed for all family members including children. Extended visits at P4W (MacLeod, 1986) and the Extended Family Visiting Program in Alberta last for 72 hours in the Family Visiting Unit. Tanguay women's facility in Quebec has created a special program, which is known as "Continuite Famille" (Maintaining the bond, 1988).

The Objectives of Extended Visiting Programs

The primary objective of these programs is to promote the contact between the inmate mother and her children, and prepare inmates for their release. The program at the Maison Tanguay in Quebec attempts to assist in developing an understanding of the maternal role and child-care responsibilities (see Appendix D: Table 4).

The Eligibility Criteria for Extended Visiting Programs

In order to be eligible for expanded visits with their children or with their family members, inmates are required to meet certain standards. The criteria address length of the sentence, the inmate's behavior, and her non-participation in other available temporary release programs and/or parole programs. In addition, the Quebec program requires the demonstration of mothering capacities and a promise to reunite with their children after their release. The children of the Tanguay inmates must be of pre-school age in order to visit their inmate mothers overnight (see Appendix D: Table 5).

The Provisions of Extended Visitation Programs

Extended visits generally take place in special units. The duration of the visit varies from 2 to 3 days, and the frequency of the visits varies from a week to three months at P4W in Kingston. Aside from the Quebec Program, there are no specific programs for mothers or their children (see Appendix D: Table 6).

The Alternative Bond Maintenance Methods

In addition to various visitation programs, some of the jurisdictions of the study have created alternative means for preserving the mother-child relationship. At the Prison for Women in Kingston, audio-visual exchanges and Family Days have been provided, while the other women's facilities mainly use the 'pass' system (see Appendix D: Table 7).

Child Placement Arrangements

Newborn infants at the Pine Grove Women's Center in Saskatchewan are placed within the care of the Department of Social Services or taken into care by a "community support" (R. J. Till, personal communication to the senior supervisor, December 7, 1989). The practice in Quebec is to place the newborn and its prison mother in a special receiving home (see Appendix D: Table 8).

The policy in Sri Lanka is to permit the child to accompany his/her mother to prison, if it is at the breast. A similar provision had been made in the North West Territories. In addition, the special live-in programs with day care facilities have permitted women in B.C. and Manitoba to take their children to prison. At P4W in Kingston, the children are not placed on the prison grounds, but placed according to the mother's desires (see Appendix D: Table 8).

Mother-Child Live-in Programs

Prison live-in programs in B.C. and Manitoba have opened the doors for children where they can stay with their incarcerated mothers on prison grounds for about 2 to 3 days. Twin Maples Correctional Institution in B.C. (Simpson, 1985), and Portage Correctional facility in Manitoba (Misch, et al. 1982) have created live-in programs with day care facilities.

The Intentions of Prison Live-in Programs

The primary objective of the Twin Maples program is to provide unique residential and training programs for female inmates and their children. In addition, this program provides day care facilities for children in the community. The Portage day care facility enables inmates to keep the babies who are with them in prison. Subject to correctional personnel discretion, the children who live in the community may be placed in the day care. The Portage Live-in program has been created to develop realistic work and life habits that help inmate in the community (see Appendix D: Table 9).

The Requirements for Prison Live-in Programs

In order to be eligible for the Twin Maple's live-in program, apart from security concerns, inmates must demonstrate their willingness to retain their maternal role (see Appendix D: Table 10). Thus, inmates must demonstrate a desire to raise the child themselves, and inmates must possess the ability to cope with the baby and still participate in the institutional

routines (Incarcerated Mothers Mothers with Babies Program). The requirements for the Portage Live-in Program are not outlined, but the Superintendent of the Center is empowered to select the qualified inmates (see Appendix D: Table 10).

Facilities in the Live-in Programs

The Twin Maples Program is held in a separate building, and the mother's child-care responsibilities are intensified. The Portage program does not have such a facility. However at any given time, three children can be housed under the program. The agreement form signifies that inmates must abide by the rules of the program at the Portage. There are not any specific rules for mothers at the Twin Maples; however, the inmate's mis-behavior may terminate the visit (see Appendix D: Table 11).

Policies Concerning Pregnant Inmates

Pregnant inmates may be admitted to a local hospital for childbirth, and many jurisdictions provide pre- and post-natal care and necessary medical care throughout their pregnancy (see Figure 2). In addition to these arrangements and provisions, incarcerated pregnant women are granted alternative sentences.

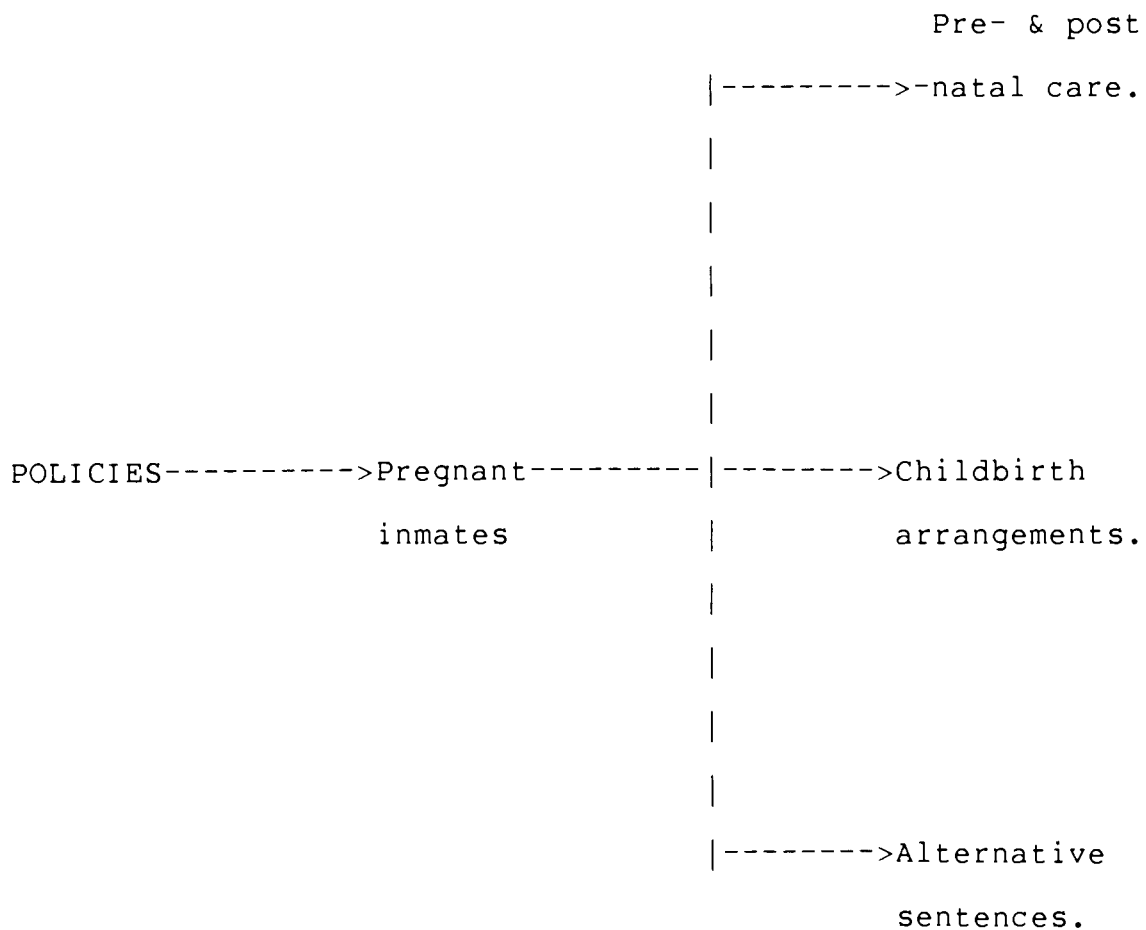


Figure 2: Existing Policies Concerning Pregnant Inmates

Pregnancy and child-care responsibilities have been identified as the unique needs of federal women prisoners in Kingston, Canada (Commissioner's Directive, No.701). The New Zealand Department of Justice had recognized female inmates as a special group, and in Sri Lanka the death penalty is not pronounced on pregnant inmates (see Appendix D: Table 12).

In addition to medical and childbirth arrangements, it is assumed that pregnant inmates need training in parenting skill

and counselling and support to deal with their pregnancies. In order to facilitate these "special requirements" of pregnant inmates, various programs and arrangements have been made in many of the jurisdictions.

Programs for Pregnant Inmates

In addition to counselling programs and pre-natal classes for pregnant inmates, the Pine Grove Correctional Center in Saskatchewan has organized a parenting program to teach parenting and single parenting skills for pregnant inmates. A similar program has been introduced at the Portage Correctional Center in Manitoba to teach child development skills. On the contrary, Sri Lanka does not provide such programs for pregnant women in prison (see Appendix D: Table 13).

The provision of a receiving home in Quebec has facilitated in keeping the newborn at least for a short period with its inmate mother. Thus, an ongoing relationship with the mother and newborn is subjected to various criteria, and, in some instances, it is subjected to the discretion of correctional personnel. Pregnant inmates are trained to attain and confront maternal obligations.

Summary

During their pregnancy, inmates are trained and supported to adopt an officially recognized model of parental care-giving, and various prison programs permit eligible inmate mothers to retain contact with their children, and to demonstrate the necessary expertise in child-care. Visits are common to every jurisdiction that has been studied. Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and the State of Victoria have established overnight visits, while the Kingston Prison for Women, Alberta, and Quebec have introduced expanded visits in "home-like" surroundings.

In addition to visitation programs, temporary leave of absence programs (see Appendix D, Table 7: Alberta, Manitoba, Newfoundland and Labrador, and New Zealand), and parole programs (see Appendix D, Table 7: Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and New Zealand), have been introduced so that inmate mothers may spend time with their children in the community.² However, the eligibility for these programs is primarily determined with reference to inmate mothers' adherence to the prison regime, and their willingness to accept maternal responsibilities. In some jurisdictions (Manitoba, Newfoundland and Labrador, and Victoria), it is subject to the discretion of correctional personnel (see Appendix D: Table 7).

Women's facilities in Quebec, Manitoba, B.C., and Alberta have implemented special programs to instill parenting skills in

² Inmate mothers in New South Wales are released under s.29 of *the Prison Act, 1952*.

inmate mothers (see Appendix D: Table 2). The day care center at Twin Maples in B.C., and the Portage Day Care Center in Manitoba provide day care facilities for the children of inmate mothers as well as children in the community (see Appendix D: Table 10). Furthermore, the day care programs are viewed as an appropriate way of providing employment for mothers in prison, and child-care courses are encouraged at the Twin Maples Day Care Center.

The situation in Sri Lanka is somewhat different, perhaps, owing to its different socio-economic and cultural background. Thus in Sri Lanka, women are still predominantly homemakers and the number of female workers in Sri Lanka is less than a third of the male work force (Delgoda, 1977). Men continue to be the bread-winners in the family although this is now fast changing.

These programs and other mechanisms that allow inmate mothers to maintain contact with their children may be recognized as effective means of achieving the state rehabilitation goal. However, the profile of the inmate mothers unveils their marginal economic situation, and their inability to be financially independent in the community. Within prisons, economic support is provided by the state, and imprisoned mothers are assigned entire child-care responsibilities. Thus, correctional policies and programs concerning inmate mothers create an artificial 'homier' atmosphere to intensify their

home-centered, dependant role. With all these provisions, it is assumed that ex-prison mothers may lead a 'normal' life in the community.

CHAPTER V

FAMILIAL IDEOLOGY AND THE PRACTICE OF THE SOCIAL COSTS LOGIC

The orientation of correctional policies towards inmate mothers has been the creation of a 'homier' environment and the facilitation of maternal training in prison. Programs, eligibility standards and other activities intensify an approved concept of motherhood, and inmate mothers are expected to demonstrate their willingness to accept maternal care as their major concern during, and after, their term of incarceration.

Eaton (1983) and Daly (1986) argue that the process of justice intensifies the gender divisions which support the class structure. Thus, the wage labour of women is considered as of little or no help to the maintenance of the household (Daly, 1987a; Eaton, 1983). Therefore, correctional policies pertaining to inmate mothers emphasize their care-giving labour and perpetuate the "approved" form of the middle-class family. The criminal justice system personnel assume that they are helping inmate mothers to locate the "right" place in the society. However, the reality of the assumption is very different, and correctional mother-child policies and programs contribute to women's dependency and subordination.

Furthermore, the practice of extending sympathy towards the children and trying to keep the families together has been viewed by Daly (1987a) as a way of exercising familial paternalism. As a result of this practice, the women are

assigned domestic labour within the context of the model family unit adopted by the justice system, while the economic support for the family is expected to come from men.

Creating a 'Homier' Atmosphere

The ideological emphasis of the prevailing familial philosophy is the protection of the nuclear family, especially keeping the family together, simultaneously maintaining inmate mothers' care-taking labour with a view to protecting their dependants (Daly, 1987a). Daly (1987a) contends that, owing to insufficient resources for the imposition of penal sanctions such as intensive probation on all those found guilty, the state must rely on other mechanisms, such as the family, to inculcate law-abiding conduct. Consequently, the justice system involuntarily acknowledges the appropriateness of a familial setting to deal with female offenders, and various correctional policies and programs have been formed to simulate a familial atmosphere within prisons to encourage the accomplishment of maternal competence.

Visitation programs in various jurisdictions have tried to dramatize a 'homier' atmosphere. Extended visitation programs at the Federal Prison in Kingston take place in a bungalow on prison grounds; visitation units in Alberta consist of a living room, bedroom and a kitchen; visits at the Maison Tanguay in Quebec are held in a trailer. Physically, correctional settings are converted into simulated familiar surroundings, and inmate,

mothers are given the opportunity to engage in household work.

As a response to the inauguration of community training residence for female inmates in Saskatchewan, the Saskatoon-based Elizabeth Fry Society's co-ordinator states that, "she's pleased the program for women will include [a] *family environment*" (MacManus, 1989, p.20A, emphasis added). The primary objective of the Saskatchewan women's community training residence is to provide "a family-style residence" for inmates (Burton, 1989). Although the community residence center may be seen as an alternative method to imprisonment, its underpinning philosophy emphasizes the familial atmosphere as the ideal milieu for women in prison.

Furthermore, the co-ordinator stated that, "society intends to watch the program closely to see that they [correctional personnel] meet the needs of the former women convicts" (MacManus, 1989, p.20A). As revealed by Eaton (1983 & 1986) and Daly (1987a), the justice system tends to confine the women's movements to the family context. Thus, the society expects women prisoners to rehabilitate themselves by assigning them child-care duties within a 'homier environment'. The Superintendent of Portage Correctional Institution in Manitoba, Noelle DesLauriers, expressed her views with reference to babies living in prison:

"... One of the advantages of having babies reside with their mothers, aside from the 'homier' atmosphere the practice brings to the institution, is that the women leave the prison already used to taking responsibility for their children. The 'strain of adjustment is, therefore, lessened'" (The Corrections Community, p.5).

The statement illustrates the system's expectation; prison mothers' smooth transition to the community must be facilitated via familial contacts within a 'homier' surrounding.

Justification of Familial Contacts

While Daly (1987a) agrees with Eaton (1983 & 1986) that the gender role expectations of family life are intensified throughout the decision-making process, she contends that the ideological disposition is structured by economic concerns. Daly (1987a) contended that the preservation of the family unit is based on the calculation of the social costs of punishment. Thus, the loss of breadwinning capacity is more easily replaced by state supports than is the loss of maternal capacity. Like gender divisions in work and family life, the primacy of child-care by women over economic support is assumed by court officials.

Criminal justice officials appear to believe that the removal of care-taking responsibilities from families, "causes dissolution of the fragile units of social order" (Daly, 1987a, p.287). Accordingly, "child care is more important than bread winning in the maintenance of families" (Daly, 1987a, p.279). Hence, correctional policies and practices have been created to facilitate the contact between inmate mothers and their families, especially with children.

The policies pertaining to federal inmate mothers in Canada have appeared to recognize the importance of creating opportunities to maintain contact with their families:

"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" (Commissioner's Directives, No.701).

For example, the objective of the federal-provincial agreement for exchange of services, signed in 1974, is to permit federal female inmates in Quebec to serve their time at Tanguay rather than at the Kingston Prison for Women, and to lessen the disruption of family ties for federal female prisoners from Quebec. The program officials believe that the availability of the "Continue Famille" program at Tanguay has enhanced the aim of the preservation of the family (Maintaining the bond, 1988).

Similarly, the New Zealand Prison Census Report (1988) emphasizes the importance of retaining contact with inmates' families:

"The whole situation is exacerbated when women must serve their sentences a long way from their family and even more so when they do not have the resources to enable regular contact to be regular contact to be maintained through visits or home leave" (Prisons in Change, 1988, p.387).

As revealed by Daly (1987a), female familial defendants are given the opportunity to preserve the family unit and the economic support for the family unit is recovered from the 'surrogate father' mechanisms, such as social assistance (Aid to Families with Dependant Children in the U.S.), food stamps, and

housing allowances. Therefore, it is not necessary to assign such financial to assign such financial responsibilities to mothers in prison.

The Twin Maples Day Care Center program in B.C. adopted similar methods to recover the costs of the program:

"1. If the father is living in the community and is employed he is requested to pay the \$200.00 monthly costs.

2. If the mother does not have a source of income to pay the monthly costs, she makes application [to] the Ministry of Human Resources for social assistance and a medical services plan number for the child" (Simpson, 1985, p.2).

According to these quotations, correctional officials assume that inmate mothers are only responsible for child-caring duties, and economic support is obtained either from the child's father or from the state. Hence, these women's unpaid labour is considered to be priceless, irreplaceable and invaluable, while economic support by the mother is not so highly regarded (Daly, 1987a).

Similar gender and class-based expectations and dependencies not only intensify the women's domestic responsibilities and their subordinate role within the family, but also help reproduce society in its existing form (Eaton, 1983). Within correctional settings, inmate mothers are assigned domestic labour, while the women's economic support for the family is accepted as being of little or no help towards the maintenance of the family unit. Perhaps, this is why inmate mothers are not provided with realistic vocational training.

Regaining the Social Costs

The concern of the criminal justice system has been constantly focused on the replacement of the loss of breadwinning capacity by state supports, and the loss of parental care has been recovered through the maternal training given to inmate mothers. Hence, foster care or institutionalization of the children, as alternative methods of providing child-care, are more rare and expensive (Daly, 1987a). Consequently, correctional policies highlight the importance of familial contacts, especially the mother-child ties, during the mother's term of imprisonment:

"It is particularly important for many women in custody to *maintain close ties with spouses and children*" (Women in Custody, Alberta, p.2, emphasis added).

"Where a prisoner intends keeping her baby, *every effort should be made to maintain mother and child contact,...*" (Prisons in Change, 1988, New Zealand, p.391, emphasis added).

As Daly (1987a) revealed, defendants with families are being sentenced on the basis of the social costs calculation, and judges tend to rationalize their approach by focusing on the children's welfare and development. The same point can be applied in relation to mother-child prison policies and, occasionally, those provisions are justified as being for the child's benefit:.

"This [the temporary leave program] enables the child to maintain wide contact with their extended family, experience a 'home' environment, and eases the transition trauma..." (Questionnaire, Victoria, p.1).

In the State of Victoria, permission to stay in prison for a child is granted on the basis that

"(a) *it is in the best interest of the child to live with his or her parent in the prison;*" (*Corrections Act, 1986, emphasis added*).

The logic behind the practice has been supported by the Director-General's Rules, No.3.9 of the Office of Corrections, Victoria. The policy draft on "Children in Prison" of the same jurisdictions illustrates the principles based on this custodial arrangement:

"(a) Close and consistent human relationships with parents are essential *for the child's healthy development.*

(b) Denying the child the right to grow up in the care of its parents is to *extend the punishment of the parent to the child*" (Children in Prison Policy Manual, 1989, Victoria, emphasis added).

Such justifications of familial contacts by mother-child correctional policies may be perceived as a confirmation of the women's home-centered, care-giving role in society. Therefore, various jurisdictions have created mechanisms for retaining the women's care-giving role that range from brief prison visits to temporary absence leave.

Operation of Familial Ideology

Almost every policy statement addresses the issues relevant to the maternal role, and sets out mechanisms that range from various types of visitation programs to temporary leave of absence and parole programs. Visits can be viewed as the most

popular method of reproducing the familial ideology. These mechanisms, as revealed by Eaton (1983 & 1986) and Daly (1987a), reflect the operation of familial ideology:

"To preserve the family, special visits have been implemented for women prisoners to maintain contact with their children and families. Regular visiting days for children of women prisoners at Fairlea Prison, and overnight visits in the family visit facility and the children's farm at Tarrengower Prison" (Women's Budget Victoria 1989-90, 1989, p.58).

For example, the extended visits in the province of Alberta are designed to provide

"...eligible inmates with the privilege of having extended private visits with members of their families.

The program promotes the maintenance and strengthening of family ties..." (Extended Family Visiting Program, Alberta).

In addition to prison visits, various jurisdictions have temporary leave of absence programs that permit prison mothers to maintain contact with their children and their families. The covering letter sent by Lynn Prince, Correctional Services Division, Department of the Solicitor General of New Brunswick States that

"Minimum security females are eligible for weekly four hour passes for the purpose of spending quality time with the children and various family members within a community setting" (L. Prince, personal communication to the senior supervisor, February 14, 1990).

Similarly, the policy draft, entitled "Children in Prison", of the State of Victoria (1989), states that

"...encouragement and assistance will be given to arrange for the child to be brought into the prison frequently, and the prisoner is encourage to apply for

temporary leave" (Children in Prison, 1989, subsection 17.2).

The methods that have been implemented to facilitate the mother-child relationship during the mother's incarceration have also been utilized to improve the mothering skills of inmate mothers.

The assignation of child-care responsibilities to mothers in prison has been the immediate method of recovering the social costs of the judicial sentence. The women are granted the opportunity to spend time with their children; simultaneously they are being reminded of their care-giving concerns and are given instructions as to the expectations associated with their maternal duties.

In the State of Victoria, child-care responsibilities are assigned to inmates by the *Corrections Act* (1986). Section 117-31(2) of the Act says that

"[t]he prisoner is responsible for the safety and care of the prisoner's child while the child is living in the prison".

The program at the Tanguay in Quebec, named "Continuite Famille", has been created to

"[offer] a better plan for nurturing the mother-child bond while also preparing the incarcerated mother for the transition from prison life to a natural family environment. Besides creating a regular stable contact that simulates family life, the program reassures mothers that they haven't lost their touch in fulfilling their maternal role and, indeed, impresses upon them that it is their responsibility to take care of their children" (Maintaining the bond, 1988, p.18).

The "Agreement Form" in Manitoba, says that an inmate is "[t]o take full responsibility for the care..." throughout the bond maintenance programs. Similarly, the agreement governing the children's programs at the Portage Correctional Institution in the same jurisdiction declares that "[t]he mother must be the prime care giver" (Agreement Between Portage Correctional Institution and the Resident, p.3).

Moreover, in order to be eligible for overnight visits at the Portage Women's Institution in Manitoba, an inmate must possess the ability to prove that the child had been cared for by her before her imprisonment and affirm that the child will be reuniting with her upon release.

A similar requirement has been endorsed in the Director-General's Rules of Victoria (section 3.9) that specific attention must be given to the inmate parent's continuous care-giving role and the prisoner's responsible nature for the safety and care of the child (Director-General's Rules, Victoria).

As disclosed by Eaton (1983), female defendants' adequate socialization is not only being measured on the basis of evidence as to their life-style prior to their conviction, but it is also being monitored in prison. Based on such ambiguous predictions, the justice system attempts to make a judgement as to the inmate mother's ability to regain her familial responsibilities.

Investigation of Maternal Capabilities

Prison policies relating to inmate mothers have made arrangements for the ongoing scrutiny of their maternal competence. As Daly (1987a, p.284) states, having children is insufficient for female defendants, and they must demonstrate the quality of an approved form of motherhood. An extract from the memorandum sent by T. B. Stephensen (personal communication to J. Evans, July 13, 1989), of the State of Victoria, declares that women's incarceration may be viewed as an opportunity to examine their capability to fulfill the maternal role:

"The mother's capacity to care for the infant must be considered, with respect to life outside gaol as well as within it.... Assessment of the mother's capacity to provide adequate emotional and physical care for her infant is always necessary. In particular, realistic appraisal must be made of the likelihood of the mother having the care of the child after her release..." (A Memorandum, July 13, 1989, p.5).

The policy draft named, "Children in Prison" of the State of Victoria, has made provision for the investigation of the inmate women's child-care competence. Subsection 11.3 of the policy draft says that,

"[w]here a mother has decided to breast feed, she shall be supported by the infant Welfare Sister until she is satisfied that feeding has been established. This will also enable infant welfare staff to become familiar with both the mother and child and to observe the mother's handling of the child" (Policy Draft "Children in Prisons", subsection 11.3).

A copy of the letter written by an inmate mother of H. M. Prison Tarrengower, Victoria, explains the relationship between her and her son in order to convince the relevant officers about

the quality of her maternal capabilities. Thus, prisons have become a place to demonstrate and monitor the familial duties of inmate mothers:

"My son and I have a good relationship but I feel it would be very beneficial to both of us if I spent time with him alone to form a proper mother-child bond.

I would very much like to have my son here with me rather than go into a foster home. *I am a good mother and I will love and care for Shane always...*" (emphasis added).

In response to the inmate mother's application the CSV (Correctional Service of Victoria) officer, Russell Taylor, had expressed his views that

"...parenting skills could be increased in the prison setting. We would like to give the opportunity to demonstrate her ability to care adequately for Shane [the son], and be in a situation where the quality of care could be monitored".

Prisons have been recognized as "ideal sites" to improve women's maternal capacities. Indeed, the recommendation of the Welfare Officer, in Tarrengower Prison is as follows:

"I feel both Janie [the inmate] & Shane would be beneficial from the opportunity to develop the bond between them. *It is also an opportunity for Janie to develop [and] demonstrate her ability to parent the child in a drug free environment*" (emphasis added).

The arrangement that has been made between "Wee World Day Care Center" and the Portage Women's Correctional Center enables inmate mothers to have their children with them. The duties of the correctional staff have been the supervision of housekeeping, kitchen work and inmate mothers' contacts with the children (The Corrections Community, p.5). While correctional policies have developed mechanisms for the staff to supervise

and monitor the women's familial tasks, the programs have been designed to teach mother-craft skills for prison mothers.

Mothering in Prison

During a woman's incarceration, the provision of mother-craft programs has been accepted as the ideal way to seek rehabilitation while at the same time preserving the family unit. Women before the criminal courts are tested for the quality of their approved motherhood (Eaton, 1983 & 1986), and as noted by Daly (1987a), perhaps female "deviants" are being imprisoned in order to train and assist them with a socially recognized form of mothering expertise.

At Twin Maples Correctional Center in B.C., two instructors from local educational facilities teach child-care courses (Simpson, 1985), and

"[i]f the mother lacks an awareness of skills to care for the baby she is assisted by both the Twin Maples staff and the other inmates in the development of these skills" (Simpson, 1985, p.3).

The workshop discussions on parent-child relations and communication skills at the Maison Tanguay in Quebec, facilitate the necessary support and counselling for mothers in prison (Maintaining the bond, 1988, p.17), while the "Living with Kids Program" in the province of Alberta, "provides in depth study of child development and parenting skills and offers practical experience in child care" (Women in Custody, undated, p.7).

The draft titled "Children in Prison" attempts to facilitate the enhancement of parenting skills for women prisoners in Victoria. Subsection 13.2.7 of the draft discusses the specific areas to be taught:

"Parenting skills/life skills education programs should be made available to all prisoner parents...

The programs should cover areas such as:

- perceptions of parenting experience and parent models
- child development (including milestones)
- dynamics of interpersonal relationships
- physical child care" (Policy Draft, 1989).

Significantly, the education that a woman may receive in prison is most likely to be in the field of "approved" methods of child-care and child development.

The letter sent by an official visitor to the Minister of Corrections of the State of Victoria (C. Benjamin, personal communication to S. Crabb, March 9, 1989), suggests that "Child Care/Life Skills Education" be made available to the entire prison population, and the programs should cover

"perceptions of parenting experience and parent models; parenting needs of child - long term psychological impact, pre and post natal development, physical child-care - bathing, feeding, etc. developmental milestones; coping with fear, discipline, etc" (C. Benjamin, personal communication to S. Crabb, March 9, 1989, p.2).

Furthermore, the letter says that the presentation of

certificates on completion of the program could be of assistance at a later stage when "reclaiming" children from foster care (C. Benjamin, personal communication to S. Crabb, March 9, 1989).

In some instances, the child-care training is given as a part of the contact maintenance mechanism. In the Victorian memorandum on "report of a Committee to Consider the Admission of Infants to Prison," it is mentioned that

"[t]he presence of the child may be an opportunity for the parent to learn improved skills of child care to benefit of both parent and child" (T. B. Stephensen, personal communication to J. Evans, July 13, 1981, p.12).

Furthermore, the planned initiatives for women prisoners of the State of Victoria, for the 1989-90 period, included the development and implementation of a preparation for release and parenting skills program" (Women's Budget Victoria 1989-90, 1989, p.58). This can be perceived as a way of equating the rehabilitation of inmate mothers with their acquisition of maternal skills through training programs.

However, in some jurisdictions, jailed mothers are given the opportunity to find work in child-care centers, and this has been viewed as a unique feature of the programs available to prison mothers.

Work Placement

According to Daly (1987a), women's familial labour has been traditionally viewed by the justice system as being priceless

and invaluable. The impact of this statement is reflected in the State of Victoria, where community work conditions have been created by orders administered by Community Based Corrections (Women's Budget Victoria 1989-90, 1989). The goal of community work is "to provide a range of unpaid community work projects for offenders", and to ensure [that] offenders fulfill the requirements of their order, whilst engaging in socially valuable work which utilizes existing or develops new work skills" (Women's Budget Victoria, 1989-90, 1989, p.55).

It is assumed that

"[c]ommunity work, normally requiring offenders to attend all day Saturday, can at times be particularly difficult for women. In comparison to male offenders, women [are] ... more likely to have children in their care" (Women's Budget Victoria 1989-90, 1989, p.55).

Moreover, women who have the care of the children, are assigned a certain type of community work:

" - *Community work sites may be offered at child-care centers, where the women's children can attend*" (Women's Budget Victoria 1989-90, 1989, p.55, emphasis added).

In addition, funds are being made available to subsidize the child-care costs for women required to attend community work programs (Women's Budget Victoria 1989-90, 1989). Thus, prison mothers are expected to engage in work that would give them some sort of a child-care experience for the benefit of their future life back in the community.

Perhaps, the skills they gained throughout their imprisonment would be an asset, if the women sought child-care jobs while they were both "in" and outside of the prison walls:

"It really pleased us when a couple of the women said they planned to pursue careers in child care [women's work] when they finished their sentence. It made us feel as though their experience here had been worthwhile for them (The Corrections Community, Manitoba, (undated), p.5).

Similarly, the Twin Maples women's facility in B.C. operates a day care center to place the women on day care work:

"...[women] who have a child care background or the potential to work... are assessed on the basis of their skills.... If a woman is interested in obtaining training in childcare she can attend night classes in the Maple Ridge area..." (Simpson, 1985, p.5).

However, the program is only open to inmate mothers who bear the skills and potential--the demonstration of a desire to raise the child themselves and the possession of an ability to cope with the baby and still participate in the institutional routines--to work in child-care (CAEFS Newsletter, 1985). Inmate women who staff the day care center are being paid \$8.00 per day, and this can be viewed as an effective way of gaining cheap labour for the institution (Branch Specific Information, B.C., Ministry of Solicitor General). Moreover, inmate mothers are encouraged to obtain educational qualifications at the neighbourhood college.

Based on a common ideology, adopted policies and programs concerning inmate mothers vary from one jurisdiction to another to a certain extent. Within a simulated 'homier' surrounding, familial contacts are facilitated, child-care obligations are intensified, and care-giving responsibilities are emphasized as their major concerns. In order to practice the maternal skills acquired throughout their custodial sentence, the ex-inmate mothers must find a "roof" under which to live with their children and also they must possess a source of income to feed

and clothe their children. However, the profile of women in prison illustrates that most women are young and poor, uneducated, unskilled and many of them belong to ethnic and racial minority groups. Their involvement with property-related offences is consistent with this demographic information.

By contrast, the criminal justice system assumes that former inmate mothers are financially supported by a male figure throughout their life in the community, and he will assist them to pay off debts and fines and allow them to demonstrate their maternal expertise. Thus, the adoption of white, middle-class, gender-based standards of familial life in mother-child prison policies has fostered a hesitancy to provide them with any meaningful vocational training to ensure their economic independence.

Hence, correctional rehabilitation tends to introduce unrealistic expectations and to set impractical goals for the ex-prisoner mothers, and the encouragement and facilitation of work placement in child-care related jobs by mother-child prison policies and programs can be viewed as an effective way of reproducing the prevailing familial ideology and gender inequality. Thus, upon completion of their prison sentences, inmate mothers may possibly be well endowed with maternal skills, but "poor" in financial capabilities.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The adoption of white, middle-class, gender-based values and standards in mother-child prison policies has directed inmate mothers to demonstrate their maternal expertise during their imprisonment and upon their release to the community. Consequently, there prevails an inconsistency between the familial assumptions and the inmate mothers' lives outside the prison. Thus, existing written mother-child correctional policies and programs exhibit the divergence between the rhetoric and reality of correctional "rehabilitation", and highlight the presumptions of an idealized family unit which underpins prison regimes and society's expectations. On the other hand, feminists have emphasized the necessity to go beyond this stereotypical approach by adopting realistic policies and programs for mothers in prison.

Eaton (1983 & 1986) and Daly (1987a) analyzed judicial sentencing practices, and perceived the ideological aspect of the focus on the preservation of the family unit, as well as the intensification of women's 'home-centered' care-giving role, as a way of compensating for the social costs of judicial penalties. Thus, women before the criminal courts are often scrutinized not only for their criminality, but also for their attainment in the 'approved' maternal role. According to these authors, the failure of female offenders to reconcile their own stories with the 'approved' white, middle-class, gender

appropriate conduct, is likely to result in a term of imprisonment in order to familiarize them with familial responsibilities. On the other hand, judicial leniency may be rendered to those women who remain within the context of the model family unit.

Policies concerning inmate mothers therefore, emphasize 'motherhood' as their major concern, and some of the jurisdictions have adopted specific programs and mechanisms to instill and monitor maternal aptitude within a 'home-like' atmosphere. Certain jurisdictions do not provide such provisions; yet, jailed mothers are granted the opportunity for the maintenance of contact with their children, while they occupy themselves with household chores. Accordingly, the continuance of familial ties and the inculcation of maternal skills have been equated with correctional reformation, and the justice system witnesses these provisions as the apparent way to instill law-abiding conduct in jailed mothers.

Although mothers in prison are given the opportunity to resocialize themselves as effective care-givers, not every inmate mother is perceived as being equally suitable for the training in prison. Eligibility standards¹ are designed to eliminate those women who are unable to meet the criteria, and the justice system may be assuming that it is not at all

¹ Low security level of the inmate, the desire to raise the child by herself, the ability to cope with the baby and institutional routines, positive evaluation of physical and mental health of the inmate mother, freedom from drug usage, and the possession of skills to work in the day care center.

worthwhile to facilitate the training of those women who fail to meet the requirements in the process of the social costs recovery.

Certainly, women in prison require non-traditional vocational training which the justice system has hesitated to grant throughout the process of rehabilitation. Conversely, the prevailing model of training in women's facilities has been domestic; the socialization of women to their conventionally accepted role (Morris, 1987, p.108). Therefore, the emphasis of vocational training has been on gardening, and housework, and instructions have given in needlework, cookery, child-care, and dress-making. Thus, the emphasis is heavily on the womanly tasks around the house, and perhaps, the routine contributes considerably to the daily needs of the institution. "These institutional maintenance chores are referred to as vocational training programs for women" (Feinman, 1980, p.29). Similar programs highlight the traditional attitudes in the training programs designed to prepare female inmates for the life in the community. Consequently, the difficulty of finding a job is exacerbated for ex-inmates by their lack of skills and employers may be reluctant to hire women for non-traditional jobs.

Conversely, the majority of women in prison share a common structural position, and their problems stem from the marginalization of economic and social policy. The demographic information concerning female prisoners illustrates their marginal situation; many of the women are doing time because

they were found guilty of committing property-related offences, and a majority of the Canadian female inmates are fraud/property offenders (Annual Provincial Correctional Centre Statistics, 1988-89, Saskatchewan, p.40; Johnson, 1987, p.43). Thus, they are not "bad" as the sentencing process has defined them to be, but they need training and support in seeking a source of income in order to demonstrate middle-class maternal skills.

Prior to their incarceration, female prisoners' financial situation has been described as critical, and the majority of the women have had accumulated debts with arrears of rent, hydro, and gas bills, fines (Wilkinson, 1988). Owing to their impoverished situation, female inmates' ability to settle their bills is in doubt, and the amount owed compared with their 'income' is usually a large quantity.

As revealed by Wilkinson (1988), housing problems, short-term, unsteady living arrangements were common in their lives before the imprisonment of female prisoners. Their destitute circumstances may have impaired their ability to pay the arrears or their rent, and this may have ensured the loss of accommodation. It is apparent that upon their release to the community, many of them may be pursued for payment of arrears, and as disclosed by Wilkinson (1988), letters from companies for payment of debts are on prison files. Moreover, without any financial support to settle the bills, especially the rent, hydro and gas, the ex-inmate mothers are unlikely to re-establish the family unit under a roof.

Accordingly, the crucial predicament of the ex-female inmates is finding a source of income. By contrast, penal policy ensures the dependency of women on men (or the state) for economic support, and upon their release inmate mothers are expected to relieve their situation with the assistance of their male partners. On the contrary, in many cases, the reality of the "male breadwinner" could be described as elusive.

Recognition of the poor financial conditions of inmate mothers, and the reality of non-existent fathers require that correctional rehabilitation must provide training and education not only in maternal affairs, but also in vocations pertinent to the labour market. Throughout their incarceration, economic support is conferred via state means, and day-care related job training is encouraged, which may provide very little financial assistance to their life in the community. Perhaps, a few inmates have planned to seek employment related to day care centers, and a few employers will hire the women with criminal records. On the other hand, women's place in the job market is often low paid, part-time and considered as a source of cheap labour. Consequently, the ex-prison mothers may gain a paltry sum of money and they may be unable to accomplish the correctional system's expectations by finding a house and convincing the authorities that they are "settled".

Certainly, inmate mothers are released from prison with many of the same problems as they had on entry, and perhaps, in many cases these problems have developed into a dilemma.

Consequently, mother-child correctional policy modifications must consider the extent to which the imprisonment has created, exacerbated or ignored inmate mothers' concerns and problems: Why is the commission of property-related offenders common among women prisoners? Why are the number of fine defaulters and minority, racial, and ethnic women over-represented among the female inmate population? Are there any policies and programs that address these characteristics of female inmates? Perhaps, the answers to the series of questions are negative.

Furthermore, imprisonment has isolated these mothers, owing to their marginalization; yet their problems are coupled with the wider socio-economic structure of the society. Income, accommodation, and relationships with their children and other family members can not be separated from the community life. By contrast, the orientation of prison mother-child policies has been modelled in accordance with the white, middle-class family, and emphasizes women's care-giving responsibilities, and child-care capabilities. Therefore, existing policies relevant to mothers in prison must be broadened and/or modified to recognize the socio-economic realities of the ex-inmate mothers' life in the community.

Despite the limitations involved with the present study, the implementation of effective and realistic mother-child correctional policies and programs, is an evolving matter which is certainly dependent upon the additional knowledge and understanding that come through experience and future research.

Clearly, as 'new' knowledge is gained in relation to the prevalent gender, and class-biased mother-child correctional policies, these arrangements must be re-examined, re-defined, and re-evaluated.

Furthermore, without a review of judicial dispositions and an awareness of factors that affect the decision-making process with reference to mothers and non-mothers, it will remain difficult to create and implement effective policies and programs for mothers in prison. Hence, the existing correctional policies often tend to justify the judgement given by the criminal courts. Consequently, the prison system could be perceived as a conducive place for the practice of familial ideology, and the "social costs" logic of punishment.

Decisions are made at a variety of points in the criminal justice system, and many variables influence these decisions. The impact of female clients' motherhood at each stage of the sentencing process could be determined, and this may help to identify the rationale of existing mother-child prison policies and practices. Research that examines the impact of the stereotypical concept of motherhood during the *initial* police-suspect encounter and the subsequent stages of the criminal justice system (the police-suspect encounter, police interrogation and confession stage, the process of plea decision, and sentencing stage) will assist in overcoming various types of problems and mis-conceptions that pervade the studies of policies and practices within the criminal courts.

Moreover, compiling a profile of the accused women that include the details of the suspects' demographic characteristics, including the motherhood and the children's living arrangements could compare with a profile of female inmates in prison and the data about their children. Also, a sample of police officers and justice personnel could be interviewed specifically, on how they make their decisions on whether to process a case or to drop a case at different points of the criminal justice system. If police officers and justice personnel are concerned about a suspect's or defendant's background, past and present criminal records of the suspect or defendant, the aspect of the incident, the suspect's or defendant's familial and/or work responsibilities and situation; such information may be of assistance in understanding the impact of prevailing sentencing policies and practices.

Unfortunately, little or no data of this nature exist in the literature; perhaps, owing to incomplete data, inadequate methodologies and poor design. Notwithstanding, similar research findings may extend our knowledge of gender- and class-biased disparities from the movement of the initial police-suspect encounter through the sentencing phase, and ultimately to the correctional phase.

Owing to their socially assigned child-rearing responsibilities, inmate mothers have been recognized as a special group who have special needs. Consequently, there is considerable pressure on inmate mothers to remain within the

familial context, and not only correctional policies stress the significance of mother child contact within an approved family unit, but also housing and economic policies (Wilkinson, 1988). Hence, prison policy as well as social policy is based on a model family unit, which reproduce white, middle-class, gender-based standards and values. Based on these criteria, men are often considered as "breadwinners", and women are wageless dependents; thus, "breadmakers". Nevertheless, the reality of these circumstances is very different from those that are visualized in prison and social policies.

Finally, a few cautionary remarks. First, these findings and conclusions on correctional mother-child policies and practices are only suggestive of prison policies, and should not be considered definitive of the general policy and practice concerning mothers in prison. In addition to mother-child programs, there may be other programs available for jailed mothers in the jurisdictions studied which may address concerns about other needs. As well, it has not been the focus of the present thesis to examine whether the written policy and description of programming adhere to the spirit of the written directives. It could be the case that the nature of the programming as actually practiced differs in some basic way from those policies; however, it has not been the intent of the present work to address that question.

Since the study was restricted to written mother-child correctional policies and practices, the above points may raise

a question when generalizing these findings and conclusions beyond the data studied. Nevertheless, these findings indicate that the prevalent written prison and social policies and arrangements may contribute to the already widespread problems and uncertainties of inmate mothers, instead of alleviating their situation.

APPENDIX A

Sample Letter Sent to Canadian Jurisdictions

.....
.....
.....

.....

I am writing to request some information concerning specific correctional policies and procedures in the province of

In particular, I and some colleagues wish to examine the correctional policies and procedures applicable to the incarceration of women and, specifically, mothers with young children. This research project will examine the applicable policies and procedures in a number of Commonwealth countries (particularly, England and Wales, Australia, New Zealand, India, Sri Lanka, and Canada). I was wondering if you could possibly send me any available information concerning the current situation in the correctional services system of ?

The specific information, in which we are interested, includes the following:

1. Statutes, regulations, policies, etc. concerning the incarceration of women (and particularly, those who have young children).
2. Any recent statistics concerning the sentencing and incarceration of women generally in
3. Any scholarly articles, newspaper items, etc. dealing with the incarceration of mothers in that may have been collected by Correctional personnel.

I realize that this request represents something of an imposition on your busy schedule and I do express my profound gratitude to you if you can find some time to make this information available to me. I think that the topic is clearly of very great importance and that very little current information is available at either the national or international levels. This would be the first attempt to study from a Commonwealth perspective. I would sincerely hope that the information collected would be of considerable interest to Correctional personnel in and, if you can assist in the provision of relevant information, we shall be more than happy to send you a summary of the completed research.

Please note that, if you require any further details about this project, you are most welcome to call me at (604) 291-4305 [Fax. (604) 291-4140]. Thank you in advance for any assistance that you may be able to provide.

Yours sincerely,

Simon N. Verdun-Jones, J.S.D.,
Professor and Director

Sample Letter Sent to New Zealand, India, and Sri Lanka

.....
.....
.....
.....

.....

I am writing to request some information concerning specific correctional policies and procedures in the province of

In particular, I and some colleagues wish to examine the correctional policies and procedures applicable to the incarceration of women and, specifically, mothers with young children. This research project will examine the applicable policies and procedures in a number of Commonwealth countries (particularly, England and Wales, Australia, New Zealand, India, Sri Lanka, and Canada). I was wondering if you could possibly send me any available information concerning the current situation in the correctional services system of

The specific information, in which we are interested, includes the following:

1. Statutes, regulations, policies, etc. concerning the incarceration of women (and particularly, those who have young children).
2. Any recent statistics concerning the sentencing and incarceration of women generally in
3. Any scholarly articles, newspaper items, etc. dealing with the incarceration of mothers in that may have been collected by Correctional personnel.

I realize that this request represents something of an imposition on your busy schedule and I do express my profound gratitude to you if you can find some time to make this information available to me. I think that the topic is of great importance and that, to date, it has not been adequately studied in the Commonwealth context. If you can provide me with such information, we shall be more than happy to send you a summary of the completed research.

Yours sincerely,

Simon N. Verdun-Jones, J.S.D.,
Professor and Director

APPENDIX B

Summary of the Information Received from Selected Commonwealth Jurisdictions

Jurisdic.	Policies	Acts	Documents	Articles	Statistics
Correctional Service Canada	+	0	0	+	0
Alberta	+	0	+	+	+
B.C.	+	0	+	+	+
Saskatchewan	+	0	0	+	+
Manitoba	+	+	0	+	+
Quebec	+	0	+	0	0
New Brunswick	+	0	0	0	+
Newfoundland & Labrador	+	0	0	0	0
The North West Territories	+	0	0	0	0
Prince Edward Island	+	0	0	0	0
Victoria	+	+	+	+	+
New South Wales	+	+	+	+	+
New Zealand	+	+	0	+	+
Sri Lanka	+	+	0	+	+

Note: + = information received;
 0 = no information received.

APPENDIX C

Table 1: Conventional Programs for Inmate Mothers and their Children in Other Nations

Country	Procedure	Facilities
Mexico	Children live with their inmate mothers. ^a Penal colonies.	In a separate building, classes for children. Autonomous villages for the entire family ^b of the Mexican prisoner.
Colombia	The children are cared for at a special institution. ^c	
Peru	The children were placed in middle-class homes; they did house-work in exchange for their care. ^d	
Ecuador	To prevent the children of female inmates from house-work in middle-class homes in exchange for their care. ^e	A home for school-age daughters of inmate mothers was set up.
Denmark	Pregnant inmates can keep their babies until 2 years of age. ^f	Prison nursery.
Yugoslavia	Three months before the childbirth, inmates are transferred to a special home; babies stay until one year. Placed with the mother's family or in a home, until released. ^g	

a Teeters, 1944.

b DeFord, 1962.

c Teeters, 1944.

d Ibid.

e Bonfanti, et al. 1974.

f McWhinnie, 1961.

g DeFord, 1962.

Table 2: Traditional Arrangements for Inmate Mothers and their Children in the United States

Authority	Arrangements	Objectives
Virginia Statute, 1918.	Up to 4 years mothers could care for their children.	To serve the best interests of the children.
Virginia Legislative, 1960.	Until 2 years of age, mothers could care for their children. ^a	
At 6 of the Girls Delinquent Training Facilities.	Infant care in prison.	Mothers were expected to assume responsibilities for the physical care of their children under the supervision of officers; training in child-care. ^b
In Illinois 1930s.	Delivery in a local hospital.	To prevent stigmatization of being born in prison. ^c
California Statute, 1941. ^d	Child-care in prison.	
Florida Statute, 1957. ^e	Child-care in prison.	

a Deck, 1988.

b Reeves, 1929. cited in Bonfanti et al. 1974.

c Monahan, 1941. cited in Bonfanti, et al. 1974.

d Barry, 1985a; Deck, 1988.

e Ibid.

Table 3: Foster Care Programs in the U.S.

Institution	Program	Provisions
The Pleasanton Institution, California.	The MATCH Program	Foster parent orientation classes to share concerns and plans for children. ^a
The Purdy Treatment Center, Washington.	Group sessions.	To settle possible conflicts between the two parents.
	Foster placement.	At a nearby foster home. Agreement to bring the child for visits and the inmate to visit the foster home. ^b
The Volunteers of America.	The MINT Program.	Furlough to inmate mothers; or the family brings the baby; inmates teach the new care-takers about infants' habits. ^c

a Baunach, 1985.

b Ibid.

c Program Notes, 1986.

Table 4: Prisons Visits

Institution	Visits
The New Jersey Correctional Institution.	Two and a half-hour visits 3 days per week in the gymnasium. Children come from 9 other counties; transportation is a problem. ^a
The Massachusetts Correctional Institution.	The AIM Program - as a way of providing visits for inmates who have served a year or more; volunteers arrange visits, deal with the child-care agencies upon request, provide information to make plans during and following release. ^b
The Georgia Women's Correctional Institution.	The REACH Program - to provide contact visits with their children in a supportive environment inside the prison one day per month. Activities - reading stories, making x'mas stockings that intensify the development of mother-child bond through appropriate play and learning activities. ^c
The Purdy Treatment Center, Washington. ^d	Special visits - any time of the week.
The Nebraska Center for Women.	The MOLD Program - opportunity to be together on a regular basis; to help the women to learn child-care and development. Five consecutive 24-hour visits per month; when children are visiting, the mothers are released from all structured activities to spend time with the children. ^e

 AUSTRALIA^f

 a Neto & Bainer, 1983.

b Thomases, 1982.

c Program Notes, 1986.

d Baunach, 1985.

e Bergen, 1982.

f In New South Wales, visits are permitted with the children of inmate mothers (Task Force Report, 1985).

Table 5: Overnight Prison Visits in the U.S.

Institution	Overnight Visits
The Women's Correctional Facility, South Dakota. ^a	The PACT Program - Children can stay with their mothers for 5 days and nights per month.
The Nebraska Center for Women.	The MOLD Program - Children can stay with their mothers for 5 days and nights per month. ^b
The Daniel Boone Center, ^c Kentucky.	One weekend overnight visit per month.
The Purdy Treatment Center, Washington. ^d	Overnight visits for mothers who are on work release.
The Arizona Center for Women. ^e	Children can stay 24 to 48 hours.
The Minnesota Correctional Facility for Women.	Weekend visits in the cottage; mothers are responsible for the care of their own children; on Saturdays, the Program Director observes interactions and offers feedback to mothers. ^f
The Women's Prison in Tennessee.	Weekend overnight visits for children under the age of 8 years who may stay with their mothers. ^g

a Neto & Bainer, 1983.

b Ibid.

c Ibid.

d Ibid.

e Ibid.

f Program Notes, 1986.

g Neto & Bainer, 1983.

Table 6: Prison Nurseries in the U.S.

Institution	Nursery Programs
The Bedford Hills Correctional Center, New York.	Newborns stay with their mothers during the day; at night, mothers are locked-in. The mothers are charged with feeding and bathing their babies. ^a
The California Institution for Women.	Newborns stay at the nursery for 10 days, until the final arrangement for the child is being made. Most of the time infants are cared for in the nursery; ^b 2 to 3 hours stay with their mothers.
Broward Correctional Institution, Florida.	Lower security level inmates, who become mothers during their sentence are sent to another facility; they can keep their babies for 15 months. ^c
The Purdy Treatment Center, Washington.	Provide an opportunity to work with and develop an understanding of pre-school children other than their own children, and to help gain up to 90 hours work experience to obtain a day care related jobs upon release. Eligibility - the completion of the child development course; women's attitudes and emotional behavior; the final decision is made by the child development instructor in consultation with the nursery school teacher. ^d

a Baunach, 1985; Deck, 1988; Neto & Bainer, 1983.

b Neto & Bainer, 1983.

c Ibid.

d Baunach, 1985.

Table 7: Community Residences in the U.S.

Jurisdiction	Community Residences
California	<p>Recognition that infants suffer psychologically, if separated during mothers' incarceration, has led to the practice that the children live with their inmate mothers in minimum security community residences outside prison.^a</p> <p>The Mother-Infant Care Program - 3 half-way houses in the community; women are being strictly supervised; their daily program is highly structured.</p> <p>At the beginning, they are escorted for child-related purposes; then passes are granted; eligible for work furlough and responsible for child-care costs.^b</p>
The Pleasanton Federal Correctional Institution, California.	<p>The "Shared Beginners" Program - Pregnant inmates stay the last 2 months of their pregnancy at a nearby community-based half-way house.^c</p> <p>They learn parental and child-care, select preferred childbirth method, counselling and job training, employment provided to prepare them for re-entry into society.</p> <p>After the birth, they care for their babies_d for 4 months at the same place.</p> <p>Eligibility - Childbirth during the sentence; or if the inmate mother is the main caretaker of a child under 6; the court has not previously declared her as an unfit mother.^e</p>

a Barry, 1985a; Deck, 1988.

b Program Notes, 1986.

c Barry, 1985a; Baunach, 1985.

d Barry, 1985a; Neto & Bainer, 1983.

e Deck, 1988.

Table 7: Community Residences in the U.S. (continued).

Jurisdiction	Community Residences
Texas	The Volunteers of America, MINT Program Pregnant inmates are housed in a community treatment center during their last 2 months of their pregnancy; 24 hour supervision; medical care, an outside obstetrician, delivery at a family centered community hospital. When the baby is 2 months old, the placement arrangements must be made; counselling and support continue during this time.

f Program Notes, 1986.

Table 8: Alternative Sentencing for Pregnant Inmates

Jurisdiction	Sentencing Alternatives
California	Alternative residences - the mother and the child may live together in a secure neighbourhood location during the mother's confinement. ^a
The Louisiana Correctional Institution for Women. ^b	Maternity leave - recommendations by the staff and approval by the judge.
North Carolina	Deferment of sentence of a pregnant inmate, if convicted of non-violent crime; she is not sentenced until 6 weeks after the birth of her child. ^c
Massachusetts	Correctional officials may grant a pregnant inmate liberty or discharge for an indefinite time. ^d
Maryland	The Governor is empowered to determine whether to suspend the court order of a pregnant inmate and to parole. ^e
AUSTRALIA ^f	

a Program Notes, 1986.

b Bonfanti, et al. 1974.

c Deck, 1988.

d Ibid.

e Ibid.

f In New South Wales, pregnant inmates are released on licence for childbirth (Task Force Report, 1985).

Table 9: Mother-Craft Programs in the U.S. Women's Prisons

Institution	Program	Objectives
The Iowa Correctional Institution.	The RAFT Program	To develop a parenting curriculum to expand the children's visiting room activities; to develop self-esteem, growth and development, guidance and discipline to deal with the support of the Iowa State University. ^a
The Bedford Hills Correctional Center, New York.	Parenting Center	To intensify the bonds between inmate mothers and children, instill parenting skills, prepare for careers in early childhood education. ^b
The Georgia Women's Correctional Institution.	Children's Center	To offer parenting programs on issues relevant to behavior management, prison parenting, nurturing skills. Requirements - the completion of training program designed by the Early Childhood Education Dept. of Georgia College. ^c
California Statute.	The Infant Care Program	Three half-way houses in the community; offer parenting classes, psychological counselling, college and vocational training designed to encourage the mother-child contact and assist the mothers to return to society. ^d

a Program Notes, 1986.

b Baunach, 1985.

c Program Notes, 1986.

d Deck, 1988.

Table 9: Mother-craft Programs in the U.S. Women's Prisons
(continued)

Institution	Program	Objectives
The Nebraska Center for Women	Classes on Child-care	To support the inmate's re-integration into the community and families with a new sense of their responsibilities, especially to their children. ^e
The Minnesota Correctional Facility for Women.	The Parenting Program	To help inmates to restructure and preserve the family unit, provide parenting skills background; a six-week education program offers training and support. ^f
The Volunteers of America.	The MINT Program	Pregnant inmates receive childbirth education, preparation for the delivery; parenting education & counselling by community agencies; to prevent child abuse through education, modelling of positive parenting skills, support during pregnancy, post partum period. ^g
The Kentucky Correctional Institution for Women.	The Parenting Program	To strengthen parenting skills; to provide open, healthy, extended visits between inmate mothers and the children; to maintain mother-child bonds for the child's emotional health, for mother's positive re-entry into family upon release.

e Bergen, 1982.

f Program Notes, 1986.

g Ibid.

Table 9: Mother-Craft Programs in the U.S. Women's Prisons
(continued).

Institution	Program	Objectives
The Kentucky Correctional Institution.	The Parenting Program	Classes for mothers, Kids Day on each Sunday, overnight visits. ^h
The Purdy Treatment Center, Washington.	Child Development Courses	To increase awareness of the likeness and differences in children, especially children of pre-school age; recognize that children normally develop at varying rate, but in a fairly predictable pattern and given a knowledge in nursery school basic skills; the topics covered are intellectual growth, emotional, physical and social development; sex education and health and safety. ⁱ

^h Baunach, 1985.

ⁱ Baunach, 1985.

APPENDIX D

Table 1: Existing Policies Regarding Inmate Mothers and their Children in Selective Commonwealth Jurisdictions

Jurisdiction	Policy
FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA.	
Prison for Women (P4W)	Special needs - pregnancy and child-care responsibilities. Facilities for special needs through - consultation with appropriate organizations that focus primarily on female offenders; - consultation with Non-Service experts for services, that can not be given by the Service staff; - special communication needs are recognized with family and significant others. ^a
PROVINCIAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA.	
B.C.	Inmate mothers are permitted to bring their babies. ^b
Alberta	Co-correctional facilities & programs. Facilitation of specific programs through the encouragement of community resource people who have specific interest in program development and delivery for female offenders. ^c
Saskatchewan	Most of the statutes and regulations are the same for men and women in prison. No formal policies on parenting relevant to children or inmate mothers. Child placement - either in the care of the Department of Social Services or taken by a community support. ^d

a Commisioner's Directive, No.701.

b Simpson, 1985.

c J. Davis, personal communication to the senior supervisor, December 18, 1989.

d R. J. Till, personal communication to the senior supervisor, December 7, 1989.

Table 1: Existing Policies Regarding Inmate Mothers and their Children in Selective Commonwealth Countries (continued).

Jurisdiction	Policy
Manitoba	Most of the statutes and regulations are the same for men and women. Based on certain criteria, children are permitted to live with inmate mothers. ^e
Quebec	The mother-child contact maintenance program at the Maison Tanguay. ^f
Newfoundland & Labrador	Except for provincial prison regulations, no statutes specifically apply to women. ^g
The North West Territories	The statutes and regulations governing inmates do not recognize their gender. Therefore, no specific legislated requirements for mothers in prison with young children. In the past, children were permitted in prison, if the mothers had been nursing the children or they were only a few days old. ^h
Prince Edward Island	All programs & services are the same for all inmates. No experience with the children in prison. ⁱ
NEW ZEALAND	The Department of Justice recognizes female inmates as a group that has special needs.

e Misch, et al. 1982.

f D.F. Rouffingnat, personal communication to the senior supervisor, January 31, 1990.

g M.J. McNutt, personal communication to the senior supervisor, December 5, 1989.

h J. Dillon, personal communication to the senior supervisor, December 21, 1989.

i P. Arbing, personal communication to the senior supervisor, December 28, 1989.

Table 1: Existing Policies Regarding Inmate Mothers and their Children in Selective Commonwealth Countries (continued).

Jurisdiction	Policy
NEW ZEALAND	<p>In order to provide these special needs, the Department considers the provision of adequate facilities and resources; separate housing and allocation of resources and funds for women in prison.^j</p> <p>Child placement, 1979 Circular - (Authority: Regulations 55 of the Penal Institutions) - until the child is 6 months old, it can remain in prison until a satisfactory arrangement is being made.</p> <p>If the inmate does not want to give the child for adoption, she is released to a private home, or to a church or to a charity organization on parole.</p> <p>If an inmate can not be released on parole, the child can be housed temporarily in an enlarged cell, but neither toddlers nor older children.</p>
SRI LANKA	<p>Child placement - Section 165, Prison Ordinance - if the child is at the breast, it can come with the mother; Under section 166, of Prison Ordinance: When the Medical Officer certifies that the child is in a fit condition to be separated, it is separated from the mother.</p> <p>If there is a failure to find a placement for the child with relatives, kept in an institution. If the child is not at the breast, under section 187 of Prison Ordinance, child can not come with its mother, and it is taken to the nearest police station.</p>

^j Prisons in Change, 1988.

Table 1 (a): Existing Policies Regarding Inmate Mothers and their Children in Selective Commonwealth Countries (continued).

Jurisdiction	Policy
AUSTRALIA	
Victoria	Child placement authority:- Corrections Act, Correction's Regulations and Director's Circular, Prison's Division, Office of Corrections, No.85/15.

Table 2: Existing Programs for Inmate Mothers in Selective Commonwealth Jurisdictions.

Jurisdiction	Program
FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA.	
Prison for Women.	Communication with the family via audio-visual exchanges; informal visits, extended visits. ^a
PROVINCIAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA.	
Alberta	Special programs - family life management and development of independent living skills. ^b
	Mother-child contact - The regular visiting program, the extending visiting program, temporary absence program. ^c
B.C.	Mother-child contact - The Mothers with Babies Program at the Twin Maples Correctional Center; The Day Care Center at the Twin maples Correctional Center. ^d
Saskatchewan	Visits on an appointment basis; a mother can nurse the baby during visits; the Family Visiting Unit for overnight visits for up to 3 days. Parole program. ^e
	Weekend sentences, specifically for unwed mothers. ^f

a Commissioner's Directive, No.701.

b J. Davis, personal communication to the senior supervisor, December 18, 1989.

c Women in Custody, undated.

d J. Davis, personal communication to the senior supervisor, December 18, 1989.

e R.J. Till, personal communication to the senior supervisor, December 7, 1989.

f Gustafson, 1989b, June.

Table 2: Existing Program for Inmate Mothers in Selective Commonwealth Jurisdictions (continued).

Jurisdiction	Program
Saskatchewan	Community Training Program as an alternative to incarceration. ^g
Manitoba	Overnight visits, more specifically, weekend visits; Live-in Program for infants; "Wee World Day Care Center" inmates at the Portage Correctional Center may have their babies with them. ^h
Quebec	"Continue Famille" Program - the mother-child contact maintenance method at the Maison Tanguay. ⁱ
Newfoundland & Labrador	Temporary absence on rehabilitative, medical and humanitarian reasons. ^j
SRI LANKA	Visits in a special room next to the main entrance of the Welikada Prison. ^k

g Gustafson, 1989a, May.

h Maintaining the bond, 1988.

i Ibid.

j Annual Report of Adult Correctionas Division, 1987/88.

k Prison Ordinance, Section 187, Subsection 4.

Table 2 (a): Existing Program for Inmate Mothers in Selective Commonwealth Jurisdictions (continued).

Jurisdiction	Program
AUSTRALIA	
Victoria	Overnight visits at Fairlea Prison in the family visit facility and at the children's farm, Tarrengower Prison; regular visits at Fairlea Prison; community work conditions to provide unpaid community work projects for all offenders ¹ who are the care-givers of children.

¹ Women's Budget, 1988.

Table 3: Prison Visits

Jurisdiction	Institution	Visitation Program
FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA	Prison for Women (P4W)	Informal visits; general weekly visits; the Family Visiting Unit for extended visits. ^a
PROVINCIAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA.		
Alberta	Fort Saskatchewan Other Institution ^b	The Live-in Visiting Program for extended overnight visits. Regular visiting hours. The Extended Visiting Program. ^c
Saskatchewan	Pine Grove	Visits during the week. ^d The Family Visitation Unit. ^e
Manitoba	Portage	Overnight visits; Live-in program and day care program. ^f
Quebec	Tanguay	"Continue Famille" (Extended visits). ^g
SRI LANKA	Welikada	Regular visits. ^h

a MacLeod, 1986.

b Women in Custody, undated.

c Extended Family Visiting Program, undated.

d R.J. Till, personal communication to the senior supervisor, December 7, 1989.

e Gustafson, 1989b.

f Policies - Inmate mothers and their children.

g Maintaining the bond, 1988.

h H.G. Dharmadasa, personal communication to the senior supervisor, November 27, 1989.

Table 3 (a): Prison Visits (continued).

Jurisdiction	Institution	Visitation Program
AUSTRALIA		
Victoria	Fairlea	Regular visits; overnight visits in the Family Visiting Unit.
	Tarrengower	Overnight visits ⁱ in the Children's Farm.

ⁱ Women's Budget, 1988.

Table 4: Objectives of the Extended Visiting Programs

Program	Objectives
FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA.	
The Family Visiting Unit at P4W	To facilitate family visits with their children for up to 72 hours, once in three months, in a bungalow on the prison grounds. ^a
PROVINCIAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA.	
The Extended Family Visiting Program in Alberta	Eligible inmates are entitled to have extended private visits with their families in order to maintain and strengthen family ties and to prepare inmates for their return to the community. ^b
"Continuite Famille" at Tanguay, Quebec	To provide new opportunities to foster and maintain the relationship between inmate mother and her child; to offer a better plan for nurturing the mother-child contact; to prepare the mother for the transition from prison life to a natural family environment; to ensure the performance of their maternal role by assigning child-care responsibilities; to consider the welfare of the children. ^c

a MacLeod, 1986.

b The Extended Visiting Program, undated.

c Maintaining the bond, 1988.

Table 5: Requirements for Inmates and Children

Program	Inmates	Children
FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA.		
Extended Visits at P4W	Must be at the prison for 6 months; must obtain a supporting community assessment; must be charge free; must be non-participants either in the un-escorted temporary absence or day parole program. ^a	No specific requirements.
PROVINCIAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA.		
The Extended Family Visits Program in Alberta	A sentence of 9 months or more; complete three months of the sentence; minimum or medium security level; good record of program participation; free from charges or appeals by the Crown; non-participants in the Temporary Absence program; abided by the rules of the program in previous participation. ^b	No specific requirements; the available space may limit of the number participants; Signing the "Statement of Voluntary Participation" form.

a MacLeod, 1986.

b The Extended Visiting Program, undated.

Table 5: Requirements for Inmates and Children (continued).

Program	Inmates	Children
"Continuite Famille" in the Tanguay, Quebec	Must demonstrate their willingness to accept their maternal responsibilities; must rejoin with their children on release; six months of the sentence must remain; free from violent behavior, drugs, escape attempts. ^c	Only pre-schoolers are qualified for visits.

^c Maintaining the bond, 1988.

Table 6: Provisions of the Expanded Visiting Programs

Program	Duration	Physical Lay-out	Activities
FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA.			
P4W	72 hours; once in 3 months. ^a	A bungalow on the prison grounds.	No special activities.
PROVINCIAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA.			
Alberta	Maximum 72 hours; the Center's Director may decide the length.	Varies from institution to institution; living room, bed room, kitchen and some may have an outdoor yard. ^b	No special programs.
Quebec	2 days per week.	Trailer for visits.	Workshops on parent-child relations, and contact skills; counselling; follow-up visits. ^c

a MacLeod, 1986.

b The Extended Visiting Program, undated.

c Maintaining the bond, 1986.

Table 7: Alternative Bond Maintenance Methods

Jurisdiction	Institution	Alternative Means
FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA.		
	P4W	Audio-visual exchanges to communicate with family members. ^a Family Days to spend time with children and family members.
PROVINCIAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA.		
Alberta		Temporary Absence Program to maintain mother-child contact; ^b
	Fort Saskatchewan Correctional Center. ^c	Parole programs; day passes or weekend passes for extensive leave.
Saskatchewan	Pine Grove	Temporary Leave of Absence; parole programs. ^d
New Brunswick	Saint John Correctional Center	Weekly four-hour passes for spending time with their children ^e and other family members.
NEW ZEALAND	Mount Eden, Arohota, & Christchurch. ^f	Home leave to compensate for fewer visits.

a O. Ingstrup, personal communication to the senior supervisor, February 16, 1990.

b J. Davis, personal communication to the senior supervisor, December 18, 1989.

c Women in Custody, undated.

d R.J. Till, personal communication to the senior supervisor, December 7, 1989.

e L. Prince, personal communication to the senior supervisor, February 14, 1990.

f Prisons in Change, 1988.

Table 8: Child Placement Arrangements

Jurisdiction	Institution	Arrangements
FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA.		
	P4W	The newborn can not come with its inmate mother. Placement according to the mother's wishes. ^a
PROVINCIAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA.		
B.C.	Twin Maples Day Care Center. ^b	Mother with Babies Program.
Saskatchewan	Pine Grove	Newborns are placed either in the care of the Department of Social Services; or taken by a "community support". ^c
Newfoundland & Labrador		The decision to keep the child with the mother is given by the Superintendent based on several standards. ^d
Manitoba	Portage	The child born during the incarceration, can live with its inmate mother; the decision is based on several criteria. ^e
Quebec	Tanguay	Upon the delivery, the mother and the newborn may stay at Rosalie Jette for a few months. ^f

a O. Ingstrup, personal communication to the senior supervisor, February 16, 1990.

b Branch Specific Information.

c R.J. Till, personal communication to the senior supervisor, December 7, 1989.

d Policy Directive, No.16.40.09.

e "Child Born During Mother's Incarceration".

f Misch, et al. 1982.

Table 8: Child Placement Arrangements (continued).

Jurisdiction	Institution	Arrangements
NEW ZEALAND	Mount Eden, Christchurch, & Arohota.	1979 Circular provides opportunities for child placement in prison. Options - the Royal Prerogative of Mercy; Temporary release on parole under sections 21 or 28 of the Penal Institutions Act 1954 to an institution run by church or welfare groups; early release under the section 91, Criminal Justice Act 1985.
	Mount Eden	Released on parole with their babies to a private home or church or charity organization administered by the institution following release from the maternity hospital.
SRI LANKA	Welikada Prison	The child can stay with its inmate mother, if it is at the breast; older children are taken to the nearest police station; if unable to make satisfactory arrangements, the Government shall take over the responsibility for them. ⁹

⁹ Prison's Ordinance, s.165 & 166.

Table 8 (a): Child Placement Arrangements (continued).

Jurisdiction	Institution	Arrangements
AUSTRALIA		
Victoria	Fairlea	Subject to the Governor's discretion, the best interests of the child, and the maintenance of security of the institution, children can be placed with their inmate mothers; the placement shall be either for a temporary period or for an unlimited time. ^h

^h Corrections Act, Corrections Regulations, Director Circular, No.85/15.

Table 9: Objectives of the Live-in Programs

Program	Objectives
PROVINCIAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA.	
Twin Maples Live-in Program, B.C.	To provide unique residential and training programs for female inmates and their children. ^a
Day Care Center, Twin Maples, B.C.	Work placement for inmates; To encourage bonding and contact between the mother and child; to teach parenting skills; to ensure the mother and child have the best possible medical attention; to develop practical and realistic plans for herself and the child. ^b
Portage Live-in Program, Manitoba	To set rules and expectations for its residents; help design personal rehabilitation program for each resident at Portage; to encourage the maintenance of certain degree of self-discipline; to develop realistic work and life habits that help them upon release. ^c
Portage Day Care Center, Manitoba	Enables inmates to keep their babies not only those who live their mothers in prison, but also the children who live in the community. ^d

a Simpson, 1985.

b Ibid.

c The Corrections Community, undated.

d Ibid.

Table 10: Eligibility Criteria for Live-in Programs

Program	Eligibility Criteria for Inmates
PROVINCIAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA.	
Twin Maples Program	The Classification & Institutional staff focus on - low security level of the inmate; the sentence must be under 2 years or the remaining sentence must be less than 2 years; the desire to raise the child by herself; support from the family members; the ability to cope with the baby and institutional routines; positive evaluation of physical and mental health; free from drug usage; approval of the Ministry of Social and Housing for financial support and the Local Director of the Corrections Branch. ^a
The Day Care Center, Twin Maple, B.C.	Possession of skills and potential to work in the Center.
The Portage Day Care Program, Manitoba	No specific eligibility criteria are defined for inmates, but selected by the Superintendent; the infants will be no older than 10 months after the woman's release. ^b

a Simpson, 1985.

Inmates who wish to take child-care classes may attend night classe at Douglas College. Women who work at the Day Care Center are being paid \$8.00 per day (Source: Branch Specific Information. Incarcerated Mothers with Babies Program. Ministry of Solicitor General, B.C.; CAEFS Newsletter (1985, summer/fall). Babies in Prison, No.14, pp.1-2, 21-23.

b The Corrections Community, undated.

Table 11: Other Details Pertaining to the Live-in Programs

 The Twin Maples Program

 The Portage Program

PROVINCIAL PRISON
 SYSTEM, CANADA.

B.C.

Manitoba

Capacity

Three children at a time; three single rooms and it is assumed that a single room helps to establish the baby's routine.

Capacity

Generally, three children; children stay in their mothers' rooms.

Physical Lay-out

A separate building on the prison ground; equipment and changes are made to comply with Day Care Licensing requirements.

Physical Lay-out

Age of the children has been restricted; heavy doors and steep staircases.

Day Care Programs

Walks to the farm to learn about the various animals found there; arts, crafts, baking, stories and outdoor play.

Day Care Programs

No special programs, except TV, toys, etc.

Rules, responsibilities.

No clear rules, but the mother is the sole care-giver; termination may occur due to mother's conduct, involvement with drugs; mother's inability to control the child; mother's request.

Rules, responsibilities

Rules and regulations of the mother, when the child is at the institution are outlined in a form - "Agreement Between Portage Correctional Institution and the Participating Resident."

Facilities

Medical and childbirth facilities for pregnant inmates; work at the day care.

Facilities

Medical facilities for babies.

Table 11: Other Details Pertaining to the Live-in Programs
(continued).

The Twin Maples Program	The Portage Program
B.C.	Manitoba
<p><i>Funding</i> The father can be asked to pay \$200, the monthly cost, if he is employed; or she can apply to the Ministry of Human Resources for social assistance and medical care plan for the child.^b</p>	<p><i>Funding</i> No such details found.^a</p>

a MacLeod, 1986.

b Simpson, 1985.

Table 12: Existing Policies Pertaining to Pregnant Inmates in Selective Commonwealth Jurisdictions

Jurisdiction	Policy
FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA.	Pregnancy and child-care responsibilities are considered as special needs of federal inmates; Facilities for the special needs through - consultation with appropriate organizations that focus primarily on female offenders; - consultation with Non-Service experts for treatment, that can not be given by the Service staff at P4W. ^a
PROVINCIAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA.	
Alberta	Referral to an obstetrician or to their own doctor. ^b
B.C.	Provision of pre- and post-natal care; medical care during the pregnancy; delivery at the Maple Ridge Hospital; training in parenting skills. ^c
Saskatchewan	Medical Temporary Leave of Absence ^d to give birth in a local hospital.
Manitoba	Based on certain criteria, children born during the sentence are permitted ^e to live with inmate mothers.

a Comminssioner's Directive, No.701.

b Misch, et al. 1982.

c Simpson, 1985.

d R.J. Till, personal communication to the senior supervisor, December 7, 1989.

e Misch, et al. 1982.

Table 12: Existing Policies Pertaining to Pregnant Inmates in Selective Commonwealth Jurisdictions (continued).

Jurisdiction	Policy
Quebec	Pregnant inmates at the Maison Tanguay are sent to the Center Rosalie Jette - an inmate may stay throughout her pregnancy and until a few months after the delivery. At the Maison Gomin - a specialized shelter for pregnant inmates and each case is individually evaluated. ^f
Newfoundland & Labrador	Counselling and support for the pregnancy and/or planning the child's future; the decision to bring the baby to prison depends on several criteria, and it is made by the Superintendent. ^g
NEW ZEALAND	Pregnant inmates may keep their newborns with them. ^h
SRI LANKA	Pregnant inmates - death penalty may not be pronounced on pregnant inmates under the Penal Code, section 54.

f Misch, et al. 1982.

g The Policy Directive, no.16.40.09.

h Prisons in Change, 1988.

Table 12 (a): Existing Policies Pertaining to Pregnant Inmates
in Selective Commonwealth Jurisdictions (continued).

Jurisdiction	Policy
AUSTRALIA	
Victoria	Under the Corrections Regulations Divisions 17, subsection 73, delivery outside prison. ⁱ

ⁱ The Policy Directive, No.16.40.09.

Table 13: Existing Programs for Pregnant Inmates in Selective Commonwealth Jurisdictions

Jurisdiction	Program/Arrangement
FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA.	Counselling - explanations of abortion laws, adoption, temporary placement, concerned community services and agencies, and assistance to deal with unborn children. ^a Pre- and post-natal care; delivery at an outside hospital. ^b
PROVINCIAL PRISON SYSTEM, CANADA.	
Alberta	At the Belmont Correctional Center - Temporary Absence pass to their homes, community center or to a maternity home. In addition the Fort Saskatchewan Correctional Institution provides pre-natal courses. ^c
B.C.	Pre-and post-natal classes in the community; assistance for pre- and post-natal planning by the case manager; weekly medical checks by a medical officer and if necessary, arrangements to see specialists; delivery at the Maple Ridge Hospital; regular visits by the Public Health Nurse, after the birth of the child; training in parenting skills; access to Day Care Center. ^d

a Commissioner's Directive, No.701.

b Commissioner's Directive, No.800.

c Misch, et al. 1982.

d Simpson, 1985.

Table 13: Existing programs for Pregnant Inmates in Selectives Commonwealth Jurisdictions (continued).

Jurisdiction	Program/Arrangement
Saskatchewan	At the Pine Grove Correctional Center - "Parenting Skills" Training on pre-natal, labour and delivery, post-natal care, Infant Alcohol Syndrome, effective parenting and single parenting skills, child development and safety, etc. ^e
Manitoba	Portage Correctional Center - pre-natal classes by a Registered Nurse; child development sessions by the Children's Aid Society. ^f
Newfoundland & Labrador	Counselling and support to cope with pregnancy and/or planning the child's future; the decisions to bring the baby to prison, depend on several criteria, and it is made by the Superintendent. ^g

e Misch, et al. 1982.

f Ibid.

g The Policy Directive, No.16.40.09.

REFERENCES

- Adelberg, E., & Currie, C. (Eds.). (1987). Too Few to Count. Canadian Women in Conflict with the Law. Canada: Press Gang.
- Anderson, E. (1976). The "chivalrous" treatment of the female offender in the arms of the criminal justice system: A review of literature. Social Problems, 23(3), pp. 49-57.
- Armstrong, G. (1977, April). Females under the law- 'Protected' but unequal. Crime & Delinquency, 23(2), pp.109-120.
- Baab, G., & Furgeson, W. (1967). Texas sentencing practices: A statistical study. Texas Law Review, 45, pp. 471-503.
- Barnes, H. G., & Teeters, N. K. (1959). New Horizons in Criminology. New York: Prentice Hall.
- Barry, E. (1985a, March-April). Children of prisoners: Punishing the innocent. Youth Law News, pp. 12-15, 18.
- _____ (1985b, November-December). Quality and care for incarcerated women challenged. Youth Law News, 6(6), pp. 1-4.
- Baunach, P. J. (1975, October). Women in prison: A christian challenge. Currents in Theology and Mission, 2, pp. 284-290.
- _____ (1979). The Separation of Inmate Mothers from Children. Washington D.C.: National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice.
- _____ (1985). Mothers in Prison. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books.
- _____, & Murton, T. O. (1973). Women in prison: An awakening minority. Crime and Corrections, 1, pp. 5-13.
- Beckerman, A. (1989). Incarcerated mothers and their children in foster care. The dilemma of visitation. Children and Youth Services Review, 11, pp. 175-183.
- Bergen, D. (1982, October). A mold that fits Nebraska's mothers in prison. Corrections Today, 44,(5), pp. 12, 42-43.
- Bernstein, I. N., Edward, K., Leung, T. J., & Schultz, B. (1977). Charge reduction: An intermediary stage in the process of labelling criminal defendants. Social Forces, 56, pp. 362-384.

- Bernstein, I. S., Cardasia, N. J., & Ross, C. E. (1979). Defendants' sex and criminal court decisions. In R. Alvarez (Ed.), Discrimination in Organizations (pp. 339-354). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Block, H. A., & Geis, G. (1962). Man, Crime, and Society. New York: Random House.
- Bonfanti, M. A., Felder, S. S., Loesch, M. L., & Vincent, N. J. (1974). Enactment and Perception of a Maternal Role of Incarcerated Mothers. Unpublished master's thesis, Louisiana State University.
- Bowlby, J. (1958). The nature of the child's tie to the mother. International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 39, 350-373.
- Box, S. (1983). Power, Crime and Mystification. London: Travistock.
- Branch Specific Information. Incarcerated Mothers with Babies Program. Minister of Solicitor General: British Columbia.
- Burkhart, K. (1973). Women in Prison. New York: Doubleday.
- Burton, R. (1989, May 12). New centre to assist female offenders. Star Phoenix.
- Babies in prison. (1985, Summer/Fall). CAEFS Newsletter, 14, pp. 1-2, 21-23.
- Carlen, P. (1983). Women's Imprisonment. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- _____ (Ed.). (1985). Criminal Women. Oxford: Polity Press.
- _____, & Worrall, A. (Eds.). (1987). Gender, Crime and Justice. Philadelphia: Milton Keynes.
- Cavan, R. S. (1962). Criminology. (3rd ed.). New York: Crowell.
- Chesney-Lind, M. (1978). Chivalry re-examined: Women and the criminal justice. In L. H. Bowker (Ed.), Women, Crime and the Criminal Justice System (pp. 197-223). Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath.
- Children in Prison - Policy and Manual. (1989, July). Draft - Policy and Manual. State of Victoria, Australia.
- Close women's prison, replace with 6 centers task force says. (1990, May 17). Community Action, 15,(16), p. 1.

Commissioner's Directive, Correctional Service Canada, No. 701
(1987, January 1).

Commissioner's Directive, Correctional Service Canada, No. 800.

Correction's Act, State of Victoria, 85/15 (1985).

Correction's Act, State of Victoria, 117-2 (1986).

Correction's Regulations, State of Victoria, S.R. 35-17-68-73
(1988).

Corrections, day care co-operate. The Corrections Community,
3(4), p. 4.

Curran, D. A. (1983). Judicial discretion and defendant's sex.
Criminology, 21, pp. 41-58.

Daehlin, O., & Hynes, H. (1974). A mother's discussion group in
a women's prison. Child Welfare, 53(7), pp. 464-470.

Daly, K. (1986). Gender in the adjudication process: Are judges
really paternalistic toward women? Revised version of a
paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American
Society of Criminology. San Diego.

_____ (1987a). Structure and practice of familial-based
justice in a criminal court. Law & Society Review, 21(2),
pp. 267-290.

_____ (1987b). Discrimination in the Criminal Courts:
Family, gender, and the problem of equal treatment. Social
Forces, 66(1), pp. 152-175.

_____, & Chesney-Lind, M. (1988). Feminism and Criminology.
Justice Quarterly, 5(4), pp. 497-536.

Datesman, S. K., & Cales, G. L. (1983). "I'm still the same
mommy": Maintaining the mother/child relationship in
prison. Prison Journal, 2, 142-154.

Deck, M. V. (1988). Incarcerated mothers and their infants:
Separation or legislation? Boston College Law Review,
29(3), pp. 689-713.

DeFord, M. A. (1962). Stone Walls: Prisons from Fetters to
Furloughs. Philadelphia: Chilton.

Delgoda, J. P. (1977). Female prisoners in Sri Lanka.
International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative
Criminology, 21(3), 229-232.

- Department of Justice. Annual Report of Adult Corrections Division - April 1, 1987 - March 31, 1988. Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada.
- Department of Justice. (1988). Prisons in Change - The submission of the Justice to the Ministerial Inquiry into the Prison System (pp. 383-393). Wellington, New Zealand.
- Director-General Rules, State of Victoria, 3.9 (1988, March 1).
- Driscoll, D. (1985, August). Mother's day once a month. Corrections Today, 47(5), pp. 18-24.
- DuBose, D. (1975). Problems of Children Whose Mothers are Imprisoned Mimeographed. New York: Institute of Women's Wrongs.
- Eaton, M. (1983). Mitigating circumstances: Familiar rhetoric. International Journal of the Sociology of Law, 11, 383-400.
- _____ (1985). Documenting the defendant. In J. Brophy, & C. Smart (Eds.), Women in Law (pp. 117-138). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- _____ (1986). Justice for Women. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Edwards, A. R. (1983). Sex roles: A problem for Sociology and women. Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, 19(3), 385-410.
- _____ (1989). Sex/gender sexism and criminal justice: Some theoretical considerations. International Journal of the Sociology of Law, 17, 165-184.
- Edwards, S. S. W. (1984). Women on Trial. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Ekstedt, J. W., & Griffiths, C. T. (1988). (2nd ed.). Corrections in Canada Policy and Practice. Canada: Butterworths.
- Extended Family Visiting Program (Undated). (Pamphlet No. 86/11). Alberta, Canada: Solicitor General Correctional Service.
- Eyman, J. (1971). Prisons for Women: A Practical Guide to Administrative Problems. Springfield, Illinois: Charles Thomas.

- Farrington, D., & Morris, A. (1983). Sex, sentencing and reconviction. British Journal of Criminology, 23(3), 229-248.
- Feinman, C. (1980). Women in the Criminal Justice System. New York: Praeger.
- Fox, J. G. (1984). Women's prison policy, prisoner activism, and the impact of the contemporary feminist movement: A case study. Prison Journal, 1, 15-36.
- Freedman, E. B. (1981). Their Sisters' Keepers, Women's Prison Reform in America, 1830-1930. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Gibbens, T. C. N., & Prince, J. (1962). Shoplifting. London: Institute for the Study of Treatment of Delinquency.
- Gibson, H. (1973). Women's prisons: Laboratories for penal reforms. Wisconsin Law Review, 1, pp. 120-233.
- Goddman, N., & Price, J. (1967). Studies of Female Offenders. London: H. M. Stationery Office.
- Green, E. (1961). Judicial Attitudes in Sentencing. London: Macmillan.
- Grossman, J. (1985). Female Commitments 1982: The Family. New York State Department of Correctional Services.
- Gustafson, B. (1989a, May 24). Planned halfway house for women applauded by Prince Albert Groups. Prince Albert Daily Herald, p. 3.
- _____ (1989b, June 7). Local justice system criticized over legal treatment of mothers. Prince Albert Daily Herald, p. 3.
- Haley, K. (1977). Mothers behind bars: A look at the parental rights of incarcerated women. New England Journal on Prison Law, 4(1), 141-155.
- Hann, R., & Harman, W. (1986). Full parole release: An Historical descriptive analysis. Prepared for the Ministry of the Solicitor General, Canada.
- Henriques, Z. W. (1982). Imprisoned Mothers and their Children. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America.

- Hoffman, S. L. (1977, June). What happens when a mother goes to prison? - An overview of relevant legal and psychological considerations. Paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting of the American Psychology - Law Society, Snowmass, Colorado.
- Hounslow, B., Stephenson, A., Stewart, J., & Crancher, J. (1982). Children of Imprisoned Parents. Sydney: Ministry of Youth and Community Services.
- Hoyle-Howieson, S., & Regehr, A. (1984). Toronto E. Fry Society Needs Assessment of Pre-trial Women at the Metro Toronto West Detention Center.
- Hunter, S. M. (1984). Issues and challenges facing women's prisons in 1980's. Prison Journal, 64, 129-135.
- Imprisoned mothers. (1986, Summer). CAEFS Newsletter, 16, pp. 15-17.
- Johnson, H. (1987). Getting the facts straight: A statistical overview. In E. Adelberg & C. Currie (Eds.), Too Few to Count. Canadian Women in Conflict with the Law (pp. 11-43). Canada: Press Gang.
- Klaus, M., & Kennel, J. (1976). Maternal Infant Bonding. St. Louis: C. V. Mosby.
- Klein, D., & Kress, J. (1976). Any woman's blue. Crime & Social Justice, 5, pp. 34-39.
- Koehler, M. (1985, Summer/Fall). Babies in prison. CAEFS Newsletter, 14, pp. 1-2, 21-25.
- Kruttschnitt, C. (1981). Social status and sentences of female offenders. Law and Society Review, 15(2), pp. 247-265.
- _____ (1982). Women, crime and dependency: An application of the theory of law. Criminology, 19, pp. 495-513.
- _____ (1984). Sex and criminal court dispositions - the unresolved controversy. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 21, 213-232.
- _____, & Green, D. E. (1984). The sex-sanctioning issue: Is it history? American Sociological Review, 49, pp. 541-551.
- Lundberg, D., Sheekley, A., & Voelker, T. (1975). An Exploration of the Feelings and Attitudes of Women Separated from their Children Due to Incarceration. Unpublished master's thesis, Portland State University.

- MacLeod, L. (1986). Sentenced to Separation - An Exploratiion of the Needs and Problems of Mothers Who Are Offenders and their Children. Ottawa: Canada Solicitor General.
- Maintaining the bond. (1988). Liaison, 14(3), pp. 15-18.
- Manitoba Community Services. Portage Institution, babies thrive together. Corrections Community, 3(4), p. 5.
- Mannheim, H. (1965). Comparative Criminology. Vol.2. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Mann, C. R. (1984). Female Crime and Delinquency. University of Alabama: Alabama Press.
- Mann, K., Wheeler, S., & Sarat, A. (1980). Furlough programs and conjugal visiting in adult correctional institutions. Federal Probation, 19, pp. 19-26.
- Marshall, H., & Purdy, R. (1972). Hidden deviance and the labeling approach: The case of drinking and driving. Social Problems, 19, pp. 541-553.
- McGowan, B. G., & Blumenthal, K. L. (1978). Why Punish Children? A Study of Children of Women Prisoners. Hackensack, New Jersey: National Council on Crime and Delinquency.
- McIntosh, M. (1978). The state and the oppression of women. In A. Kuhn & A. Wolpe (Eds.), Feminism and Materialism (pp. 254-289). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- McManus, P. (1989, May 12). Program to aid women convicts. The Leader-Post. p.20A.
- McWhinnie, J. B. (1961). Denmark: A New Look at Crime. London: Stevens & Sons.
- Misch, C., Jefferson, C., Hayes, B., & Graham, C., (1982, May). The Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies' National Survey Concerning Female Inmates in Provincial and Territorial Institutions. Canada: Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies.
- Monahan, F. (1941). Women in Crime. New York: Ives Washburn.
- Morris, A. (1987). Women, Crime and Criminal Justice. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.
- Moulds, E. (1978). Chivalry and paternalism: Disparities of treatment in the criminal justice system. Western Political Quarterly, 31, pp. 416-430.

- Naffine, N. (1987). Female Crime. The Construction of Women in Criminology. Sydney, Australia: Alen & Unwin.
- Neto, V. V., & Bainer, L. M. (1983). Mother and wife locked up: A day with the family. Prison Journal, 2, 124-141.
- On prisoners and parenting: Preserving the tie that binds. (1978). The Yale Law Journal, 87(7), 1408-1429.
- Parisi, N. (1982). Are females treated differently? A review of the theories and evidence on sentencing and parole decisions. In N. Rafter & E. Stanko (Eds.), Judge, Lawyer, Victim, Thief (pp. 205-220). Boston: Northwestern University Press.
- Penal Code, Sri Lanka, 54.
- Policy Directive, Newfoundland and Labrador, 16.40.09 (1986, April 1).
- Pollak, O. (1950). The Criminality of Women. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Pope, C. E. (1975). Sentencing of California Felony Offenders. Washington, D.C.: Criminal Justice Research Center.
- Portage Institution, babies thrive together. The Corrections Community, 3(4), pp. 4-5.
- Prisons Act, New South Wales, 29 (1952).
- Prisons Act, New Zealand, 21, 28 (1954).
- Prisons Ordinance, Sri Lanka, 165-166, 187.
- Prisons Regulation, New Zealand, 55 (1979).
- Program Notes. (1986, Winter/Spring). Family Ties. pp. 5-11.
- Rafter, N., & Stanko, E. (Eds.). (1982). Judge, Lawyer, Victim, Thief. Boston: Northwestern University Press.
- Reckless, W. C. (1961). The Crime Problem (3rd ed.). New York: Appleton Century-Crofts.
- _____, & Kay, B. (1967). The Female Offender. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Reeves, M. (1929). Training Schools for Delinquent Girls. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

- Rogers, S., & Carey, C. (1979). Child-care Needs of Female Offenders: A Comparison of Incarcerated and Probationers. Canada, Ontario: Ministry of Correctional Services, Planning and Research Branch.
- Rottman, D., & Simon, R. J. (1975). Women in the court. Chitty's Law Journal, 23(52), 171-181.
- Simon, R. J. (1975). Women and Crime. Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath.
- Simpson, S. (1985, January). A Review of the Mother with Babies Program and the Day Care Services at the Twin Maples Correctional Center, Maple Ridge, B.C. Paper prepared for the Permanent National Advisory Committee on the Federal Female Offender. B.C.: Elizabeth Fry Society.
- Smart, C. (1976). Women, Crime and Criminology: A Feminist Critique. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Stanton, A. (1980). When Mothers Go To Jail. Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath.
- Steffensmeier, D. (1980). Assessing the impact of the women's movement on sex-based differences in the handling of adult criminal defendants. Crime and Delinquency, 26, pp. 16-42.
- Swigert, V. L., & Farrell, R. A. (1977). Normal homicides and the law. American Sociological Review, 42, pp. 16-32.
- Teeters, N. K. (1944). World Penal System. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Prison Society.
- Terry, R. M. (1970). Discrimination in the handling of juvenile offenders by social control agencies. In P. G. Garabedian & D. Gibbons (Eds.), Becoming Delinquent: Young Offenders and the Correctional System (pp. 78-92). Chicago: Aldine.
- Thomas, D. (1979). Principles of Sentencing (2nd ed.). London: Heinmann.
- Thomas, L. (1982, November 15). New program offers help to women prisoners. The American Gazette, 1(3).
- Visher, C. (1983). Gender, police arrests decisions and notions of chivalry. Criminology, 21(1), pp. 5-28.
- Walker, J. (1989). Australian Prisoners 1988 - Results of the National Prison Census June 30, 1988. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.

- Ward, D. A., & Kassenbaum, G. C. (1966). Women's Prison. London: Weidenfeld.
- WICL: A look at the past, a plan for the future. (1986). Liaison, 12(9), pp. 18-23.
- Wilkinson, C. (1988, March). The post-release experience of female prisoners. In A. Morris & C. Wilkinson (Eds.), Women and the Penal System (pp. 159-181). Papers presented to 19th Cropwood Round-Table Conference. Cambridge: The Institute of Criminology.
- Wolfram, E. (1973). Developing values through milieu therapy. In B. Ross & C. C. Shierman (Eds.), Social Work Practices and Social Justice (pp. 37-42). Washington, D.C.: National Association of Social Workers.
- Women in Custody. (undated). Alberta, Canada: Solicitor General Correctional Services.
- Women's Policy Co-ordination Unit. (1989). Women's Budget Victoria, 1989/90 (pp. 53-58). Victoria, Australia: Department of the Premier and Cabinet.
- Women prisoners and their children. (1985, March). Report to the NSW Women in Prison Task Force to the Hon. John Akister, M. P. Minister for Corrective Services. pp. 202-213.
- Worrall, A. (1981). Out of place: Female offenders in court. Probation Journal 28(3), 90-93.
- Zalba, S. (1964). Women Offenders and their Families. Los Angeles: Delman.